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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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AT UTICA, N. Y.

WITH THE

ANNUAL ADDRESSES AND REPORTS FOR 1881, THE PARIS RE-INTERMENT AND PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1876.

UTICA, N. Y.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
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1881.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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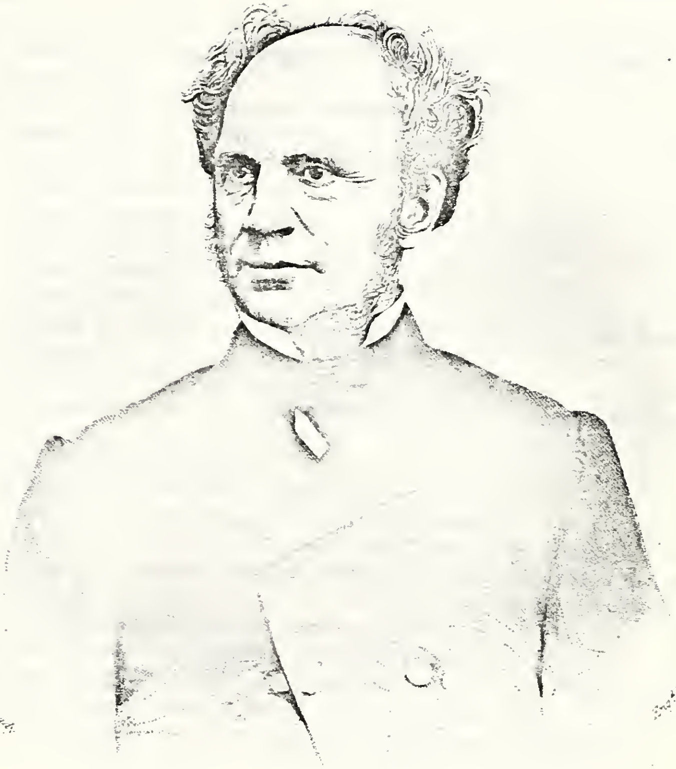

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Horatio Seymour

HON HORATIO SEYMOUR.

CONTENTS.

Portrait of Horatio Seymour,.. Frontispiece.
Officers of the Society, 1881,.. 4
The Continental Congress. Annual Address for 1881: William J. Bacon,........ 5
The Palatines and their Settlement in the Valley of the Upper Mohawk: Samuel Earl,.. 31
Isaac Paris. Memorial Services on his Re-interment at Paris, October 1, 1880,.. 52
  Address of Charles W. Hutchinson,.. 53
  Address of Lorenzo W. Rouse,.. 63
  Address of Edward North,.. 70
  Address of Theodore W. Dwight,.. 74
  Address of Samuel Earl,.. 78
  Address of Isaac S. Hartley,.. 79
  Address of William J. Bacon.. 81
The Pompey (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520: Henry A. Homes,.. 83
Johannes Rueff, a Pioneer of Oneida County: H. F. Roof,.. 96
The Herkimer Papers. Descriptive List of Papers of George Herkimer: M. D. Bagg,.. 100
Portrait of General Herkimer,.. 101
Memorial to the late Matthew D. Bagg.. 107
The Genealogy of a Utica Newspaper: Alexander Seward,.. 108
The Earliest Factories of Oneida and their Projectors: Dr. M. M. Bagg,........ 112
Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water-Lime in this Country: Samuel Earl,.. 125
The Syracuse and Utica Railroad: Daniel E. Wager,.. 144
The Telegraph and Associated Press: Alexander Seward,.. 156
Letter of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, 1804, Relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of its Writer: Morven M. Jones,.. 161
The Needs and Purposes of the Oneida Historical Society: S. N. D. North,...... 169

APPENDIX.

Annual Report of the Librarian, 1880,.. 179
Annual Report of the Librarian, 1881,.. 185
Annual Report of the Treasurer, 1881,.. 186
Publications of the Society,.. 186
Addresses and Papers before the Society since April, 1879,.. 187
List of Donors since April, 1879,.. 188
Members elected since April, 1879,.. 189
Act of New York Legislature in Relation to Historical Societies,................ 191

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The Continental Congress:

SOME OF ITS ACTORS AND THEIR DOINGS, WITH THE RESULTS THEREOF.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING

On the 31st Day of December, 1880.

By William J. Bacon, LL. D.

"JUVAT ACCEDERE FONTES, ATQUE HAURIRE."

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HON. W. J. BACON.

On the 20th day of January, 1775, in the British House of Lords, the illustrious Lord Chatham delivered a very memorable speech. He was the fast friend and the outspoken defender of the struggling Colonists of America in their protracted controversy with the King of Great Britain and his constitutional advisers. He was no longer the great Prime Minister, who had dominated the counsels of the Government with an almost despotic sway. He had descended from power, and had not, as he remarked in his speech "the honor of access to His Majesty." Age also was creeping upon him with its stealthy tread, and a painful malady racked his once stalwart frame with almost unendurable agony.

But neither age nor infirmity could impair the vigor of his intellect, nor quench the bold, and at times, even the defiant spirit with which he uttered his convictions. He vindicated, in the fullest and clearest manner, the right of the Colonists to refuse to be taxed, in the absence of all representation in the National councils, without their consent. "The spirit," said he, "which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its feet, and by its bill of rights vindicated the English Constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that *no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.*" On this great principle, and in this cause, the American Colonists, he adds, "are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven."

The Continental Congress, of whose members, acts, and their consequences I propose to speak, was at this time in session in Philadelphia, and had barely initiated those plans and purposes, which not long afterward, found expression in the great charter of our rights and liberties, the immortal Declaration of Independence. Of this body of patriotic and illustrious men, Lord Chatham, in this speech from which I have quoted, made this memorable declaration. "When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness

and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study, I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master States of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress assembled at Philadelphia."

Condition of Things Prior to the Congress.

This is high eulogy; and in the mouth of an Englishman, justly proud of the name, and familiar as he was with her grand history, and the great men it had given to the world, it is exalted praise. And yet, after a pretty diligent and faithful study of the characters, the acts and the conclusions of that body of men known to us as the Continental Congress, I hardly dare call it an exaggerated estimate. Many circumstances combined to make the assembling together of these men, and the successful outcome of their deliberations quite remarkable. It was, in many respects a propitious moment for such a gathering. The ominous outlook of affairs in the Old World, the upheavings that were beginning to shake the apparently well settled foundations of ancient abuses; above all the almost universal corruption that tainted and infected public and governmental life in England, and which generated and fostered the wrongs under which the American Colonists suffered, all conduced to bring about a unity of sentiment, resulting in a unity of action that contained within itself the promise and the potency of success.

It is difficult for us to conceive, or rather it would be difficult, had we not had the good fortune to have revealed to us, in recent days, something of the inner life of those times, how universally corruption, dishonor and base-born selfishness pervaded the counsels and the Court of England. Thackeray, in his lectures on the reigns of the Four Georges, who successively occupied the throne of Great Britain, let in upon us many gleams of light from those years that inflicted many undeserved stains upon the English name, and finally tore from the third George the brightest jewel in his crown. But a still more recent work, the Life of Charles James Fox, by Trevelyan, who almost rivals Macaulay in the purity and nervousness of his style, and the incisive power of his invective, has given us a more complete and life-like portrait of

those days when patriotism was at a fearful discount, and purity an unknown equation. "Every man in Parliament," in Walpole's significant phrase, "had his price." But not in Parliament alone was venality and greed the rule of public life. Nepotism was unblushing and universal. A single extract from this admirable book will illustrate this point as clearly as many pages of dry narrative.

> "At a time when trade was on so small a scale, that a Lancashire manufacturer considered himself well off on the income which his grandson now gives to his cashier, a Cabinet Minister over and above the ample salary of his office, might reckon confidently upon securing for himself, and for all who belonged to him and who came after him, a permanent maintenance, not dependent upon the vicissitudes of party, which would be regarded as handsome, and even splendid, in these days of visible and all pervading opulence. One nobleman had eight thousand a year in sinecures. Another an Auditor of the Exchequer, inside which he never looked, had eight thousand pounds in peace and twenty thousand in war, and still another bowed and whispered himself into four great employments, from which flowed, month by month, fourteen hundred guineas into the lap of his Parisian mistress."

A reversion to an office was reckoned upon as a good investment, sure to come to hand in due time, and as our author sharply and keenly puts it, "a paymaster of the works, or an auditor of the plantations, with plenty of money to buy good liquor, and plenty of time to drink it, did not live forever, and a next appointment to the civil service, in the last century, might be discounted as freely as a next presentation to a living in our own."

With the remarkable fact that the occupant of the throne, unlike some of his immediate predecessors, was pure and faithful in his domestic life, the morals of the Court were fearfully corrupt, and, in some respects, (not indeed quite as open and shameless,) resembled those of the infamous Charles the Second. The Earl of Sandwich, high in office, and trusted by his sovereign with great responsibilities, may serve as a type of many more "who carried undisguised and unabashed libertinism to the verge of a tomb," which did not close upon him until he had spent nearly half a century in office.

The bearing which these things which I have faintly outlined, have upon the condition of affairs in America, is easily seen. To secure and maintain these princely resources, plunder of all sorts and in all available places, was of course practiced. Ireland, unhappy, misgoverned Ireland had been ravaged and plucked until but little was left for avarice to covet, or greed to secure; and thus it

was that attention was turned to America, as to "fresh woods and pastures new," where an ample field was opened for these plunderers of a Nation's wealth, to enhance their own ill-gotten gains. Trevelyan very distinctly leads us to the conclusion that it was England, governed and controlled as she was, by sinecurists, pampered menials in office, and unblushing robbers that lost to Great Britain an empire in America, and with the following passage, I close this page of a history full of instruction in regard to the condition of the Mother Country and the American Colonies, at that special crisis that called the Continental Congress into being.

> "When Britain had been drained dry, and there was nothing more to be squeezed from Ireland, Ministers, in an evil hour for themselves, remembered that there were two millions of Englishmen in America, who had struggled through the difficulties and hardships which beset the pioneers of civilization, and who, now that their daily bread was assured to them, could afford the luxury of maintaining an army of sinecurists. The suggestion can not be said to have originated on the other side of the Atlantic. 'It was not,' said Junius, 'Virginia that wanted a Governor, but a court favorite that wanted a salary.' Virginia, however, and her sister colonies, were not supposed to know what was best for their own interests, or, at any rate, for the interests of their masters; and plenty of gentlemen were soon drinking their claret and paying their debts out of the savings of the fishermen of New Hampshire, and the farmers of New Jersey, and talking, with that perversion of sentiment which is the inevitable outgrowth of privilege, about the 'cruelty' of a Secretary of State, who hinted that they would do well to show themselves occasionally among the people whose substance they devoured. And yet, in most cases, it was fortunate for America that her placemen had not enough public spirit to make them ashamed of being absentees. Such was the private character of many among her official staff, that their room was cheaply purchased by the money which they spent outside the country. The best things in the colonies generally fell to bankrupt members of Parliament, who were as poor in political principle as in worldly goods; and the smaller posts were regarded as their special inheritance, by the riffraff of the election committee room, and the bad bargains of the servants' hall."

Nothing need be added to enforce the vividness of this description, except to recall, at this point, one of the counts in that indictment of the King of Great Britain, penned by Jefferson, in the Declaration, and thus forcibly and truly expressed: "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance." Against such exactions, enforced by such a tribe of needy advent-

urers and remorseless harpies, our fathers faithfully remonstrated, and, at length, most justly rebelled.

The Origin of the Proposed Congress.

It would perhaps be a difficult matter to ascertain, as it would be unprofitable to inquire in whose brain originated the conception of the Continental Congress. Such inquiries usually end where the equally unprofitable and unsolved problem has always terminated, that is in entire uncertainty, whether the thunderous appeals of Patrick Henry at the south, or the lightning coruscations of James Otis at the north, did most to fire the national heart, and combine and consolidate the national sentiment.

As a matter of pretty universal acknowledgment, the two Colonies that led in the actual and forcible movement towards resistance, were Virginia and Massachusetts. When the first blood was shed in the conflict of arms on the soil of Lexington, Virginia responded to the call for aid and sympathy, by the clarion voice of Henry and the cordial co-operation of her leading men, and throughout all the subsequent years of struggling hope and despondency, they seem never to have been separated either in harmony of sentiment or unity of action. It may, I think, be fairly claimed that the first suggestion of a Council of the Colonies for consultation in regard to the wrongs they suffered, and what remedies were appropriate to the case, was made in a letter from the patriotic merchants of New York, addressed to the General Court in Massachusetts, and asking that body to take the lead in a movement designed to bring the Colonies together for mutual counsel and concerted action. As a matter of historical record, it is true that the first legislative resolution which suggested and recommended the assembling of and actually appointed delegates to a General Council or Congress for mutual consultation, and combined action by the Colonists, passed the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the 17th of June, 1774, the very day which just one year thereafter, and ever since has been made memorable by the battle of Bunker Hill. This is the first resolution passed by any of the Colonial Legislative bodies, recommending such a convocation to be held on the 1st day of September, thereafter, at the City of Philadelphia, or such other place as should be deemed most suitable, and appointing delegates to represent that Colony in the proposed Congress, among whom appeared the subsequently greatly distinguished names of John and Samuel Adams.

THE TIME AND PLACE OF ASSEMBLING.

The other Colonies followed in rapid succession, until on the 2d day of August, 1774, by a resolution passed by the House of Assembly of South Carolina, eleven Colonies had taken the necessary action and appointed delegates to meet, as had been recommended by Massachusetts, in Philadelphia. The delegates from these eleven Colonies assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774. The delegates from North Carolina appeared on the 14th day of that month, while those from Georgia were not appointed until July of the following year, and soon thereafter appeared, and from that time the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies continued, by changes and renewals until its final dissolution.

At the first roll call on the 5th of September, 1774, forty-three delegates answered to their names. Some of them had already become conspicuous for the part they had taken in the controversies with the mother country, and the provincial authorities, and some afterwards obtained immortal renown. This is not the place, nor will the necessary limitations of this discourse permit an enumeration of these men, nor allow me to rehearse their varied and acknowledged claims to distinction. It must suffice, now, to say that Massachusetts, besides the Adams' already mentioned, was represented also by the not obscure names of Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. From Connecticut came the sturdy patriot Roger Sherman. New York presented, among others, the illustrious name of John Jay and Gen. William Floyd, a gallant soldier as well as an experienced civilian, and whose name and fame is cherished as one to which our own County of Oneida is fairly entitled. Delaware appeared in the person of Cæzar Rodney, South Carolina in those of Henry Middleton and Edward Rutledge, while Virginia indicated her power and pre-eminence in what were then, and ever will be, the distinguished names of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton. Many men still more eminent afterwards appeared as members of the Congress. The first act was the election of a President, and the choice fell unanimously upon Peyton Randolph. His was a distinguished Virginia name, and of it he was a worthy representative. He held the position until declining health, followed by his death in May, 1775, compelled his resignation. But for this, his name, instead of the bold signa-

ture of John Hancock would have headed the roll of patriotic men that in the following year signed the immortal Declaration of Independence. This election, and that of a Secretary, with the presentation of credentials terminated the meeting of the first day, and the second was devoted to the preparation and passage of some needful rules of order, and a request that on the following day, the 7th of September, when the serious work of Congress was to begin, the session be opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Duche.

And here, prefacing it with the remark that I heartily dislike the whole tribe of iconoclasts, from Niebuhr down, who seem to take a grim delight in dissipating our faith in all the innocent and cherished traditions of our childhood and manhood as well, from the apple of William Tell to the hatchet of George Washington, the truth of history and regard for the pious memory of our fathers, seems to require me to correct a popular superstition which has obtained great currency, and secured large credence. The tradition tells us that no prayer had ever been heard in Congress, until after many months of anxious debate, when no conclusion having been reached, Dr. Franklin suggested that they should look for Divine guidance, and proposed that prayer should be offered by the reverend man already named. Unfortunately for the truth of this story, Dr. Franklin, when the Congress assembled, was in England, and did not appear as a delegate until the month of May, 1775. And the record, both of the request and of the prayer offered on the morning of the 7th of September, 1774, appear upon the Journal of the Congress, together with the resolution at once offered and passed, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Rev. Mr. Duche, "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on that occasion."

It is meet that this record be reproduced, that we may be reminded of the piety and devotion of our fathers. It can be truthfully said of them that they were a race of earnest and God-fearing men, who believed profoundly that there was a Supreme "Divinity that shaped our ends," an Almighty Sovereign that ruled not only in the armies of Heaven but among the inhabitants of the earth, to whom devout thanksgivings were to be rendered when success crowned our arms, and before whom the people were to humble themselves when disaster came or impended. The Journals of the Congress record not less than ten occasions during their deliberations, when days of fasting alternating with days of thanksgiving were ordered by the Congress. The last

occasion for the latter was when, on the 24th of October, 1781, the glorious news came of the surrender of Cornwallis, when, as the Journal tells us, the whole Congress went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church "to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl Cornwallis." And on the following day they issued a proclamation setting apart the 15th day of December, thereafter, to be observed by all the people as a day of thanksgiving and prayer for this memorable and crowning victory. Our revolutionary fathers did not fail to recognize and adore the "mighty hand and the outstretched arm," that was ever over and around them. May the day never come in all our future history when the sons shall forget their devout gratitude, or fail to imitate their heroic faith.

THE INITIAL STEPS.

I do not propose to follow the proceedings of the Congress in its daily or even yearly details. The Journal is in itself but a naked narrative of the resolutions offered and passed, and a record in full of the public documents prepared for and adopted by the Congress. I can only mention, as especially memorable, among the earliest proceedings, the two addresses, one to the people and the other to the King of Great Britain. The first is well known to have been the production of the illustrious New Yorker, John Jay. There are few brighter or purer names than his connected with our Colonial or National history. The family of Jay came from France, and was of Huguenot origin, and better blood than this never perhaps has coursed through mortal veins. And that blood still remains with us in living representatives, with its honor untarnished and its purity unstained. This address was one of remarkable power and shadowed forth some of these grievances, which subsequently were so powerfully presented in the declaration. These were among the documents that called forth the admiration of Lord Chatham, but their weighty and ominous words fell upon ears unwilling to listen, and impatient of disturbance in their schemes of outrage and plunder, and so outrage and plunder went on to their legitimate end, resistance, war and successful revolution.

THE APPOINTMENT OF WASHINGTON.

The time had now fully arrived when it was necessary that the army, which had been hastily gathered, should have a systematic organization, and, over and above all, a competent leader, and to this the attention of Congress was anxiously and even painfully directed. Local jealousies and rivalries, had to some extent already been developed, and it was needful, above all things, that the choice should fall upon one who could command the confidence of the country, as well as of the army. It so happened that the Senior Major General, then in the service, was Artemus Ward, of Massachusetts. He had attained some position, and stood fairly, as a patriot and a soldier, and if priority of rank was to be deemed controlling, he had a well founded claim to consideration. A day was assigned by Congress for action on this matter, and on the 15th of June, 1775, they proceeded to execute the order. The record in the journal, is simply this: "The Congress proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." Only this, and nothing more is recorded. But much more than this, we may be well assured, preceded and accompanied so notable an event.

It is greatly to be regretted that we possess no authentic report of the debates of this assembly of remarkable and memorable men. They would be much better and more profitable reading than "Congressional Records," that now make their annual appearance in voluminous quartos, and occupy, if they do not adorn our shelves. But in those days, there were no stenographers, no reporters, nor any of the tribe of interviewers that are now perpetually dogging the footsteps and extracting the secrets of our great men. What we know outside of the record, is to be gathered from contemporary correspondence, and the private memoranda of the men of that day, and well authenticated tradition. From some, or all of these sources, I am aware that it is claimed that the motion which preceded the action of Congress, was made by a delegate from the State of Maryland. By other authorities, it is asserted that the motion was made by John Adams, of Massachusetts. But whether or not he took the initiative in this matter, it is certain, from descriptions given by men who were present, and heard the debate, that if he did not move, he promptly seconded the motion, and supported it by what was the leading and controlling speech of the occasion. We can imagine the interest with which he was regarded, in rising to address the Congress, and the

eager curiosity with which the members hung upon his words. It might well have been supposed, that as a Massachusetts man, he would naturally have been inclined to name their own Senior Major General, as the man for the position. He proceeded, in well set and carefully considered words, to set forth what he conceived to be the qualifications of the man to whom was to be confided so great and momentous a trust, and ended by saying, that in his opinion, all these qualifications were fully met in the person of George Washington, of Virginia, whom he cordially supported as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. What a happy surprise, and what a perfect solution of the great problem, this must have seemed to many anxious hearts, and we can almost imagine that even that grave and solemn assembly burst, involuntarily, into a shout of glad acclaim, when the name of Washington was pronounced.

It was, beyond all question, a wise and happy choice. Washington was the man for the hour, as clearly raised up,—by that Providence which equally heeds the falling sparrow and the overthrow of an empire,—for the exigent moment that called for him, as Lincoln was, for the next most momentous and trying crisis in our history. The claim of Washington to be placed high up on the roll of the great men of the world, has been the subject of much discussion, and his precise position may not even yet be clearly defined. Some things may well be received as established beyond controversy. That he was a prudent, sagacious, and with the means he had at command, a skillful General, can not fairly be denied, that he was, in counsel, wise, self-contained and conservative, and in administration, pure, just and fearless, will assuredly be conceded. To talk of him as a soldier, compared with Napoleon, is one of those questions that school-boys may debate, but grown men will not entertain. When we speak of great men, purely in the light of intellect and achievement, we are obliged to acknowledge, that in force of towering intellect, mastery of men, and extent and splendor of accomplishment, Napoleon was "the foremost man of all this world." But on the other hand, we are equally compelled to the admission that with all these claims to supremacy, Napoleon had striking weaknesses developed in those unguarded hours when selfishness, unrestrained passion and unbridled ambition, unchecked by any moral restraints or influences, took full possession and control of his baser nature. Washington had no such weaknesses, and if there was the element of passion in his composition, he held it under wise and dignified control, and

was (antagonizing the aphorism of Napoleon) as much a hero to his valet, as he was when standing in the full blaze of the public eye.

As a general summing up of the character of Washington, we may well accept the testimony of Daniel Webster, as a competent and trustworthy witness. I quote his own well considered words:

> "The character of Washington is a fixed star in the firmament of great names, shining without twinkling or obscurity, with clear, steady and beneficent light. If we think of our independence, we think of him whose efforts were so prominent in achieving it. If we think of the Constitution which is over us, we think of him who did so much to establish it, and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the Cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, of religious feeling, without intolerance or bigotry, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the living personation of each and all of these high qualities."

If we supplement this testimony with that of Lord Erskine, who deliberately declared that the character of Washington was the only one in all history that, in its contemplation, "filled him with awful reverence," we may safely conclude with Webster, that the name and character of Washington are indelibly written "in the clear upper sky," and that his, at least, is securely and forever among

"The few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Washington, upon his appointment immediately vacated his seat in the Congress, and proceeded to the performance of his great and responsible trust. But on the 21st of June, 1775, there appeared in Congress another delegate from Virginia who has exerted an influence and left an impression upon our National history and character second only perhaps to that of Washington—that man was Thomas Jefferson. He had already made his mark as a public man of great promise in his native State, and was now destined to act upon a larger theatre, and become associated with men and events that led directly in the pathway to independence, confederation, and ultimately to the crowning and glorious result of Union and Nationality, and with all these the name and fame of Jefferson are inseparably connected.

The time had now arrived when the question of independence of and separation from the mother country could no longer be de-

ferred. The history of the rise, progress and consummation of this decisive movement is somewhat familiar, and needs not to be dwelt upon minutely. A brief recapitulation however will not be inappropriate in this rapid sketch of the prominent doings of the Continental Congress. To Virginia belongs without doubt or controversy, the honor of the first introduction of the distinct question of Independence. On the 14th day of May, 1776, she instructed her delegates in Congress to propose to that body to make a declaration that the United Colonies were free and independent States, and absolved from all allegiance to the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain. The first appearance of the question in Congress was on the 7th day of June, 1776, when as the Journal States "certain resolutions concerning independency being moved and seconded," the consideration of them was deferred to the following day, accompanied by an injunction that the members be prompt in their attendance. On the 8th the resolutions were taken up, but the further consideration was deferred until the following Monday the 10th of June, and although on that day the consideration of the first resolution was deferred to the 1st day of July thereafter, yet in order, as the Journal expresses it "that no time be lost," a Committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This resolution was the one originally presented by Richard Henry Lee, one of the most distinguished representatives from Virginia, and is now in existence in his own hand-writing. This motion was seconded by "glorious John Adams" as he was afterwards styled by Lee, and passed the Congress without a dissenting vote on the 2d day of July, 1776.

Thus was broken the last link in the chain of Colonial dependence, and the duty of presenting to the World the reasons which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" obliged the Congress to offer, in justification of the great and momentous step, was confided to a Committee composed of the illustrious names of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. To Jefferson was appropriately given the position of Chairman, and as such the duty devolved upon him of preparing the declaration. It could not have been assigned to better hands. In addition to a considerable Legislative experience, he was thoroughly familiar with the whole course of our Colonial history and the grievances under which our fathers suffered, and he

held a most facile as well as a powerful pen. In this respect he had no equal in the Congress, unless it was John Jay. Jay would in all probability have been placed upon the Committee instead of Livingston, but he had just before left his seat in the Congress to serve his own State in the Convention that gave to New York the Constitution of 1777, and although he subsequently returned to the Congress and was its presiding officer, he left it again to discharge in foreign lands great and important service for the Country in the diplomacy which closed the war and gave us final peace and National recognition.

The Time and Incidents of its Final Passage.

The decisive resolution which settled the question of independence was, as I have stated, passed on the 2d day of July and without a dissenting vote. This statement is literally true, and yet it requires a few words of explanation and comment. The resolution in the precise words in which it was finally passed, was introduced on the 7th of June, but its consideration was by the request of certain Colonies who were not fully prepared for action, postponed from time to time until the 1st day of July, when the debate was fully opened, and as Jefferson stated in 1787, the discussion "lasted nine hours and until evening without refreshment and without pause." Of what was uttered in this momentous debate we have in the Journal of course no record, and but little mention elsewhere except that Jefferson in speaking of it says that Adams was the "Colossus of the Congress," and Richard Stockton declared him to be the "Atlas of Independence." We have however what purports to be, on what authority is not stated, an analysis of the speech of Richard Henry Lee on introducing the resolution. The speech attributed to John Adams in the Memorial Address of Webster on the death of Adams and Jefferson, although often declaimed by school-boys as the genuine Adams speech, is the product of Webster's own brain and is merely suggested as one quite characteristic of the man. Such a speech might well have been uttered by one so prompt in action, and so admirably trained in debate as he was, and possessing as described by Jefferson himself "a power of thought and expression which often moved the members from their seats."

This debate continued through the 1st day of July and until the 2d when the final question was taken with no dissent as has been stated, except that the State of New York did not vote, her dele-

gates however expressing their entire acquiescence in the result. The reasons for the New York delegates declining to vote were entirely satisfactory, and consisted in the fact that they were waiting for instructions which they had solicited from their own Provincial Congress which was about dissolving, and therefore postponed action until the meeting of the New Congress, which assembled on the 8th of July, and on the 9th passed a resolution unanimously approving the Declaration of Independence and directing their delegates to sign the instrument, which they accordingly proceeded to do on the 15th day of July, 1776. This roll was subsequently completed as it now stands, and is indeed a most venerable document, but in point of fact it was not signed as it is popularly supposed to have been on the 4th day of July, 1776. Some document of the same import was doubtless signed on that day by the delegates then present, but there was a subsequent engrossment, and a new signing of all the names which now appear upon the parchment preserved with such scrupulous care among the Archives of the State Department at Washington.

Strictly speaking then it is an anachronism to call the 4th as we do "Independence Day." That day was the 2d and it was the day of which Adams spoke in his memorable letter to his wife written at the close of that day, as "the one that would be celebrated by succeeding generations as the *great anniversary festival*," to be solomnized by shows, parades, &c., and concerning which he predicted that through all the gloom that surrounded them he saw "the rays of ravishing light and glory" in which their posterity would bask and participate. The explanation is simply this, that as the Congress sat with closed doors the transactions of the 2d day of July and the absolute passage of the resolution were not publicly known, nor could they be until the report had been acted upon from the Committee on the Declaration which was made and adopted on the 4th, when the whole proceedings with the Declaration were publicly proclaimed from the steps of the State House.*

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*I desire as a matter of justice to state that for the main facts connected with the passage of the resolution on Independence and the signing of the Declaration, I am indebted to the painstaking industry of my friend Wm. L. Stone of New York, who has made our Revolutionary history the subject of the most indefatigable research, and who as the result of many years of earnest and unrequited labor possesses in my opinion in a set of more than eighty bound volumes, a more rare and valuable collection of documents, histories, autographs, &c., concerning the campaign of Burgoyne, the battle and surrender at Saratoga and the concomitant incidents, than is contained in any public Institution or the library of any American Scholar living or dead.

It is no part of my purpose to enter upon any eulogy of the Declaration, much less to analyze its doctrines or enforce its lessons. Many of its topics were of temporary interest, and have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. One of the most able and brilliant of our recent scholars and public men, in what I must think was a burst of fancy as well as of rhetoric, once spoke of it as containing little else than "sounding and glittering generalities." If this were true of any portions of a document enshrined in the hearts and memories of all true Americans, it can not be affirmed of two of its cardinal principles, the corner-stones upon which are erected the solid structures of American, as well as of all other true freedom. They are the absolute equality of all men before the law, and in their political and class relations, and that the true source of all governmental institutions rests in the consent of the governed. These were principles before unknown, or at least unapplied, in all the feudal, hereditary and aristocratic dynasties of the earth. They struck a fatal blow not only to what Jefferson called "the right Divine of Kings to govern wrong," but to the "*Jus Divinum*" by which they assumed to govern at all, and elevating the people to the proud distinction of sovereigns, put the reins of government substantially into their hands, to be operated by such means and agencies as they had the power and inclination to create. These principles, personal and political freedom sustained and upheld by law and the enthroned empress "the world's collected will," are those that constitute our charter, as they must be the polar star of all the struggling advocates of true liberty, and when they are denied or disregarded, freedom and law together take from this world their everlasting flight.

Our Foreign Coadjutors.

Among other most encouraging and gratifying incidents connected with our struggle for freedom and independence, was the sympathy and co-operation received from the friends of liberty abroad. I allude not now to the alliance with France, which occurred at a much later period of the contest, and was the result of long-continued and admirable diplomacy conducted by some of our ablest and most sagacious men. From the moment that the spirit of resistance to unjust taxation and remorseless greed in those sent to rule over us, was developed, the interest in our cause was awakened in those strong and brave hearts that in other lands

had been summoned to action either by similar exactions, or who gladly heard the trumpet-call of freedom and the summons to defend the rights of man. It reached them across the roaring waves of the Atlantic, and called to our aid some of the choicest of Europe's best and noblest sons. The mention of these men in connection with the Continental Congress is entirely appropriate, because each of them, unless my memory fails, reported himself on his arrival to the Congress, and was publicly recognized and received with tokens of distinguished consideration, and all were very soon appointed to positions of high rank in the American army.

Did time and space permit, I should delight to dwell on the history of these men, some of whom had not only a distinguished record, but a chivalrous and even romantic story, that fairly makes the most sluggish blood tingle at its recital. As it is, I can do little more than mention the names of some five or six of the most distinguished, leaving to your own memories or the histories of that period to supply the details which my limited time will not permit. These men were not mere soldiers of fortune, the waifs thrown to the surface of the troubled waters by the love of adventure, the Dugald Dalgettys of their day, who fought under any flag and in any cause where emolument was to be secured or reputation won. They were moved to action in most cases by the highest principle, and inspired with the noblest impulses. Some of them had seen and felt the wrongs which were the outcome of the abuse of imperial and unchecked power, and some had in their own persons experienced the sharp edge of the sword that tyrants and despots love to wield over prostrate humanity. They hailed the dawn of a brighter hope for that humanity in the new world beyond the sea, and recognized the maxim that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Poland gave to us the earliest of these coadjutors, in the persons of Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko. It would require a volume to recount their histories, so closely connected as both are with the history of unhappy Poland, whose story has never yet been adequately told, although it is as the poet Campbell emphasized it, "the bloodiest picture in the book of time." It is a story that stamps ineffaceable disgrace upon the three European despots who partitioned the territory between them, and upon Napoleon, who, when he had the power, in 1808, failed to restore the possessions of which Poland had been robbed, and the autonomy she had lost. Both these men came to us before

the army had been formally organized, but their services were tendered and accepted, and both performed good and valiant deeds—Pulaski yielding his life to our cause, in the attack upon Savannah, in 1779, and America gratefully commemorating the act in a monument there erected to his memory.

Kosciusko came of a noble ancestry, and was a man of princely character and attainments. Soon after Washington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Kosciusko became one of his aids, and in this capacity, as well as others, performed important service for our cause. But a longing desire to aid, if possible, in restoring the lost glories of his native land, carried him back to Europe, before the close of our own struggle, where, in 1794, he headed the brave revolt against the oppressive Russian power, and was, literally, "Warsaw's last champion," and, entrusted with supreme authority, he, with only ten thousand men, resisted and repelled the assault of sixty thousand troops. In the words of another, "he displayed the integrity of Washington, with the activity of Cæsar." But the effort, although almost superhuman, was vain. In the last battle, he fought with scarce one-third the force of the enemy, covered with wounds, he fell from his horse, exclaiming, "*Finis Poloniae!*" It was, indeed, the end of the dream of Polish freedom. Kosciusko, although a prisoner, was treated by the Emperor Paul with distinguished consideration. He never again wore sword, and, although besought by Napoleon to enter his service, he declined, without an absolute promise that his country should again receive a free constitution, and be restored to its ancient boundaries. There is no nobler name than his, not excepting that of John Sobieski, in all Polish history. He died quietly, in France, after a life of storm and struggle and vicissitudes, and his body is entombed, by a royal mandate, in the mausoleum of the Kings of Poland, at Cracow, the most honored dust in that sepulchre of departed earthly greatness. The marble column that gleams on the eye of the passing traveler, from the cliffs at West Point, is only a cenotaph erected by a grateful country, to remind its sons, in all the coming generations, of one who gave to our infant liberties, the strength of a brave arm, and the impulse of a generous and noble heart.

Germany sent to us, in 1779, two grand recruits in the persons of the Barons DeKalb and Steuben. They were brave and experienced soldiers, the former having served more than forty years in the armies of France, and the latter in the wars of the great Frederick of Prussia, to whom he became an aid-de-camp. Both

were enthusiasts in the cause of American independence, and received distinguished commands in our army. DeKalb gave his life for us at the battle of Camden, and his memory was honored by a monument erected by Congress, upon the ground where he fell. Steuben rendered most invaluable service in the organization and discipline of our armies; was rewarded by Congress with a grant of 1,600 acres of land in our own county of Oneida, in the soil of which he sleeps beneath a monument which our grateful fellow-citizens recently erected and publicly dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, to his honored name.

The most distinguished, as he was the most endeared to all Americans, was the Marquis de LaFayette, the most devoted and beloved friend of Washington. Of noble descent, of the most finished manners, the favorite of the Kingly Court of France, at the age of less than twenty he broke away from all the blandishments of that Court and the honors it had in store for him, and gave his means, his whole soul and being to our patriotic Colonists in the critical days of their struggle, and identified himself wholly with our fortunes and our cause. His history I need not repeat. It is familiar to us all as household words, and engraven on the heart of every true American, and wherever freedom finds a home and undeviating consecration to principle an honest worshipper, there will his name be found high up on the roll of the world's good and heroic men.

Articles of Confederation.

The next work of importance engaged in by the Congress was the preparation of, introduction into, and the passage by Congress, with the subsequent ratification by the States, of the Articles of Confederation. The subject was first brought to the notice of the Congress in the month of August, 1776; was debated from time to time, but the Articles did not finally pass the Congress until July, 1778, and were ratified in the following November. They were entered into by the thirteen original Colonies proclaimed States by the Declaration of Independence. They were evidently deemed matters of momentous import, and were expected to be of extended duration, for they were entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union," but in the result it turned out that they were of much less importance than was conceived, and a short experiment demonstrated their practical inutility. They did, indeed, accomplish one object, and in effect that was about all the end they subserved. They brought the States into closer bonds and culti-

vated the spirit of union, and therefore, perhaps, fitly preceded the grand work which the Constitution accomplished. They failed for the very reason that rendered the Constitution a necessity as well as a success. They had no inherent vigor and contained in themselves no power of accomplishing what they attempted. Their requisitions upon the States had no force beyond recommendations, and the States were at liberty to disobey without incurring any penalty, and with seemingly little consciousness of self-reproach.

ORDINANCE OF 1787.

Before proceeding to what was substantially the closing, as it was the crowning act of this Congress, let us spend a moment in refreshing our remembrance of an act followed, perhaps by larger results and more enduring consequences than have attended any single act of legislation before or since the birth of our nation. I allude to the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, embraced in the scheme enacted by Congress for the government of that vast tract of country that went by the name of the Northwestern Territory. It comprehended a mighty space now filled up by millions of our enterprising pioneers, but then mostly an untrodden as it was an unexplored wilderness, so far as the white man had penetrated, stretching away from the west and north of the Ohio river onwards towards the Pacific, with dimensions and capacities equally unknown. It had been acquired, so far as any title could be predicated of it, by loose claims and an occasional random settlement of wandering adventurers from various States, the largest claimants being the States of Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, all of whom ultimately made generous cessions to the confederacy, so that it became the common property of the Union. A scheme was devised for its settlement and regulation forming the organic law which should forever prevail in its government. It was entitled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio." Into this ordinance was inserted this pregnant provision: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This section was prepared and offered in the Committee by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was adopted by them and reported to Congress, and to its everlasting honor, passed by the unanimous vote of eight States, five of the eight being at that time slave-holding States. What a beneficent provision, and how far reaching in its results who is competent to tell.

In the memorable words of Webster, "it impressed upon the very soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than a freeman. It laid the interdict against servitude in original compact, not only deeper than any local law, but deeper than all local constitutions." No child has been or ever will be born, throughout all that vast domain, that will not have occasion to bless the memory of Nathan Dane, and honor the good and the thoughtful men that passed that beneficent ordinance, "to the last syllable of recorded time."

THE CONSTITUTION.

And now came the closing, the supreme, the superlative work of the Congress, without which all its other labors might well have proved vain and fruitless. It did not require unusual wisdom nor a protracted experience for sensible men to perceive that a compact between independent powers each asserting its own sovereignty and perpetually disposed to fly off in its centrifugal orbit, might indeed be a confederacy, but was not a Union such as should weld us together in harmonious relations and constitute us a homogeneous people, an autonomous, a self-sustaining Nation.

It is not within the scope of my present purpose to give a history of the great Convention by which that constitution was formed, nor of the various provisions of that instrument, although I must be pardoned if in closing I say a few words concerning the character and functions of that Government which it organized. The history of the Continental Congress substantially ends with the act by which in the resolution of February 21, 1787, it called a meeting of that Convention which was to assemble in the following May for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and in the words of the resolution "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." This Constitution, the result of the labors of this Convention, was reported to the Congress on the 28th day of September, 1787, unanimously approved on the same day, and immediately transmitted to the States, and as we all know subsequently ratified by the nine States whose assent was required, returned to the Continental Congress thus ratified, which by a resolution duly adopted, appointed the first Wednesday in March, 1789, as the time for the new Government to commence its organized existence.

And here we may appropriately terminate the history of those several assemblages which altogether constitute the Continental Congress. The delegates met indeed, from time to time, until the 2d day of March, 1789, when, only a single member appearing, it

quietly terminated its existence. The last roll-call was made on the 10th day of October, 1788, when only twenty members answered to their names, and of those only two are especially notable, to wit: Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, whose subsequent history has given to each a record of service of immeasurable worth to the new government, and to them individually an immortal name. Had the Congress survived another month, it would have had an existence of fifteen years. There was no beat of drums, no waving of standards, no noisy proclamation of heralds, when it went out of life; but what a record has it left of patriotic, self-sacrificing service, and what a legacy of priceless worth in the Constitution which, through its agency, is bequeathed to us and to our posterity forevermore.

WHAT GOVERNMENT HAS THE CONSTITUTION CREATED?

And now, let us ask what is this Constitution our fathers have given us, and what the character, the functions, or, in other words, the real import and the actual value of the Government under which we live. Is it a mere compact made by sovereign and independent powers, each one the judge of the extent of the power it has conferred, and the manner and mode of its exercise? A Government terminable at the will and subject to the capricious control of each of the high contracting powers that assented to its form, and gave it leave to be? Are we an assemblage of consenting sovereigns to a compact to which at any moment we may put an end in the exercise of that sovereignty; an aggregate of assenting atoms, agreeing indeed to unite, but capable of resolving ourselves into our original elements, and assuming at our own pleasure our primitive form and substance?

These are pregnant questions, put by some with cautious hesitation, by others with bold assurance; and yet the answer to them all seems to me most easy and satisfactory. Our Constitution is not a compact, it was and is not the creation of independent sovereignties, each competent within the very terms and in the spirit of the Constitution to place upon it their own interpretation, and of their own volition without revolution or violence to withdraw themselves from its jurisdiction. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution was the offspring of State Sovereignty. Both instruments on their very face confute this doctrine. The Declaration affirmed that, not by the authority of the States as corporate bodies politic, but "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies," they declared

themselves free and independent States; and the Constitution with equal explicitness declares that "We the People of these United States do ordain and establish this Constitution."

And it is equally clear, to state the proposition in its briefest and most comprehensive terms, that by the Constitution the people of these United States established a nation supreme over all the lesser sovereignties that constituted the separate States, ordaining a Constitution that operated upon all the States in their corporate capacity not only, but directly upon every individual within the boundaries of the nation, and endowing that Government with legislative, judicial and executive functions, adequate to the enforcement of all its provisions against all resistance, whether that resistance should be by the exertion of individual force, or should arm itself with power attempted to be wielded by instrumentalities derived from any corporate source, be it municipal or State, or assuming to be sovereign under any name whatever. In these respects, if I may use the expression, as I do with the profoundest reverence, the General Government is like Deity itself—

"Sitting serene upon the floods their fury to restrain,
And as such Sovereign Lord supreme forevermore shall reign."

This is substantially the conclusion to which the great and unanswerable argument of Daniel Webster conducted the people of these United States when he met and overthrew the doughtiest of the champions of States' rights in the great debate of 1830. It is the doctrine which inspired the heart and aroused the unconquerable courage of that sturdy patriot, Andrew Jackson, who by the favor of a gracious Providence was in the Executive chair when nullification raised its head in 1832, and was by his iron will crushed out, as by his iron heel he would have stamped out its aiders and abettors, had they dared to put in actual practice what they proclaimed to be their abstract faith.

But although the snake was scotched, it was not killed, for it required the final and supreme argument to meet the doctrine of secession on its last field, and in agony and blood subdue and overthrow it forever. War is said to be the "*ultima ratio Regum*;" and so it has often proved, and it is the final argument of Republics as well, when the issue presented is that of continued existence or speedy death. Very dear, indeed, should this our freedom and our Union be to us, for with a great price we purchased that freedom, and with a vast sacrifice we preserved that Union. Would you estimate in part that price and sum up that sacrifice? Go, then, and visit the homes and stand by desolated

hearthstones scattered through the land, and mark the vacant chairs once occupied by those who went forth to engage in that last great argument, and "whose feet departing ne'er returned." Walk through the National Cemeteries and count, if you can, the cenotaphs that lift their white heads above the graves of buried heroes, or visit the quiet rural burial-places and note the green mounds, each distinguished by the modest stars and stripes that loving hands with each returning spring has planted there, and ask who sleep beneath, and constitute a portion of that countless host who

> "On fame's eternal camping-ground,
> Their silent tents have spread
> While honor guards with ceaseless round
> The bivouac of the dead."

And then tell us what is the meaning of Union and Nationality, and what the extent and boundless comprehensiveness of the compensations that give to those sacrifices their priceless value, their inestimable worth.

The Portents and the Outlook.

Shall this Government that our fathers gave us, and this Union we have done and suffered so much to maintain, survive and be perpetuated, or shall we follow in the track of many Nations—the wrecks and debris of whose existence are strewn all along the shores of time? There are prophets of evil, as well as of good. They have existed in all ages, and do still. Ravens, very black and very hoarse, as black and hoarse as were those that sat upon the castle of Macbeth, and croaked the fatal entrance of Duncan, under his battlements. And some of them delight to sit upon the battlements of our Constitution, and hoarsely croak of present evil and coming disaster. Believe no such birds of ill-omen, listen to no such Cassandra lamentations of impending woe. Have faith in your institutions, and have faith in the men that enjoy as well as administer them.

Much as I admire Macaulay, I do not accept his philosophy. I remember that his training, as well as that of most of the foreign thinkers that have undertaken to sit in judgment upon us and our institutions, has been under monarchical and aristocratic influences, and my answer to his prediction that our institutions will fail because we have given to the people too much freedom, and that they will ultimately turn and destroy us with the very instrument we have given them for their and our protection, is the answer that, in a memorable debate in the 45th Congress, was given by him whom the people have just called to be their chief magistrate for the

coming four years. That answer is this: Neither Macaulay, nor any of the other thinkers to whom allusion has been made, have given proper weight to two potent influences that enter largely into our civilization, and give tone and character to our institutions. One of these is our educational forces, that reach through and will ultimately permeate all classes in our community, and the other is that we have no privileged social or class distinctions that hold men down in hopeless, abject subjection, but all have liberty by the light of our institutions, to rise to the highest position within the gift of the Republic. To use his own striking illustration, "our society does not resemble the crust of the earth, with its impassable barriers of rock. It resembles rather the waters of the mighty sea, deep, broad and boundless, and yet so free in all its parts, that the drop which mingles with the sand at its bottom, is free to rise through all the mass of the superincumbent waters, until it flashes in the light on the crest of the highest wave." This is our answer. Is it not ample, and is it not enough?

For myself, standing upon the verge of three-fourths of a century of our National history, having partaken in a limited degree of the responsibilities attaching to its Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions, and gazing back through that long vista upon its varied fortunes, I avow myself in all that respects our National glory. stability and perpetuity, an Optimist in as large a sense as John Milton was in regard to England, when in that grand burst of eloquence in his plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, he exclaimed, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole brood of timorous and flocking birds with those that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of Sects and Schisms."

Such was the vision that broke upon the mental eye, of one of the profoundest thinkers and noblest patriots of England. If the historian of the mother-land can not truthfully record its perfect fulfillment there, may it not be the hope and aspiration of the Nation that broke away from her control, forgetting all our sad past and burying it forever in its grave of blood, and looking cheerfully to the future with its rainbow of promise, to more than surpass the dream of the Poet in the peaceful glories that shall crown the coming history of free, united and happy America.

THE PALATINES AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER MOHAWK.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1880.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not yet one hundred and sixty years since the first European settlers planted themselves in the valley of the upper Mohawk. Before that time the fertile lands bordering on the river were not cultivated, except after the manner of a rude and uncivilized race. The first settlement in this part of the Mohawk valley made by white people began in 1723, and was commenced under peculiar and somewhat extraordinary circumstances, and I might add by an interesting and somewhat extraordinary people.

The first settlement was on what is known as the German Flatts Patent, or Burnettsfield Patent, as it is also called. The lands embraced within this patent were surveyed into lots, taking in lands on both sides of the river from Little Falls to near the village of Frankfort. But the patent does not embrace all the lands adjoining the river between those points. It takes in, however, quite all of the valuable flat land, and leaves out all of the high and hard lands which come down to the river. The intention on the part of the Colonial Government in giving this patent was to give to each person named therein—ninety-two in number—one hundred acres of land, of which about thirty should be low or meadow land, and the balance wood land, or upland, as it was called—the lots to be assigned in severalty to the persons named in the patent, and to be held in fee. The one hundred acres generally constituted one lot. This was so as to all lots in the patent on the south side of the river; but on account of the broad flats on the north side at Herkimer, the lowland thirty acres could not in all cases be laid out so as to lie contiguous to the upland seventy acres assigned to the same person; and where this was not done, the lowland lot and upland lot, which made up the one hundred acres, were designated in the patent by the same

number. The long and narrow lots in this patent, or at least many of them, can yet be plainly perceived by the line fences running back on the hills; and persons passing on the railroad through Herkimer and east of Herkimer, can plainly distinguish many of these lots as they were originally laid out.

I propose on this occasion to give some account of the people to whom this patent was granted, and who settled upon it in the spring of 1723. I shall narrate the circumstances of their coming to this country, and, as briefly as I can, tell who they were, whence they came, and why they came, and how it happened that their final destination was upon the banks of the upper Mohawk. And unless I find your patience wearied by the length of my narrative, I will make a few observations in reference to some of their leading families and their subsequent history.

It is well known to the student of history that in a former division of the map of Europe, there were in Germany what was then called the Upper and Lower Palatinate. They constituted two circles or territorial divisions of Germany, but were not contiguous. The Lower Palatinate on the Rhine, as it was called, embraced territory on both sides of that river, of which the chief cities were Mannheim and Hiedleburg. This district of country, consisting of several thousand square miles, is among the richest and fairest in Europe, and in the latter part of the seventeenth century it belonged wholly to Germany. On account of the almost incessant wars between France and Germany, and the exposed situation of this rich and populous district of country, it was frequently overrun and often devastated by the armies of both of the contending parties. Its inhabitants had scarcely an interval of repose from the calamities of war. But the hardest trials to which the people of the Palatinate were subjected, occurred in the desolating wars waged during the reign of Louis XIV of France. He invaded the Palatinate in 1689 and in 1692, and several times before that, and each time ravaged it with fire and sword. It had often been devastated before; but it is said nothing occurred in all the previous invasions of that war-stricken country to be compared with what was done by the armies of Louis, and by his orders, in his last campaign in that part of Germany. The French commander received orders from his cruel master to turn this fine district of country into a wilderness, and he did so. He announced to the terror-stricken inhabitants—then consisting of more than a half-million of as cultivated and refined a people as could be found on the continent of Europe—that he

granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must leave and shift for themselves. It was in the winter time when this summons came, and as we are told, the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes, and left to wander about the fields without shelter and without food, while they beheld their homes reduced to ashes, their goods seized and their possessions pillaged by a rapacious soldiery. The excesses of the French army let loose upon the inhabitants of this fair country, were frightful in the extreme. Macaulay, in speaking of one of these invasions, says:

> "The flames went up from every market place, every hamlet, every parish church, every country seat within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were plowed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains near what had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills around what had once been Hiedleburg. No respect was shown to palaces, to temples, to monasteries, to infirmaries, to beautiful works of art, to monuments of the illustrious dead. The far-famed castle of the Elector Palatine was turned into a heap of ruins. The adjoining hospital was sacked. The provisions, the medicines, the pallets on which the sick lay were destroyed. The very stones of which Mannheim had been built were flung into the Rhine."

Such were the horrors of that war-afflicted people. The destroying Angel could not have done worse towards them.

At last, however, peace came in 1697. The short repose from the strifes and desolations of war which followed, gave to the distressed inhabitants of the Palatinate an opportunity to calmly contemplate their situation. The past to them was full of horrible suffering; the present was full of destitution and misery; and as to the future for these impoverished people, it was simply distressing for them to consider it in connection with their native land.

Under such circumstances and thus situated, it seems natural enough that they should look about for better homes and for greater safety for life and property. These people, thus scourged by cruel war, formed the Palatine emigration to this country, and some of them are the same persons whose names appear in the German Flatts Patent to which I have referred, and in which they are called "distressed Palatines"—distressed most certainly they were by every calamity following in the trail of war; grief was in every family, and bitter poverty was their lot. Under these

circumstances, it is plain to be seen that out of a people thus situated there would be many who would be glad to leave their native Rhine and seek new homes elsewhere. In their poverty-stricken condition, they turned their eyes towards England for help. She was the enemy of France and the ally of Germany in the recent wars; and it was but natural that they should expect aid from that friendly and sympathizing source. And accordingly we find that a small emigration of Palatines came over to England in 1708. These were provided for at the public expense and sent over to America, and given lands at Newburg. The favorable reception they met with while in England and the attractions of this country were doubtless reported back to their war-stricken friends on the Rhine; and the next year witnessed such an extraordinary emigration from the Lower Palatinate to England as to surprise the English people and puzzle the authorities there how to provide for or what to do with them. Their numbers were great and their necessities were great.

By the emigration of that year from the Palatinate, England received an addition of about 13,000 poor and destitute people, and to provide for them private charities were taxed and the public burdens greatly increased. The attention of English statesmen was directed to the subject of their disposal, and various plans were suggested and considered in reference to planting them in different places in her Majesty's dominions. Commissioners were appointed to take charge of them, and also to provide for their settlement. It was their wish that they be sent to some colony and be kept together; but this seemed to be impracticable, and some were sent to Ireland, others to the West Indies, and to further reduce the burden of their support, many of the young men were induced to enlist in the English army, so that at the beginning of the year 1710 there were left undisposed of between 3,000 and 4,000 of these poor Palatines, and they remained in and about the city of London until March following, when they embarked for America. It was the proposition of Colonel Hunter, the newly-appointed Governor of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, to bring them over with him, and to plant them on lands bordering on the Hudson or Mohawk, suitable for the production of naval stores, such as resin, tar and pitch, for the use of the Government, in order that the public treasury might in this way be reimbursed for the expenses incurred on their account. In the reports and statements made to the British Government, the advantages of tar-making by these people were set forth in the

most favorable light, and were made to appear very plausible. Great expectations were indulged in, and the Government was encouraged to continue its expenses for them and provide for their transportation to America.

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The poor Palatines were so utterly helpless that they were willing to accept any terms which might be required of them, in order that they might be exempt from the unutterable miseries of war, such as was almost continously waged upon their native soil. Before embarking for this country, they were required to enter into a written agreement that, in consideration of moneys already expended on their account, and to be expended upon them by the Crown for their transportation and settlement here, they would labor on such lands as should be allotted to them in the Province of New York, in the production of naval stores, until such time as they should reimburse the Government. And in this contract it was stipulated that the Queen would transport them to America, and would furnish them with provisions and clothing for two years after their arrival here; and it was agreed, also, on their part, that they would not leave the Province of New York without permission. And it was further provided in the contract that each person should receive forty acres of land free of all taxes for seven years, on condition of performing their contract.

The Palatines who embarked for our shores under this arrangement were upwards of 3,000, and they were probably the last of the emigration of the previous year to England. They set sail in March, 1710, in a fleet of ten ships, which were crowded and poorly supplied with provisions and suitable supplies for the voyage. The ships became separated by rough and stormy weather, and the voyage was a long and tedious one; and it was not until in July that the last ship-load arrived in New York. They suffered terribly on the passage, many died and nearly all were sick, and they arrived in a most deplorable condition. According to the report made by Governor Hunter, July 24, 1710, upon the arrival of the last ship, 470 and upwards of the wretched Palatines died on the way. But according to their own accounts in reporting the sufferings of their passage, 1,700 of their number died on ship board and upon landing in New York. It is hardly possible to realize the amount of suffering and distress there must have been among these poor people upon that passage, when nearly one-half sickened and died on the way. The number of Palatines surviving this terrible voyage, as reported by those who furnished rations for them after their arrival in New York, was 2,227; but

it was supposed in England the number was less and not to exceed 2,000. Certainly, those furnishing the rations for these people upon their landing, had no interest in reporting the number less than they actually were; and assuming the number that survived the voyage to have been as large as reported, and that there were 4,000, as claimed by the Palatines who constituted the ten shiploads, then the frightful mortality on the passage was as claimed by them; and that is, about 1,700 of their number died.

Death upon the ocean made many orphans to be taken care of. They were taken by the public authorities in New York and apprenticed in families in the city and in the surrounding country. About one hundred orphans were thus provided for, among them John Peter Zenger, who was apprenticed to William Bradford, the first printer in New York, and who afterwards became famous in New York for his great struggle for the freedom of the press, on account of which he has been called the Morning Star of American liberty—a title which justly belongs to him.*

As soon as arrangements could be made, these poor people were sent up the Hudson and placed upon lands selected for them—one parcel was on the east side and the other on the west side of the river, and nearly opposite. The tract on the east side is now embraced in the town of Germantown, in Columbia county; that on the west side is in the present town of Saugerties, in Ulster county. They were placed upon these lands on the Hudson in the fall of 1710 and in the winter and spring of 1711. The contract for furnishing them with provisions was given to Robert Livingston, who was the ancestor of that very distinguished and for a long time prominent and influential family in this State. He was charged with unfair dealing towards the poor Palatines and with the Government. Short weights in flour and poor beef, and often none at all, were frequent subjects of complaint; and connected with furnishing these people with needful supplies, whether of provisions, clothing, or implements of trade or husbandry, there was some overreaching of one kind or another, which caused discontent among them. They were scantily provided with food and clothing, and implements and tools with which to work were slow in coming; and in this way their patience was severely taxed.

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* Zenger was indicted, in 1735, for a libel on account of his strictures upon the Colonial Government, which appeared in his paper published in New York. He nobly defended himself and the right of a free press. See his trial, 17 Howel's State Trials, page 675.

They were willing and ready to work, but for a long time no fit tools were provided.

They were principally husbandmen, but among them were mechanics belonging to the different trades, and they also had with them their ministers of religion and schoolmasters. Without anything else to do, and being poorly fed, some 300 of their number volunteered in that fruitless expedition under Colonel Nicholson against Canada in the summer of 1711. Many of the persons who were in that expedition became the pioneer settlers on the German Flatts Patent, and among them appear the names of Edick, Shoemaker, Doxstader, Folts, Orendorf, Bellinger, Weber, Smith, Bell and other names still prominent in this part of the Mohawk valley. And in that expedition was John Jost Petri, who became one of their most prominent men on the Mohawk; and also Nicholas Feller. The name also of George Kerchmer appears in the list of the Palatine volunteers in that expedition; and I am inclined to think the name was intended for Herchmer or Hercheimer, as the name of Herkimer was sometimes written. And I am inclined to think, also, though this is mere conjecture, that George Kerchmer, as the name appears, if it was meant for Herkimer, was the grandfather or uncle of General Herkimer, of Oriskany fame.

During the winter and spring of 1711, these Palatines employed themselves in erecting their humble habitations on the Hudson, and in making clearings to plant as soon as the season would permit. Thus employed, they got through the winter. As under their contract they were to have forty acres of land each, surveyors were sent to mark out their lands; and it was now for the first time, as they claimed, represented to them that they were not to have the title to the lands set off to them until they had, by their labor in producing naval stores, reimbursed the Government for all its expenses on their account. This understanding of the contract was new to them, and they complained that it was misread to them in England. Their eyes were now open to behold their real condition. They saw before them a long and hard service for the Crown, during which time their condition would be no better than serfs bound to the soil. What added to their discouragement was, they found the land poor. They could not see how they could support themselves and their families on forty acres of such unpropitious soil, and at the same time perform their contract with the Government. Discontent followed. They declared they came to America to establish their families; to secure lands for their chil-

dren, on which after their death they would be able to support themselves, which they insisted could not be done there. Some of their number, in considering the subject, thought they had better submit to their hard lot; others argued against it. To those who advised to submit with patience and hope for better fortunes, it was answered, "that patience and hope make fools of those who fill their stomachs with them." But after a great deal of hesitation and some mutinous conduct on their part, they were induced to go to work in girdling trees, preparatory for making tar. Some of them, however, were impatient to get out of this service, and they left the settlement without the consent provided for in their contract; and accordingly we find, in October, 1711, an order issued by the Colonial Secretary directing the constables to cause all the Palatines to go to their own settlements, and to forewarn all of their districts that they do not harbor any Palatines at their peril. Governor Hunter it seems had so much trouble in his management of the Palatines for the year 1711, that he resolved upon a different and more severe course for their management in 1712; and for that purpose he ordered a lieutenant and some soldiers from Albany to stand guard over them, and to enforce, if need be, the regulations adopted by him for their government, and to enforce the orders, also, of the overseers of their work. One regulation was: "That no man upon any pretense whatever should leave his work without the license of the overseer."

By September of this year, fortunately for the Palatines, the money and credit of the Governor for their further support were exhausted. The time had now arrived when it was supposed and contemplated by the contract entered into by them with the Crown, they would be able to support themselves, and at the same time produce naval stores for the Government. But at this time they were as poor as ever, and were not in a self-supporting condition; so the Governor, intending to appeal to the Home Government for further appropriations in their behalf, and as a temporary shift, directed the agent in charge of them, in September, 1712, to call them together and communicate to them the situation, and to tell them to accept any employment they might be able to get from farmers and others here and in the Province of New Jersey, for their own and their families' support, until they should be recalled by his proclamation to resume the work under their contract; and he added that the Palatines be informed, also, that the Government did not intend to abandon the

tar work, or to recede from any part of the agreement made with them; and notice was given them that they would be treated as deserters from the Queen's service, if they went elsewhere than in this Province and in the adjoining Province of New Jersey. They were forbidden, also, to depart under pain of immediate arrest without a ticket of leave. Thus situated, and having no means of support, many of them did go out to service, and taking advantage of the ticket of leave given them, some doubtless wandered off and visited other and better lands.

The lands at the Schoharie were visited; and it said the friendly Indians there invited them to come and possess the land, saying they would sustain them in the possession, though they had sold the lands to Queen Anne. These lands were rich and the Indians were friendly; and here the half-famished Palatines wished to settle, and they accordingly petitioned the Governor to be permitted to settle there. But the Governor, not willing to release them from the performance of their contract with the Government, refused to give his consent, and told them they must live and die on the lands where he had placed them. Scarcity of provisions and want of funds, however, left Governor Hunter no other alternative but to let them go and shift for themselves. Availing themselves of this opportunity to escape the bondage in which they had been held, they resolved to abandon the settlements on the Hudson. To remain was impossible; they had no provisions and no funds. They must go or starve, and they resolved to go. Accordingly, in the winter of 1713, a terribly severe winter, without food and almost naked, amidst the cries and lamentations of the women and children, they set out for Schoharie, and went by the way of Albany and Schenectady. They left in a body; and to understand what their condition was, it must be remembered that the snow was deep, that they had but few if any domestic animals, and that they were ill-clad and without provisions. They took all their personal effects with them; what they could not carry on their backs and heads, was placed upon sledges drawn by the hardy and brave men and women who made up the toiling and wailing procession, which moved slowly and tediously up the Hudson. This was a hard journey; but undertaken by a hardy race to escape not only the hard fate of an almost perpetual bondage under their contract, but actual starvation. Their destitution and suffering drew from the charitable inhabitants on the route some needful supplies. Their lot thus far was a hard one—much harder I imagine than we, in these happier times, are fully able to understand.

Many of these poor people were provided for during the winter by the charitable Dutch residents of Albany and Schenectady; otherwise, they must have perished. But some of them, although it was mid-winter and the ground covered three feet with snow, pushed forward to Schoharie from Schenectady, cutting the road through the wilderness. In an account given of this most surprising undertaking, in a statement made in behalf of these Palatines, it is stated that "all hands fell to work, and in two weeks' time cleared the way through the woods fifteen miles in length with the utmost toil and labor, though almost starved and without bread." Those who remained at Albany and Schenectady during the winter, were provided with such assistance as the inhabitants could give them; and they were doubtless provided with some domestic animals, and they went on and joined their companions at the Schoharie in the spring of 1713. They all came there destitute and extremely poor—destitute as to food and clothing, and poor as to every comfort of civilized life. And here came, according to some accounts, 300 families; but there were probably not over 160 families, which appears to be the number more frequently stated in reports of their grievances.

The trials of these poor Palatines did not end here. They found after they had made homes for themselves at Schoharie, and had begun to enjoy some of the comforts of civilized life there, that the lands possessed by them were claimed by other proprietors, with whom they could not make satisfactory terms for their continued occupation. They were bound to be free, and wanted free lands; and finding they could not make terms which would be satisfactory to them with the persons who claimed to be the rightful proprietors of the lands, and finding, also, that no relief could be had from the Colonial Government as against the persons who set up a prior title to the lands at the Schoharie, they resolved to break up their settlement there and seek out new homes upon lands which they could claim as their own, and be free. Accordingly a considerable portion of them struck into the wilderness for Pennsylvania, and took up lands there, where their descendants still remain. Another portion of them came to the Mohawk valley, and under a license granted to them by Governor Burnett to purchase lands of the Indians on the Mohawk, they obtained a deed from the representatives of the Five Nations of the land which is embraced in the German Flatts Patent, of which I have spoken. The grant from the Indians is to John Conrad Wiser, John Jost Petri, Conrad Rickert, Nicholas Feller, and others who are named, and there is added in the deed as follows: "With all other High Dutchmen or

Palatines in this Government for a settlement." This grant, on the petition of John Jost Petri and Conrad Rickert in behalf of themselves and others, the Palatines concerned in the purchasing of lands of the Indians, was confirmed at a Council held in New York, January 17, 1723, and a warrant was at once issued to the Surveyor General to make the survey, and it was ordered that every man, woman and child receive one hundred acres of land; and that the names of all persons concerned be reported to the Surveyor General or his deputy. The names reported, it would seem, were only ninety-two in number, as this is the number of names mentioned in the patent, which is dated April 30, 1725. Not all of the families that left Schoharie came up the Mohawk valley as far as the German Flatts Patent. Some of them remained upon the river in Montgomery county, and settled in the present township of Palatine, which takes its name from them, as do also Palatine Church and Palatine Bridge—names familiar to all of us.

It is proper to state here that of the emigration to this country of that large body of Palatines in 1710, a few remained in the city of New York; and that of the number who were sent up the river to make tar for the Government, some remained at those settlements, who preferred to bear the ills of their present situation than to take the chances of unknown trials in the wilderness beyond the then borders of civilization. And it is true, also, that some remained at Schoharie and accepted the conditions of the proprietors of the land rather than give up their lands; so that to this day there are descendants in each of those places bearing the same names of their ancestors who partook of many of the sorrows and trials to which I have referred.

I have attempted thus far to trace, with as much brevity as I could, the history and the trials of the people who became the pioneer settlers of the valley of the upper Mohawk; and to show whence they came, and why they came to their final destination on the Mohawk.*

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*Many of the facts thus far stated in reference to the Palatines may be found in the Documentary History and in the Colonial History of the State of New York; and I am indebted, also, to the valuable paper read by that eminent scholar, Henry A. Homes, LL. D., the present State Librarian, before the Albany Institute in 1871, on the subject of the Palatine Emigration to England in 1709, and to the authorities he cites, for some of the facts I have stated relating to that emigration, and as to what occurred in England in reference to the Palatines after their arrival there. The cruel treatment of these people by the French Monarch filled all Protestant Europe with horror, and nearly all the historians of that time make mention of the barbarous conduct of the French towards them.

But the subsequent history of these people is not without interest; and I will continue my narrative in respect to them for a short time longer.

The location of the Palatines was upon the then distant and exposed frontier of our State. Their relations with the Indians were friendly, and the soil was generous. They set to work and soon made homes for themselves; and without delay built for their use a church and a school-house. This was before the year 1730, and they were built on the south side of the river, where the old stone church now stands. Not long after that a church was built on lands given by John Jost Petri, just where the present brick church stands, near the Court House in the village of Herkimer. A church on this site was burned at the time the Palatine village, as it was called, on the north side of the river, was sacked by the French and Indians, under the command of M. DeBeletre, in November, 1757.

These people, I mean the first generation of settlers, were quite well educated, and were well informed; and some of them became prominent and useful in various employments in the public service, such as furnishing and transporting supplies for the garrisons that were established for the defense of the frontiers; and some of them were usefully employed at the carrying-place at Little Falls. At that early day the Mohawk river was, and for nearly a century afterwards continued to be, the highway of commerce from Schenectady westward, and on it was mainly transported the merchandise used by the inhabitants, and also the military stores and supplies for the garrison at Oswego, and for military use elsewhere. At this carrying-place freights of all kinds had to be carried between the upper and lower end of the falls in the river by land carriage. The road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.* At that early day, and for many years afterwards, the only road through the valley of the upper Mohawk was on the south side of the river. The situation of the settlers on the German Flatts Patent gave them the monopoly of the important and constantly increasing business at this point in the river. And I find among the papers of John Jost Petri abundant evidence that he and his family were largely inter-

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* Smollett, Vol. 2, at page 163, speaks of the land carriage at the Little Falls, and uses language in describing it which to one acquainted with the locality, leaves little room to doubt that the road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.

ested in this carrying-place, employing men and teams in the business.

As Petri was an undoubted leader among these people, and was a grown-up man when, with the thousands of other Palatines, he left his native land in 1709, I will here give some further account of him, and make a brief reference, also, to a few other leading and prominent Palatine families who belonged to the same emigration, and went through the bitter trials and sufferings of which I have spoken. John Jost Petri was one of the committee who set out from Schoharie to select a new location for the "distressed Palatines." He was one of the number who petitioned Governor Burnett for a license to purchase the lands of the Indians; and he is named in the Indian deed, which is dated July 9, 1722. He was one of two who, in behalf of the Palatines, petitioned the Governor in Council to confirm the deed given by the Indians, and to grant the patent; and he is the first named in the patent. The lot assigned to him is lot No. 8, on the north side of the river. It is the same lot upon which the paper-mill in Herkimer and the water-power connected with it are located. A lot of eighty-six acres, upon which is now the main portion of the village of Herkimer, and which for a long time was called the *Stone Ridge*, was assigned to his wife; and it was upon this lot he lived, and where he and upwards of one hundred others were taken prisoners in November, 1757, and where afterwards was Fort Dayton. The house in which he lived was only about thirty rods northerly from the Court House in Herkimer. There is an old house still standing on the precise spot where he lived, and the old well used by him, and which was in all probability dug over one hundred and fifty years ago, still remains. From this well the people in the fort on this spot were supplied with water during two wars.

When he was taken prisoner in the French and Indian war, and for some time before, he was a contractor for the Crown in furnishing supplies and disbursing moneys in the public service. In consequence of the burning of his house at the time of the destruction of the German Flatts on the north side of the river in November, 1757, he lost all his accounts and valuable papers; and when he returned from his captivity, about a year afterwards, he set to work to get his accounts allowed and paid by the proper authorities. The late Solomon Petrie, of Little Falls, was his great-grandson; and such papers as were left by this old Palatine came down to him, and are now in the possession of the widow of his son, who has kindly shown them to me. From these papers,

many of which are interesting, it appears that John Jost Petri had large transactions with the Colonial authorities, and that at the time he was taken prisoner large sums of money were due him, and his vouchers were lost. He was obliged, as best he could, to make out duplicates of his accounts and satisfy the Commissioners who were to examine and report on them, that they were just and should be paid. He evidently was subjected to a great deal of trouble in getting his accounts in such shape as to be allowed. I found among his papers an account in his favor amounting to 357*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* against his Excellency Governor Shirly. This account commences May, 1755, and ends in October of the same year, and among the items are the following:

May 16.	To ten men making road at the carrying-place, each three days, is thirty days, at 5*s.* a day,........	£20 00
June 9.	To six horses which I bought for........	48 10
July 27.	To 96 skipples peas sent to Oswego, with all charges,...........................	44 05
October 28.	To 45 skipples flour delivered to Captain Williams, ...	9 00

Another account is headed as follows:

"Account of riding at the carrying-place paid by John Jost Petri, Anno 1755, for his Majesties service."

Then follows a long list of names, with the number of loads drawn by each, and the prices charged and paid by him. This account foots up for riding loads, as it is expressed, at the carrying-place, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, and for riding loads at the Canajoharie Falls, 444*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*

Some of the items in the account for the carrying-place are as follows:

George Lodwick Smith,	67	loads,	at 9*s.*,............	£30 03 00
Jacob Nicholas Weber,	44	"	"	19 16 00
Thomas Shoemaker,	95½	"	"	42 19 06
Frederick Orendorf,	93	"	"	41 07 00
Leonard Helmer,	29	"	"	13 01 00

The whole number of persons employed in riding loads at the carrying-place appearing in the account is 58, and the number of loads drawn is 2,633.

The number of persons employed at the Canajoharie Falls appearing in the account is 18, and they are credited with draw-

ing 2,186 loads. And in this account he credits himself with paying Philiip Bell for 15 days' work at the fort and storehouse, 5*s.* per day, 3*l.* 15*s.*

This account is endorsed as follows:

"1755. John Jost Petri account for riding at the great carrying-place and Canajoharie Falls, charges in account the 26th April, 1756, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, 444*l.* 14*s.*"

I should state here that the Canajoharie Falls carrying-place referred to in this account was at the Little Falls, and that the great carrying-place referred to was between Rome and Wood creek; and that the fort and storehouse mentioned in the account were his own house, which was used as a fort, and was called a fort at that time.

As all his papers and vouchers were lost by the burning of his house, he was obliged to furnish some evidence of his expenditures for the public service, and accordingly he procured certificates from persons to whom he paid money, and the purpose for which he paid the same. And among such certificates I find the following:

"This is to certify that I have received of Mr. John Jost Petri, in the year of our Lord 1755, the sum of six pounds for 30 skipples of wheat at 4*s.* per skipple, which he had of me for his Majesties' use. Received by me.

John Jacob Weber."

He evidently pressed his claim upon the Government for payment upon such certificates and such other evidences as he could obtain. I find among the old papers relating to these accounts a statement made by the Commissioners whose duty it was to report upon them, in the following language:

"The Commissioners' remarks on Hon. Jost Petri's accounts: Hon. Jost Petri's whole supplies and services amounted to 2,590*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* Mr. Petri's house was burned and he was carried captive into Canada, so that all his vouchers were destroyed. His age and the distance he lives from New York has prevented us from examining him personally. From the information we can get, and from the knowledge of one of the Commissioners, we learn that he furnished many things and performed many services, probably to higher amount than the money he has received from the agents at New York. It will not be difficult to collect on the spot the true amount of his accounts. We would, therefore, admit the charge of the money paid him by the agents at New York being 2,154*l.* 12*s.*, and advise your Excellency to order the balance of 436*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* to remain in the Deputy Paymaster General's

hands, as a sufficient pledge to indemify the Crown for any overcharge that may appear upon a close examination on the spot."

From this document and others which have come under my notice, I am satisfied that this leading Palatine was actively engaged in various important services for the Government, and was honored with the confidence of the persons in power, and he became rich; and I am satisfied, also, that the entire settlement at the German Flatts prospered greatly by their favorable location on the Mohawk for raising and furnishing supplies for the military posts on the frontiers. Their services likewise were frequently called into requisition to build roads, transport military supplies to Oswego, and do many other things for the public service which brought them money. As to John Jost Petri, he was the natural leader among these people. It is said of him that he was tall—"full six feet and well proportioned," and had a fair business education and capacity for business. He was twice married and had eight children, four sons and four daughters; and it is said that one of his daughters was the wife of Christian Shell, the hero of Shell's Bush. He made his will in 1757, which is still in existence, and died at a very advanced age in 1770. Several of his sons were employed in the public service; one was killed at Oriskany and another at Little Falls during the Revolutionary war. Most of the persons who bear the name of Petrie, as the name is now spelled, still residing in Herkimer county, are descendants of this old Palatine. The late David and Joram Petrie, formerly prominent and well-known business men at Little Falls, were among his descendants, as were, also, the late Solomon Petrie, Esq., and the late Hon. George Petrie, both of Little Falls. The latter was a Member of Congress from the Herkimer and Montgomery District in 1847 and 1848. John M. Petrie, who represented Herkimer county in the Legislature of the State in 1808 and 1809, was a grandson of the old Palatine. One of his sons was Captain Marcus Petrie; and among the old papers of this family is one of some interest as showing their local prominence; and with it I will close what I have to say in respect to the Petrie family on this occasion. It is headed "Instructions for Captain Marcus Petri," and is as follows:

"You are, with the company of which I have this day appointed you Captain, immediately to proceed to the west end of the great carrying-place from the Mohawk river to the Wood creek, and encamp at the place where Captain Douglas was encamped. You are as often as is necessary to keep the company employed in scouting near the said carrying-place and near the

bank of the Wood creek, and to do all in your power with the said company to defend the same and to protect the battoes coming and going between Oswego and the carrying-place from any attempt of the enemy; and if at any time you should discover any parties of French or their Indians in the neighborhood of the carrying-place, you are to give immediate notice thereof to Captain Williams, who is posted at the east end of the same, and to follow his directions if you join him in the attack of them, or in the defense of his or your own camp.

You are to take proper care of what provisions or stores shall be sent you by Captain Williams in their way to Oswego, and to guard them and the storehouse at your encampment. You are to dispatch the battoes with provisions and stores from your end of the carrying-place and down to Canada creek, and to keep the Wood creek cleared from any obstructions of trees or otherwise.

For these services, you as Captain are to be allowed ten shillings per day, and the men under your command four shillings per day, New York currency; you and they providing your own clothing and arms, ammunition and every other necessary.

By order of his Excellency's command.

August 10, 1755. W. SHIRLEY.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Secretary*."

Another leading Palatine at the beginning of the settlement on the German Flatts Patent was Nicholas Feller. He belonged to the emigration of 1710, and he partook of their hard lot. He was among the number who were settled on the Hudson, and who volunteered in the expedition against Canada in 1711, and he was at Schoharie. He was, also, one of the delegation chosen to seek out the new location on the banks of the Mohawk. His name appears in the Indian deed to which I have referred. The lot assigned to him in the German Flatts Patent is lot No. 7, next easterly to the lot of John Jost Petri. He was an old man in 1734. In that year he made his will, which was witnessed by his neighbor Petri, and he died soon after. He was a leader among the Palatines and prominent in their church. He left a son and several daughters, as appears by his will; one of his daughters was the wife of Nicholas Wollaber, who gave the land upon which the old stone church stands, on the south side of the river, and who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county of Herkimer. Another daughter was the wife of John Cristman, who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. And another daughter was the wife of George Hilts, and he is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. The old Palatine, Nicholas Feller, gave his lot No. 7 to his daughter, the wife of George Hilts, and it is still in great part owned by his descendants of that name, who are in the fifth line of descent from him.

I will not pursue the subject of individual families among these Palatines further than to say a few words about a family whose name is preserved in the annals of history. I mean the name of Herkimer. John Jost Herkimer is one of the ninety-two persons named in the German Flatts Patent. I am inclined to think that he, too, belonged to the emigration of 1710. The name, however, does not appear in the list of Palatines on the Hudson spelled as we find it in the German Flatts Patent. But none of this family, so far as I have seen their signatures, could write it well. Often some of the letters of the name are left out; sometimes the wrong letters are used; and I have thought it quite probable that the name Kerehmer, as it appears in the list of those who volunteered in the Canada expedition, was intended for Herkimer. If so, it is probable that he came over with the emigration of 1710; otherwise, he came over with the third emigration of Palatines, which was in the autumn of 1722. But whichever way it is, his name was handed in with the others for a share of the land selected on the Mohawk; and lot No. 36, on the south side of the river, was assigned to him. This lot is a little east of the old stone church, which is upon lot No. 30. Here he lived for many years, and until his children had grown up. He then moved upon a lot a little to the west of the stone church, where he built a substantial house of stone, which was afterwards made into a fort, and was called Fort Herkimer, and was used as such for the defense of the settlement during the French and Indian war, and also during the war of the Revolution. Opposite to where this house was built and fort stood, there is a large island in the river, which was owned by him, and which to this day goes by the name of Herkimer Island. It is said that the second son of John Jost Herkimer, whose name was Hendrick, or Henry, was the first white child born on the German Flatts Patent. This son was the grandfather of the venerable Timothy Herkimer, who resides near the foot of Schuyler Lake, on lands which were owned and occupied by his grandfather before the Revolutionary war.

As to this old Palatine, he was no less prominent in the settlement than his neighbor on the north side of the river, John Jost Petri. He was an active man, and was prosperous and accumulated a large estate. He had less education than Petri, and I doubt if he had the address and business qualifications of Petri, but nevertheless he was a leader among these people, and he and his family had great prominence in the settlement. The records of the old stone church show that he was a ruling spirit in it. His

son, the General, lived with him at Fort Herkimer until 1760. At that time the family had special prominence in the Mohawk valley, and was wealthy and influential, outstripping in this respect the Petri family. This old patriarch had a large family. His children numbered five sons and eight daughters. The latter married leading and influential citizens of the valley, among whom were the Rev. Abraham Rosecrantz and Hendrick Frey. The sons took an active part in the stirring events of the Revolution; and the name of Herkimer has been made historical by the patriotic services, bravery and heroic death of General Nicholas Herkimer, who was the eldest son of John Jost. This old Palatine died in 1775, leaving a will which is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals. It is an interesting document. In it he disposes of a large estate, including negro slaves.

There are no descendants of his by the name of Herkimer remaining in Herkimer county; but there are many descendants of his bearing other names, not only in Herkimer, but elsewhere. Among his descendants is Utica's distinguished townsman, the Hon. Roscoe Conkling. Judge John Herkimer, who lived in the present town of Danube, on lands which belonged to General Herkimer, was a grandson of John Jost, and he was a Member of Congress, elected from the Herkimer District in 1822. No other of the family of that name after the struggle of the Revolution ever occupied any public position in the county, so far as I am able to ascertain. But, as I have said, the name is preserved in the annals of history, and it will be handed down to posterity as a name honored and to be honored. This Society has in charge the grateful duty of erecting to the memory of a brave son of this old Palatine an enduring monument on the bloody field of Oriskany where he sacrificed his life for his country. That duty I know will be most faithfully performed.

Sir William Johnson had frequent occasion to call on these Palatines to assist him in matters connected with the public service in the valley of the Mohawk, and on the frontiers. He knew them well; and, deeming it a military necessity to have a road direct to Oswego from their village, on the 22d day of July 1756 he addressed a letter to John Jost Herkimer and John Jost Petri, jointly, at the German Flatts, requesting them to cut out the road to Oswego through the Six Nations, as he expressed it, saying he would like to see them, and arrange for the work and the compensation. The answer to Sir William's request is an interesting document, and as it throws some light on the situation of affairs in this valley at that time, and

gives also some idea of the character of these people, I will give it here—first calling attention to the fact that it purports to be the answer, not only of Petri and Herkimer but of Conrad Frank, who was also one of the leading spirits among the Palatines and a near neighbor of Herkimer. The original of this letter may be found among the unpublished Johnson Papers in the State Library at Albany, and is as follows:

> "HON'D SIR: We had the honor of yours of the 22d ultimo, about laying out a road from here to Oswego through the Six Nations: and as for my part, Han. Jost Petri, I am old and lame in one of my hips, and it is not in my power to undertake any such fatigue. And for me, John Jost Herkimer, I dare not leave my house upon account of the military, for they tyrannize over me as they think proper, for the commanders use me as ill as the common soldiers. In short they take a prerogative power in their hands, not only by infesting my house and taking up my rooms at pleasure, but take what they think necessary of my effects for their own use without asking. And if such doings be allowed to go on, not only must I and my family suffer, but also all my neighbors.
>
> And as for my part, Conrad Frank, it is impossible for me to undertake it, upon account of soldiers, bateaux men and sailors, &c., for my house every day is full either of one sort or another; and within this short time has suffered considerable by the soldiers under Captain Harris' command, for they not only used my house as they thought proper, but likewise took whatever of my live cattle they thought proper for their use, without either asking liberty or paying me for their value. And supposing I should undertake such a thing and leave my house as matters stand in at present, I must, I imagine, never to see my wife or children again. And, notwithstanding all the endeavors one and all of us have made, we could not find any one proper person that would undertake such a piece of work. And although one and all of us would be ready and willing to do anything that would tend to his majesty's service or the good of our country, yet, as matters stand, we must be excused.
>
> We remain, with due respect, Hon'd Sir, your Honor's most obedient and humble servants.
>
> JOHN JOST HERCHEIMER,
> JOHN CONRAD FRANK."

For what reason John Jost Petri did not sign this letter I will not undertake to express an opinion here. His excuse was that he was old and lame. I will say however that the road was cut out, and that it was done by Captain Marcus Petri, who was the oldest son of John Jost.

I must not pursue this subject any farther at this time.

From what I have said, it can, I think, be easily understood what kind of people these Palatines were, and why they came to the valley of the upper Mohawk, and why they prospered so well after they came. For thirty years after they settled upon

these lands, they were not disturbed by wars or rumors of war. During this long interval of repose, their comforts and stores of wealth increased, and amidst the accumulated blessings by which they were surrounded, the sad memories of their former sufferings were almost forgotten. They had good homes and good lands, and they were a prosperous, a happy and a united people. Common dangers and a common interest kept them together. They had one faith and worshiped at the same altar. This repose and to them most happy exemption from the horrors of war, were not destined to continue. The French and Indian war at last came, and the torch and tomahawk did fearful work, and rendered them again poor and wretched. This was in 1757; and before they could fairly recover from the losses and the griefs occasioned by this war, the tragic scenes of the Revolution were enacted. These wars, on account of the exposed situation of the Palatines in this then distant frontier, brought untold miseries on them again. The valley of the Mohawk was several times scourged with fire and sword, and to the torch were added the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and they were again and again most cruelly scourged by enemies who did not spare even the infant in the cradle.

Passing over the events which occurred in the valley of the Mohawk during two wars, in which these Palatines suffered so much in the defense of their country and their homes, I will simply say that they came out of them poor and almost crushed in spirit. They suffered much; many of them were driven away from their homes never to return, and many were killed. They had again and again lost their all, save their naked lands and their patriotism. Their fertile fields, except in the immediate vicinity of the forts, were turned into a wilderness.

My narrative ends here, and I will only add that soon after the war of the Revolution emigration set in rapidly from the New England States, and the unoccupied lands on the Mohawk, and the high lands north and south of the river, were taken up by an enterprising and a more ambitious class of people; and in the race for supremacy the Palatines were left in the rear, which position they and their descendants still maintain. The public affairs and political control of the valley soon passed into the hands of the Yankees, as they were called, who monopolized the business of trade and politics; and this position they still maintain as against the descendants of that hardy race of people who first broke the soil in the valley of the upper Mohawk.

ISAAC PARIS.

MEMORIAL SERVICES ON HIS REINTERMENT.

At Paris, October 1, 1880.

The old burial ground at Fort Plain, in which were the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris, the benefactor of the early settlers in Oneida county, having been superseded by a new cemetery, the opportunity was presented to the citizens of the town gratefully named after him, of rendering a further tribute to his memory.

The following correspondence authorized the proposed removal:

Fort Plain, September 21, 1880.

J. V. H. Scovill, Esq., Chairman:

My Dear Sir:—Our Board of Trustees of the village of Fort Plain fully consent as far as is in their power to the removal of the remains of the late Colonel Isaac Paris from our old Sand Hill Cemetery to the town of Paris, which will doubtless duly preserve them and ever hold in kind remembrance his name and his generous acts.

But little interest has of late years been manifested in the care and preservation of our old cemetery, as most of the bodies have long since been transferred to our new one. Hence the propriety of this removal; and we also feel assured that an appropriate monument will be erected by your town to the memory of your early friend and benefactor, and to commemorate his virtues and your gratitude for his beneficence. Much regretting that my engagements will prevent my being present at your memorial services, I remain, Respectfully yours,

David G. Hackney.
President of the Village of Fort Plain.

To the Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks and other Members of the Committee of Arrangements:

Gentlemen:—I desire, on behalf of myself and family, to thank you for the respect, nay, tender feeling, shown to the memory of our deceased relative, Isaac Paris, and for the memorial services which you have arranged to take place at Paris on October 1. My friend, the Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, some time since informed me of the ruinous condition of the cemetery at

Fort Plain, and of your generous offer to dedicate a plot in your cemetery for the interment of the remains of Isaac Paris. I communicated this intelligence to the different members of my family, and they all agreed that your kind proposal should be accepted. We are pleased to think that the remains of Colonel Paris will soon rest among those who love and loved his memory so well. Thanking you again, gentlemen, for the time and trouble you have devoted to this matter, and assuring you that I will be present at the services, I remain, Your obedient servant,

IRVING PARIS.

31 Pine street, New York city, September 28, 1880.

The exercises of the day were under the direction of the following committee: Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Marshall; Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks, Colonel I. L. Addington, D. C. Addington, J. V. H. Scovill, Charles Seymour, F. Simmonds, J. E. Head, O. D. Head, Paris Hill; F. P. Drew, J. M. Porter, S. W. Smith, W. S. Bartlett, Joseph Avery, Prof. Edward North, James Hanchett, Kirkland; George Peck, Amos Osburn, O. B. Gridley, Rev. B. F. Willoughby, Eli Avery, Henry Barnett, William Mould, Marshall.

At 2 P. M. the Old Utica Band played an appropriate air in front of St. Paul's Church, which called the people of the village of Paris together. The services were opened in St. Paul's Church by the rector, Rev. J. B. Wicks, his assistant, Rev. William Cook, Rev. Charles H. Gardner, of Trinity Church, Utica, and Rev. J. H. Lemon, of Clark's Mills, taking part. Rev. Mr. Gardner read the opening service, Rev. J. H. Lemon the creed, and Rev. Mr. Cook the psalter. The music was by the choir of the church. At the close of the services a hymn was sung, and Rev. Mr. Wicks introduced Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, of Utica, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society.

MR. HUTCHINSON'S ADDRESS.

As a member of the Oneida Historical Society, when requested to present to you an outline of the Paris family, I could not refuse to embody such events in consideration of their honorable historic record, as well as of the generous act of one of them, which is now to be commemorated by the descendants of those early settlers who were the recipients of his bounty. I ask your attention

to the prominent events in which they were active participators. The traditional history of the family of Paris, from which your town derived its name, records the fact that three brothers Paris emigrated from Strasburg in Alsace to America, about the year 1737. One of them settled in Georgia, one in Pennsylvania and the third at Stone Arabia, in the town of Palatine, in the province of New York. Here he engaged in establishing one of the largest and most important stores and trading posts west of Schenectady. It was situated about two miles northeasterly of the Mohawk river at Fort Plain, and was located upon the site now occupied by the farm-house of John Gremps, and was stockaded and known as Fort Paris during the Revolutionary war. By the courtesy of Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer, the Oneida Historical Society has become possessed of one of his original written advertisements, unusually well written, and which is of sufficient interest to present in full:

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Just imported from London and to be sold by the subscriber Isaac Paris, at his house in Stonearabia—A large Assortment of European Goods, viz: Black and Blue Persian; Silk Damascas, Silk Venetian Poplin; Fine Cloth and Blue Sagathy; Chints; Printed Cotton; French Cambric; French Clear Lawn; British Sheeting; Russia Sheeting; German Ozuaburg; Black Callimanco; Black Silk fringed Handkerchiefs; Men's and Women's 3, thd white-Thread Stockings; Men's brown ditto; Men's Cotton Stockings; Men's Random Thread Stockings; Black ripp'd Worsted hose; Black and figured Ribbons; Tea Kettles; Men's and Women's Buckles; Pistol Cap'd Knives; Castorbatts; powder; Shot of various sort; Horncombs; Yvory combs; Writing paper—Also, New York Rum; Loaf and Muscovadoe Sugar; and likewise a Large Assortment of pewter work and French Blankets with Sundry Articles too tedious to enumerate, Which he will sell by Wholesale or Retail, on very cheap and the lowest terms, in cash, or (if required) for credit, or any merchantable Country produce."

ISAAC PARIS.

We have reason to believe from records of Capt. John Eisenlord, who was a clerk in the store of Mr. Paris, that this advertisement was written about the year 1770.

Young Eisenlord, at a meeting held on the 26th day of August, 1775, for the election of officers for a company of militia for the precinct of North Germantown, was elected captain, with John Kayser first lieutenant, Adam Bellinger second lieutenant, and John Sorneth ensign. He was afterwards promoted major. We shall have occasion again to speak of him. The paper above copied was formerly in the possession of the late Rev. W. B. Van Ben-

schoten, pastor of the Reformed Churches in Stone Arabia and Ephratah, who was also in possession of a subscription list for the maintenance of the fifth minister of the Stone Arabia Reformed Church, which was in the same handwriting as the advertisement, and is of sufficient interest to present in this connection. It reads as follows:

> WHEREAS, this Eighth Day of June in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign, King George the Third, &c., anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, is unanimously concluded and agreed by US, the subscribed Members of the Congregation of the Reformed Church of Stonearaby, in the County of Tryon and province of N. York, to call a Minister of the Gospel for our said Congregation of Stonearaby, and to keep him for a Yearly Salary and other Convenient and necessary maintainances as hereafter expressed;
>
> *We Therefore* jointly and each of us in particular to ourselves our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby in Consideration of such Divine Service, promise and agree to pay, or cause to be paid unto the respective Churchwardens of our Congregation, and their Successors, for a Yearly Salary to our Minister, from the Day of the Date of the Calling of such Minister, Yearly and every Year the Respective sum and sums of Money, N. York Currency. as is hereunto specified and to our Names annexed, to be paid quarterly the proportional share and due of the said Yearly Money hereby granted; AND Concerning the other Maintainances that each of us shall and will Yearly and every Year, during the service of said Minister, cut and carry in due season Two Loads of Firewood before the dwelling house of the Minister, and also cut and split the same to pieces, in fire length in the house yard of said Minister, if desired.
>
> And also that we jointly and severally shall and will make, repair, amend, keep up and hold in good order, all the necessary Fences and Buildings upon our Church Land, and to cut, carry and lay up the fence loggs, and to do wilfully all other needful, accidentall works concerning and upon the said Land and Buildings directly on Request, Directions and Command of our said Churchwardens, without delay, neglect or refusal, &c., &c., &c.

To which among the other fifty-seven subscribers, and at the head of the list, appears the name of Hon. Isaac Paris for five pounds sterling, an amount more than double any other subscription attached thereto.

It may be of interest to state that this church was founded about the year 1729, and that the first missionary pastor was the Rev. Johan Jacob Ehle,* who remained in charge until the

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* This Pastor who signed himself John Jacob Oel, was a "Priest in the English Church," the testimonials of which are still in the possession of the family, written upon parchment in Latin and read as follows:

By these presents, We John, by Divine Permission Bishop of London, make known to all persons, that on this 12th day of August A. D. 1722, at the

year 1742, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Johannes Schuyler, under whose pastorate the church was first regularly organized in the year 1743. He officiated until the year 1751, when he was succeeded by the Rev. John A. Wernig, whose ministry terminated in the year 1758, and his successor was the Rev. Abram Rosenkrantz, whose wife was a sister of General Nicholas Herkimer. He remained in charge until the year 1770. The Rev. Mr. Leppins succeeded him, until 1777. Rev. Mr. Kennipe was pastor from 1784 to 1788. The Rev. D. C. A. Peek from 1788 to 1796, and the Rev. Johan Daniel Gross from 1796 to 1802.

The new church was erected in 1788. The old one was burned by the Indians October 20, 1780, as was also the church of the same denomination on the other side of the river, the German Reformed Church at Fort Plain, commonly known as "The Old Sand Hill Church," and from whose burial ground the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris were removed.

These churches were destroyed by the expedition of Sir John Johnson, of tories and Indians, the latter being led by Captain Joseph Brant and John, the Cornplanter.

In this connection we copy the three sections of the agreement for the erection of the Old Palatine Lutheran Church (at Palatine church.)

1. The bowmasters or managers of this church building till finished conveniently, according to the majority of our votes. Peter Waggoner, Andrew Reeber and Christian Nellis, Jr.

2. The respective sums of money hereafter of each of us promised shall be paid, or cause to be paid, unto the said bowmasters, or either of them, on demand to satisfy the costs and expenses of the said building.

3. If in case the said church building, with the appurtenances could not be finished with the money hereby promised: Then we, and each of us, our

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Chapel within our Palace at Fulham, in the County of Middlesex, We, the aforesaid John, Bishop as aforesaid, representing by the help of Almighty God, the Holy Orders, have admitted, and promoted John Jacob Ehle, beloved by us in Christ Jesus, a scholar, abundantly commended to us, as laudable in life, unblemished in morals and virtue, skilled in the knowledge and study of good letters, and sufficiently entitled, and moreover examined and approved, by our own examiner, to the sacred order of Presbyter, according to the custom and rite wisely appointed and provided for in this part of the English Church, and him we did, then and there, ritually and canonically ordain Presbyter.

In testimony whereof, we have caused to be affixed to these presents, the seal of our Episcopate, according to the day and year aforesaid, and in the ninth year of our translation. Signed,

JOHN, LONDON.

heirs and each of our heirs shall and will direct and pay to the same want and use, further a certain sum and sums of money, as much as the substance of each will allow, at such a time when demanded of the said bowmasters.

Following were thirty signatures. Peter Waggoner for fifty pounds; Andrew Reeber, Christian Nellis, Jr., and Hendrick W. Nellis for twenty-five pounds; John Eisenlord, four pounds, and twenty-five other signers, for the total sum of two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

The following is "a copy of the record made of the time and the building of the Lutheran Stone church in Palatine." Erected August 18, 1770. The names of the proprietors and the sums by each paid, are as follows, to wit:

	Paid.		*Paid.*
Peter Waggoner,	£100	Johannis Nellis,	£60
Andrew Reeber,	60	Henry Nellis,	60
William Nellis, Jr.,	60	Christian Nellis,	60
Andrew Nellis,	60	Daniel Nellis,	60
Johannis Hess,	60		

And William Nellis, the father of William, Andrew, Johannis and Henry Nellis, paid for the making of the spire, &c., to the steeple of said church.

I will read a curious copy of a subscription for the compensation of a minister of this church, of a later date:

> "Know all men by these presents, that we the subscribers, am hald and firmly bound unto the said Drusteis of the Lutern Church in Palatine for ever third Sontay to pay him twenty-five pounds currency yearly from the First of September in the year of Our lort 1797, and to Find him the third of the Firewood and likewise the Fansing and twenty skippels of Whead Yearly."

Signed, 47 signatures for money and 15 for "skipels whead" and "loads of wood." £24 14 shillings in money and 17 skipels of wheat and 17 loads of wood were subscribed.

The early history of the Reformed and Lutheran churches of the Mohawk valley and the colonial records bring the histories of such men as Hon. Isaac Paris, Hon. John Frey, Colonel Peter Wagner and others into prominence, proving their familiar intercourse and united action in public affairs. And there is also substantially proved by their earnest efforts and liberal contributions, their great interest in providing suitable structures for public religious worship, and the maintenance of their pastors, or dominies, as familiarly called.

The following records, copied from the family record of the Paris family, is curiously quaint and is of historic interest:

I Isaac Paris and Catharine my wife were joined together in the Holy Bands of Matrimony by the Rev Mr Ehl Minz of the Gospel at Cannajoharry in the County of Albany and Province of New York North America March 28 1758.

Sept 26 1759—Was born my son Peter and was baptised by the Rev Mr Lappius. Sponsors Mr John Thrier and his spouse.

Dec 25 1761—Was born my 2d son Isaac and was baptised the succeeding New Years Day by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Ludwig Feil and spouse.

Febry 7 1766—Was born my daughter Margaret and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Conrad Lepper and spouse.

Dec 17 1767—Was born my 3d son Francis Lewis and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Peter Sutz and spouse.

February 2, 1773—Was born my fourth son, John Daniel, and was baptised by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros; sponsors, the said Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros and his spouse.

August 6, 1777—Isaac Paris and Peter Paris, his son, were slain at Oriskany in an action between General Herkimer, commanding the Tryon county militia and Colonel St. Ledger, commanding the British and Indians.

October 5, 1789—Departed this life Margaret Paris.

March 28, 1790—Departed this life Isaac Paris, the younger.

July 14, 1796—Departed this life Francis Paris.

October 1, 1796—John Daniel Paris* was married to Catharine Irving, daughter of William Irving, of the city of New York and have since died.

Upon the time-worn marble slab in the Paris church yard, brought with the remains of Colonel Paris, is plainly inscribed:

"In memory of Isaac, Margaret and Francis Paris. Erected 1806."

The family of John Daniel Paris are the only known lineal descendants of Hon. Isaac Paris.

The high estimation of the character of Hon. Isaac Paris, was fully shown by the many positions of political and honorable trust conferred upon him by his appreciative friends and neighbors, and his whole life was animated by unswerving love and devotion to the interests of his adopted country, during the most critical period of our revolutionary struggle. His property was freely given for patriotic and religious purposes, and although the minor details of his life are yet unwritten, we plainly read a most noble character, worthy of the kindly appreciation and remembrance of the people of the State of New York.

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*John Daniel Paris was the first County Clerk of Montgomery County, in the year A. D. 1800. Was also State Senator years 1810–11–12–13, and was also a member of the Council of Appointment.

The first meeting of the Committee of Safety for Tryon County, was held August 27, 1774, at the house of Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia. Resolutions were adopted and a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, with Christopher P. Yates, Chairman, and Isaac Paris, Peter Wagner, John Frey, Andrew Fink, Jr., Jacob Klock, Christopher W. Fox, George Ecker, Jr., Andrew Reeber, Daniel McDougle and Anthony Van Fechten.

Hon. Isaac Paris, with his friend and neighbor, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, of Palatine, attended the first general meeting of the committee, held June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert, in the Canajoharie District, near the upper Indian Castle, west of the Howadaga, now Indian Castle creek, and which was the former home of King Hendrick, "the Dreamer," the Indian friend of Sir William Johnson, and afterwards was the residence of Captain Joseph Brant, immediately previous to his leaving the Mohawk valley, for his last residence at Brantford, near Montreal, in Canada. It was about two miles east of the residence of General Herkimer.

Mr. Paris was also elected a delegate to the second and third Provincial Congress, held in the City of New York, in the years 1775-6-1776, and also to the fourth Congress and Representative Convention for the years 1776-7.

Ebenezer Cox, Chairman *pro tem.* of the Tryon County Committee, writes November 7, 1775: "That John Moore and Isaac Paris were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress, Mr. Moore being re-elected and Mr. Paris a new member."

Another letter, dated Fishkill, October 24, 1776, (10 o'clock at night,) from John McKesson, Clerk of the Provincial Congress,) was addressed to General Ten Broeck, James Duane and Isaac Paris and other Esquires. (This was the General Committee of Safety, at Albany.)

And a letter respecting Militia Fines, signed Isaac Paris, Chairman, and addressed to the honorable convention of New York, at Fishkill, was dated "Tryon County Committee, January 22, 1777."

He was also elected a member of the first State Senate, held at Kingston, under the constitution of 1777, representing the western district, or the Counties of Albany, Tryon and Ontario.

The culmination of the sacrifices made by this noble and patriotic man for the country of his adoption, was to leave all his family and worldly interests in the charge and keeping of his second son, Isaac, and without a demand for any official rank or position, with

his clerk, Major John Eisenlord, and his elder son, Peter Paris, join the forces of General Herkimer as volunteers in the march to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The two latter were killed at Oriskany, and the Hon. Isaac Paris was taken a prisoner by the enemy on the retreat to Oneida Lake towards Canada. In the memoir of Moses Younglove, surgeon of General Herkimer's brigade, (copied from his original deposition, which is still preserved in the office of the Secretary of State,) is the following:

> That Isaac Paris, Esquire, was also taken the same road without receiving from them any remarkable insult, except stripping, until some Tories came up who kicked and abused him, after which the savages, thinking him a notable offender, murdered him most barbarously.

Of such noble and patriotic parentage and surrounded by the highest examples of devotion and love of country, was the more particular subject of the event we commemorate, Colonel Isaac Paris, who at the death of his father and brother assumed charge of their large interests in the Mohawk valley. His father had purchased in the year 1738 the lands and stone mansion at Fort Plain, built by Lieutenant Governor George Clarke, which building was subsequently demolished on account of its reputation of being haunted, and of its materials a tannery was constructed by Dr. Joshua Webster and Jonathan Stickney, of that village.

Colonel Paris removed from the former residence of his father in Stone Arabia to his lands at Fort Plain about the year 1787, and erected a large mansion and trading post upon the rising ground at the southerly part of the village. Near this building he erected a grist-mill upon the Otsquago creek. It was located about seventy-five feet westerly from the site of the present mill, near the bridge crossing the creek upon the old road from Fort Plain to Cooperstown. This mansion, or "castle" as it is sometimes called, was situated near the Otsquago creek, about half a mile westerly of the great Central Mohawk Indian castle called Tah-ragh-jo-res, from which the Ko-nosh-i-o-ni, or Five Nations, sallied forth upon their predatory expedition to Canada in the year 1762. It was situated upon the great Indian trail to the Susquehanna and Pennsylvania. Following this trail down the creek about three miles to its junction with the Otstongo creek, is located the ancient fortress of the primitive Indians, upon what is now known as Indian Hill, where most interesting relics of primitive construction have been discovered by antiquarians and archaeologists and the position of the entrance to the fortress is still easily

to be observed. It has an historic fame among the ancient monuments of America, and for those interested in pre-historic history is well worthy a visit.

The house of Colonel Paris is said to have received as guests many persons distinguished in the historic public events of those times, and among them we note the Indian chief, Captain Joseph Brant, or Thay-en-dan-egea, and his friend, the famous John The Corn-planter, or Gy-ant-wah-chia, whose father, John Abeel, the Indian trader, lived about half a mile northwesterly, near the old fort and not far from the old Sand Hill (Reformed) Church. Colonel Marinus Willett, it is said, when stationed at this fort, married, for his second wife, a daughter of John Abeel. He was also mentioned as a visitor, and also Baron Steuben. This property of Colonel Paris was afterwards sold to Jost Driesback, who was a trumpeter at the battle of Saratoga under Burgoyne. Jost was the father of Herr Jacob Driesback, the famous lion-tamer, who was born in the Paris mansion. During the latter's "professional" visits to Fort Plain, he always called upon Dr. Webster, his father's family physician, together with others of his early friends and acquaintances. Jost sold the property in the year 1805 to Joseph Wagner, the son of Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, the friend and coadjutor of Colonel Paris, and who had been associated with him in many public trusts, and was also with him at the battle of Oriskany, accompanied by two of his sons.

The old Paris mansion is still standing and in a fair state of preservation; but the grist mill was long since demolished.

The latter was the partial source of the supply so freely and benevolently furnished to the early settlers of this town, by Colonel Isaac Paris. The following extract from the Annals of Oneida County, written by Hon. Pomroy Jones, and published in 1851, is worthy a place in the memory of each resident of the County of Oneida. Although frequently heretofore published, no apology is needed for its reappearance in this connection.

"The summer of 1789 was, in one respect, more trying to the settlers than its predecessors. Famine with all its horrors was upon them. The crops of the previous year were insufficient for their own wants, and those of the daily increasing emigrants. The hoarded little stock of flour, and their last year's crop of potatoes were consumed, and the corn and meal were nearly exhausted, while the forthcoming crop was not matured. At planting time such were their straits and their care to husband their limited supply, that the eyes of the potatoes were cut out for planting, and the remainder carefully preserved for the table.

To slaughter their few cattle would be at once to destroy their future prospects, and nothing but the last extremity could have induced them to do so. Money was almost out of the question, and it is believed that if they had been compelled to contribute their all; not enough could have been found to purchase a barrel of flour, even at present prices.

The forests were searched for ground nuts and leeks, the fishing rod put in requisition, and most fortunate was the hunter who succeeded in securing a bear or her cubs, to aid in their extremity. Notwithstanding, children cried for food, and strong men put themselves on a stinted allowance, that the more helpless might be fed. All this did not suffice; something further must be done.

A small party was sent to Fort Plain, Montgomery County, to see if supplies could not there be obtained. At that place resided a large farmer and miller, named Isaac Paris, and to him imploringly they appealed. He responded most liberally; and with a promptness which did honor to his heart, he loaded a small flat boat with flour and meal, and sent it up the Mohawk to the mouth of the Oriskany. Here it was met by a party of the settlers, transhipped into a log canoe of their own construction, and from thence, with the aid of setting poles, paddles and ropes, this "ark of plenty" was taken up the creek as far as the site of the bridge upon the Lairdsville road, and from this landing it was transported in carts, to the settlement. Language is too feeble to describe the rejoicings upon arrival of this timely supply of breadstuffs. Clinton has never before or since witnessed such an overflow of gratitude.

The settlers did not go to Mr. Paris as beggars. Silver and gold had they none; but they had industry and strong hands and arms, and they agreed to pay for the meal and flour in ginseng, to be delivered the next fall. This root, in the early days of Oneida, was a considerable article in commerce. Although our cattle have almost extirpated it from our forests, it was, at that early day, found in great abundance. It was shipped to those countries afflicted with the plague, where it was for a long time considered the best antidote against that disease. In 1792, a new town, including Clinton, was formed from Whitestown, and in gratitude to their benefactor, the name of Paris was given it. The original town of Paris has since been divided, and the town of Kirkland, including Clinton taken from it.

At this time such is the veneration of the name of Paris, that many of the descendants of those who enjoyed his beneficence, although rightfully proud of the name of Kirkland, regret that the name of Paris had not been retained by that portion of the original town, including Clinton."

Colonel Paris was undoubtedly a young man of recognized force of character and intellectual culture, for we find him sent by his constituents to the Assembly, as a member from Tryon County, when he attained the age of but twenty-three years, in the year 1784, and when that county became obsolete, April 2, 1784, he was returned a member from Montgomery County, at the sessions of 1784–5, and 1788.

As heretofore noted, Colonel Paris was born on Christmas day, in the year 1761, and was baptised on the New Year's day follow-

ing—an auspicious birthday for a man whose benevolent action has endeared his memory to the people of this town and the county in which it is located. His life closed in the year 1790, at the age of but twenty-nine years. He died leaving an honorable name, which will be justly handed down for the veneration and grateful memory of your posterity.

"I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, write, from henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

On leaving the church the assemblage gathered under the shade of the beautiful trees in front of St. Paul's church, where a platform had been erected and seats provided. On the platform were the clergymen, orators, distinguished citizens of the town and invited guests. The assemblage in front of the stage was large and respectable.

Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, president of the day, opened the exercises.

MR. ROUSE'S ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

We are assembled on this occasion, not to participate in any festival, or for the purpose of any jubilee. Neither are we assembled to celebrate the anniversary of any important era in either the political or civil history of the nation, or of our own locality. The occasion on which we are assembled partakes much more strongly of a serious, or indeed, of a solemn, than of a festive character. We are assembled to show our veneration for the memory, and our consequent respect for the remains of one who furnished to the pioneer settlers of the old town of Paris, the most tangible evidence of his exalted character, not only for humanity of feeling, but for genuine christian charity and benevolence, by ministering to their necessities in the time of their sorest need.

Let us, before proceeding further, premise by saying that we disclaim any intention of giving any sectarian or denominational religious aspect to our proceedings on this occasion. On the contrary we have studiously sought to avoid so doing, for we do not understand that Isaac Paris, in his religious preferences, could be claimed as affiliating very closely with any one of the several re-

ligious denominations, originally established, or now having organization within the limits of the old town which adopted his name. Being of German descent, he is understood to have affiliated more directly with a majority of the German emigrants and their descendants living in his vicinity, at Fort Plain. But, judging from his character, we believe that he would have preferred that some sort of religious exercises should be had on any and every occasion connected with his obsequies.

Neither let it for a moment be supposed that we have any political object in view, for in this regard, we only know that Isaac Paris was a true patriot, and of a patriotic race, for his father and elder brother both laid down their lives fighting for the liberties of their country in 1777.

It is not the purpose of your speaker, on this occasion, to aim at any lofty flights of eloquence, nor to attempt any high eulogium upon the character and merits of him whose remains we are met to reinter; nor even to give a sketch of his biography, except incidentally—for one better prepared has already favored us in that regard. But we shall endeavor to narrate to you a brief, plain and simple statement of facts connected with the early history of the old town of Paris, and to show the connection that Colonel Paris had with that early history—a statement of facts, which from their frequent reiteration, may, perchance, be considered by some as having become somewhat hackneyed and stale, but by others as being eminently worthy to be kept in lasting remembrance by frequent repetition.

THE OLD TOWN OF PARIS.

It is a well-established fact, that the first permanent white settlement in Oneida county was commenced at Whitestown in the early summer of 1784, by Judge Hugh White and his five sons, Daniel C., Joseph, Hugh, Ansel and Philo. He had also three daughters—Rachel, Aurelia and Polly. We will not stop to inquire why he, a man fifty-one years of age, at an age when the ardor and restlessness of youth may be supposed to have, in some degree, subsided—why he should decide to emigrate, with his young family, from old Middletown, on the Connecticut river, so immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, and locate in the unbroken wilderness of this far west, so far from any white settlement and in such close proximity to the untutored and dreaded Indians, many of whom had recently been so hostile. It seems to us passing

strange. Suffice it for us to know that he came and that he effected a permanent settlement, and becoming the owner of a tract of 1,500 acres of most valuable land, he gave his name to a town, which in its extent of territory exceeded that of the present entire county of Oneida, including, among the rest, the whole of what subsequently became the old town of Paris and extended almost indefinitely to the west. Indeed all the country now designated as central New York was for many years known at the east as the "Whitestown country," and was supposed to be the "El Dorado" of the west as the "Genesee country" afterwards was deemed the *Ultima Thule*, all west of that being the *Terra Incognita*, or the unknown land. The fame of the "Whitestown country" soon reached the east, and in 1785 the first clearing to the extent of half an acre of land, was made near the foot of what is now Genesee street, Utica, and in 1786 that settlement contained three log houses. In the following year, 1787, Moses Foot and his three sons, Bronson, Ira and Luther with his son-in-law, Barnabas Pond, and his friends, James Bronson, Luther Blodgett, and Levi Sherman, commenced a settlement near the Oriskany creek, where the village of Clinton, now stands. This was the first settlement made in the territory which originally adopted the name of the town of Paris. A document which was executed soon after this settlement was begun, shows that the place was at first designated as "Coxeborough, in Montgomery county and State of New York." It was, of course, in Whitestown at that time, although the name of the town does not appear in the document. In the following year, 1788, a settlement was commenced in New Hartford, by Jedediah Sanger and others, and during the same season, the settlement at Coxeborough now Clinton, was increased by the addition of about twenty families.

THE PRESENT TOWN.

Early in the spring of 1789 the first settlement of what is now the town of Paris was commenced, about one mile northeasterly from where we are now assembled, by Captain Rice, on the farm now owned by Colonel I. L. Addington. He was followed about the 20th of March of the same season by Benjamin Barnes, Benjamin Barnes, Jr., and John Humaston. This was the commencement of what was known as the South Settlement. In the fall of the same year, Phineas Kellogg came on and built a log house, further to the east, in the vicinity of Sauquoit, or Se-dagh-qua-da, as the Indians then called it. In March, 1790, John Butler,

Sylvester Butler, Asa Shepard and Joseph Plumb came on and located in the same vicinity. Others followed in 1791, and soon after the tide of immigration seemed to turn toward the "Brothertown tract," now in the town of Marshall, and being the southwestern portion of the old town of Paris. The first settler in what was called "Hanover Settlement," now in the town of Marshall, was David Barton, soon followed by Warren Williams, Rev. Hezekiah Eastman, Stephen Barrett, Levi Barker, Captain Simon Hubbard, and the three brothers, Abel, Adam and Aaron Simmons. The first white child born in what is now known as the town of Marshall, was Lester Barker, afterwards known as Colonel Barker, who afterwards removed to Clinton, where he died. The only instance I have been able to find in which a son of one of these original settlers of the old town of Paris has continued to reside on the same premises where his father first located, in the latter part of the last century—thus connecting the past with the present—is that of Marinus Hubbard, living on the road to Waterville, about midway from this place, now at the age of eighty-six, and son of the Captain Simon Hubbard heretofore mentioned as one of our first settlers.

Colonel Paris and Paris.

We have thus reviewed, as succinctly as we were able, the history of the first settlement of the old town of Paris. Let us now explain, as briefly as may be practicable, the connection which Colonel Isaac Paris had with that history, and why we meet, on this occasion, to do honor to his memory. The first pioneers in the town, consisting, as we have seen, of eight families, had enough to do, in the then unbroken wilderness, to provide shelter for their families and the necessary food to sustain life, without accumulating any great surplus for the future. They eked out their subsistence by occasional resorts to the forest and the stream, but added little to any permanent store. The influx of emigration in 1788, as we have seen, quadrupled the population, and their united exertions were insufficient to remove the heavily-timbered forests, clear the land and prepare it in season to cultivate crops sufficient to supply fodder for all. True, an occasional meal of fish assisted, and now and then a rich bearsteak was considered as a God-send. But they found the latter was fully overbalanced by the extreme fondness of the bears for green corn and young pigs, thus too often blasting their anticipations. Although they laid in a good

supply of ground nuts and leeks from the forest, they found their scanty stores rapidly diminishing, so that when planting time came in the spring of 1789, they carefully cut out the eyes of the potatoes for planting, thus reserving the bulk of the tubers for food. For breadstuff they were obliged to resort to the primitive Indian method of using the hominy block, or if fine meal was wanted, to back the grist seven miles through the forest to the nearest mill, which had just been erected at Whitestown. But soon their supply of corn failed them, and they could not wait for their growing crops to mature. The children began to cry for bread, and something must be done to avert starvation. A deputation was accordingly appointed to go, on foot, to the German Flatts, now in Herkimer county, which, although it had been much longer settled, had suffered greatly during the Revolutionary war. The deputation had no money to offer, and could only pledge their credit for the future payment. The cautious German settlers, although sympathizing in their distress, did not deem the security sufficient from those whom they looked upon with suspicion as only a parcel of "treacherous Yankees." Despondent in feeling at their want of success, where they most hoped for it, the deputation passed on to Fort Plain, on the opposite side of the river, where it would seem Providence directed them to a young man, then only twenty-eight years of age, variously termed a farmer, a miller and a merchant, but, as he was a man of means, he probably combined all those branches of business. To him they told their sorrowful tale, and his kind heart at once melted. He answered them that they must have help. But they, recollecting their recent repulse, frankly told him, "Silver and gold have we none, but such as we have we will give unto thee—when we can get it." His prompt answer was, "No matter about the pay. Your women and children must not be permitted to starve. Take what you need to feed them, and if, at any time in the future, you are able to pay for it, it will be well. If you are never able it will also be well, but your families must not be allowed to starve." With the greatest dispatch he proceeded to load a batteau, or flat boat, with flour, meal, and meat, for the needy settlers, and with light hearts and joyous feelings, the deputation eagerly assisted with the use of setting poles, in propelling the boat up the stream to the mouth of the Oriskany creek, where one of their number had already notified the settlers to meet them with canoes of their own construction, and thus they conveyed the provisions up to a point near where the Clinton factory now stands, from whence they were

removed to the settlement with an ox team and distributed among the hungry people. It should be mentioned that it was subsequently agreed and insisted upon by the settlers that the debt for the provisions might and should be paid in the root of the wild ginseng, which at that early day grew abundantly in the forests, and which, from its supposed rare medicinal virtues, was in great demand for exportation to European ports not only, but even to China, where it was considered more valuable than gold. The women and children of the settlement at once set themselves to work to scour the forest and search with avidity for the precious root, and to their credit, be it said, that within a short time a sufficient quantity of it was gathered to liquidate the entire debt.

Within one short year thereafter, the settlers were pained to hear that their kind benefactor had been removed from earth, and called to his last accounting of his stewardship. This was in the year 1790, at his early age of twenty-nine years. But though dead he was not forgotten by those whom he had so kindly befriended. Two years after, in 1792, the settlement had been so much increased, that a separate town organization was applied for and granted, embracing within its limits all of the southern portion of Whitestown.

Named After Its Benefactor.

When the citizens came together to consult and agree on a name for their new township, it was found that they were substantially unanimous in their preference for the name of their deceased benefactor, and Paris became the name of the new organization. Let it be ever perpetuated! I have found that many persons, outside of the place, err greatly as to the origin of the name, supposing it to have been adopted from that of the chief city of France. This mistake is an innocent one for him who has observed how prone are the citizens of our different localities to endeavor to give a sort of factitious importance for these localities, by giving to them either high-sounding, classical names, or the more modern names of foreign cities or places of importance. Thus we have gained a modern Troy, an Ilion, a Utica, a Rome, a Syracuse and an Ithaca. Thus we have also a New England, a New Scotland, a New York, a New London, a New Berlin, a New Brunswick, a New Hamburg and a New Lisbon, besides a multitude of others, which omit the prefix. But the early settlers of the old town of Paris, and their descendants, seem to have acted on a different principle in their selection of names for their several localities, to wit: a laudable

desire to perpetuate the name of some worthy individual. Thus Paris and Kirkland and Marshall gained their names, with Whitestown on the north and Sangerfield on the south. Thus Hamilton College gained its name from the eminent statesman who was among its first trustees and patrons. Thus Clinton gained its name from Governor George Clinton, who, at one time, in company with General Washington, owned real estate in sight of the village and in its vicinity. Thus, while Kirkland has her Clinton and her Franklin, Paris has her Clayville and her Cassville, Marshall has her Deansville and her Dicksville.

It may very naturally be asked, why have the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris been exhumed, and why are they brought hither for reinterment? To these questions we reply, to the first, that at the time of his death, less care and attention and forethought was given to the selection of burial places while the country was new, than there is at present. In consequence, new cemeteries have often been located. In process of time, it seemed necessary to renew the place of burial at Fort Plain, where he and others of his day were buried. It was deemed desirable, therefore, that the remains buried there should be removed to some other place, lest all vestiges of their place of deposit should become obliterated and forgotten. The grave of Isaac Paris was found among the number. The idea occurred to some thoughtful persons that it would be a fitting thing to offer those remains to the citizens of Paris, to be deposited within the limits of the town which bears his name. His only surviving kindred consenting, the offer was accepted, and the act of re-burial is now about to be consummated. But why bury them here? In answer, we say, it seemed desirable that the place of deposit should be at some point as near as practicable to the center of the old town to which his name was originally given. It seemed fitting that his remains should be deposited within the limits of the town which still bears, and in all human probability will continue to bear his name. It seemed fitting that their final resting place should be in the village which aids in perpetuating his memory, not only by its own name, but by the name which its post office has always borne: the suffix Hill being no part of the proper name, but merely a surplusage, added by outsiders, to distinguish between the village and the town. As to why we have selected a particular location, we answer, that it appeared to the committee having the matter in charge, to be the most eligible one obtainable. Had Colonel Paris been the donor of the public green to the public, then, perhaps,

there might have been a sort of propriety in depositing his remains on that ground. But that ground was given to the public by another and for a specific purpose, by the terms of the conveyance, and to appropriate it, or any portion of it, to cemetery purposes, might, perchance, vitiate the title, of the validity of which we do not feel called upon now to speak. From what we can learn of Colonel Paris, we feel assured that his preference would have been that his remains should be deposited in grounds specially set apart and consecrated for burial purposes, where they would be under the constant care of some organized corporation, and not deposited on common or public grounds, under the special charge of nobody in particular, and liable to be again disturbed in the future. With the subject of a monument to the deceased, its fashion or its cost, or the place of its location, the committee claims no special powers, its duties ceasing with the interment. But let us hope that those honored remains will ever hereafter be permitted to rest in peace, until the last great trumpet shall sound, and until the archangel shall appear, and proclaim that Time shall be no more, and until the earth and the sea shall be required to yield up their dead.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR EDWARD NORTH.

The true American rejoices in whatsoever tends to dethrone the old world's heresy, that republican communities are ungrateful. It satisfies our idea of the fitness of things and our sense of gratitude that the bones of Isaac Paris should finally rest in the soil of Paris Hill. So it satisfied the Greek idea of national gratitude that the bones of Theseus, their hero king, should be welcomed home from Scyros with a grand dramatic festival, and be reburied in the heart of Athens, that

> "Dear city of man without master or lord,
> Fair fortress and fostress of sons born free,
> A wonder enthroned on the hills and the sea."

It is true, as has been already stated, that the timely supplies sent by Isaac Paris ninety-one years ago, were received by pioneers who had built their log-cabins in the valley six miles below, near the banks of the Oriskany. Could the votes of these pioneers of Clinton be taken to-day, with the votes of their descendants—the Benedicts, the Blanchards, the Blodgets, the Brockways, the Bristols, the Bronsons, the Bulleins, the Butlers, the Carpenters, the Casseteys, the Cooks, the Curtises, the Deweys, the Foots, the

Gleasons, the Gridleys, the Hubbards, the Kirklands, the Langfords, the Marshes, the Millards, the Nortons, the Ponds, the Sandfords, the Shermans, the Stebbinses, the Tuttles—could the voices of these numerous living and far-scattered descendants be telephoned to us this afternoon, it need not be doubted they would decide that the bones of Isaac Paris should sleep with those who have loyally and gratefully clung to the name of their early benefactor. Let him sleep, they might say, where his monument can look down upon the valley and the Oriskany, even as

"The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea."

The town of Kirkland is not grasping and not unreasonable. It had another benefactor in the far-seeing, great-hearted missionary who created a larger local indebtedness and placed his name with those the world will not willingly let die, by planting a college fortress for "the kingdom of the Blessed Redeemer" on the opposite hillside. This child of prayer and faith has proved to be not only a fountain of intelligence and culture, but a magnet for drawing in good families and perennial income from surrounding counties. Whatever of distinction and interest Paris Hill may gain from the historic grave that is covered to-day and the historic monument that ought to attract many pilgrims in future years, the town of Kirkland will make no envious or unfraternal complaint. In fact, Kirkland has taken time by the forelock and achieved its satisfaction in advance, through its inveterate habit of recruiting its population from the best blood of Paris Hill. Like many other rural districts, to which the latest census is a rhymeless elegy, Paris Hill has been a *nutrix leonum*, a prolific nursery of heroes for the battles of business, of enterprise and professional skill.

Not content with seeing the conflicts at a safe distance, after buckling their armor on, the sons of Paris Hill have slipped down into the waiting valleys by a law of gravitation for which the town of Kirkland can not be held accountable. No sooner was Kirkland organized into a separate township, than it began to receive volunteer recruits from its eastern neighborhood. Henry McNiel and Theophilus Steele—both men of the Puritan type and granite integrity—set an example that was afterwards followed by others equally worthy. Other villages and distant cities have had stout reinforcements from the same prolific mother. The good names of Handy and Head and Bartlett have taught the

world how wealth honestly won can be wisely and generously used. Yes, we of the Oriskany valley and the hillside beyond are deeply in debt to Paris Hill. We would return thanks for the morning sunlight, both physical and social, that comes to us from our unselfish neighbor. Were we only Greeks, we might easily coax our Homer into singing of "rosy-fingered Aurora, daughter of Paris Hill." The thousands of jocund daybreaks that have greeted us from our near eastern horizon, the cherished memories that run to and fro along "the old Line of Property," the hallowed graves of our common ancestry, are ties of sympathy "stronger than hooks of steel," and we heartily rejoice in the new bond that henceforth holds us in still closer attachment and fellowship.

We are not here this Friday afternoon to receive Sabbath instruction, but there is a sermon for us, full of tenderest teaching, in the simple act of generosity and trust that makes the bones of Isaac Paris a priceless deposit in the soil ennobled by his name. This sermon, soon to be a century old, repeats the voice of that older, diviner sermon on the mount, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." The name of Isaac Paris comes to us as that of a square-dealing, kindly farmer and miller, whose father and brother had given their lives to their country on the Oriskany battle-field. To him the Oriskany was another Acheron, "a woeful river." Possibly that cry of distress from dwellers on the banks of the Oriskany, so soon after his father's and brother's death, came to him like a voice from eternity, with a pathos even deeper than that one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin. Call it a shrewd business transaction if you will, an exchange of meal for ginseng, it was the shrewdness of one who lends to the Lord, by lending without any earthly security to distant suffering strangers.

Isaac Paris was not an ambitious man, yet he is laureled to-day with spontaneous homage which thousands have selfishly toiled for and died without winning. It is not true that the good men do "is oft interred with their bones." God never permits that a good deed or a kind word should be wasted. On this golden afternoon in October, when the "valleys are covered over with corn and the paths drop fatness," we are all conscious of having larger, warmer hearts to-day, because we feel the sweet, soft sunshine of a remembered charity that brought joy to our starving pioneers ninety-one years ago.

When the time comes to erect a monument over the grave of Isaac Paris—whether it be this year, or next year, or in 1889—there will be cheerful contributions from hill-top and valley. And when the monument is ready for its inscription, what better can be found, outside of Holy Writ, than to copy from England's greatest poet:

"The quality of mercy is not strained.
It falleth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath. It is twice blest,
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

One good deed often gives inspiration for another. After this day's memorial has been completed, an effort should be made to find the lost grave of Rev. Samson Occum, whose fame as a fervid Indian preacher lives in the early history and traditions of Oneida county. It is recorded that in 1786, one year before the first white emigrants settled in Clinton, Samson Occum, like another Moses, led out a colony of Indians from New England and Long Island, and found a new home for them on the banks of the Oriskany, within what is now the town of Marshall. Here they lived for half a century or more, until they were transferred to Green Bay, under the direction of Thomas Dean, of Deansville.

The story of Samson Occum's life has never been fully written. Born near Norwich, Conn., in 1723, educated in Dr. Wheelock's Indian school in New Lebanon, Conn., he was ordained as a preacher by the Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island, in 1759. He spent eighteen months in England, where he preached over three hundred sermons, and collected £10,000 for the schooling of American Indians. King George III was so delighted with one of the Indian orator's sermons that he gave him a library and a gold-headed cane. He was a poet as well as an orator and a leader. One of his hymns, to be found in Hasting's Church Melodies,

"Awaked by Sinai's awful sound,"

is often sung by church choirs, without a thought of its Indian origin.

I am indebted to a grandson of one of Clinton's pioneers, Dr. Asabel Norton Brockway, of New York, for a letter which Rev. Samson Occum sent home to his two daughters, while he was in England. It seems to be an Indian father's playful effort to interest a pair of little girls.

> "*My Dear Mary and Esther:*
>
> Perhaps you may query whether I am well. I came from home well, was by the way well, got over well, am received at London well, and am treated extremely well—yea, I am caressed too well. And do you pray that I may be well, and that I may do well, and in time return home well. And I hope you are well, and wish you well, and as I think you began well, so keep on well, that you may end well, and then all will be well. And so farewell.
>
> SAMSON OCCUM."

The style of this letter ought not to be severely criticised. It was not written for publication or for a memorial service. It is a noticeable fact that Samson Occum died in 1792, the year in which the township of Paris was taken from Whitestown, and organized under its present name. The place of his burial can not now be told. Rev. A. D. Gridley's history of Kirkland states that Samson Occum died in Stockbridge, in July, 1792, but says nothing of the place of burial. Judge Jones has reasons for thinking that he died and was buried in the Indian orchard, in Vernon, on land formerly owned by Hendrick Smith, a half-civilized Indian, who removed to Green Bay.

Others remembering how closely his life was linked with the Brothertown Indians, suppose that he sleeps in Deansville, in one of those unmarked and neglected Indian graves, which "implore the passing tribute of a sigh." There has been sad neglect somewhere. Other researches remain for ex-Mayor Hutchinson and the Oneida Historical Society. Schenandoa has his monument near to that of his christian teacher, in the college cemetery, and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm so apparent in this day's exercises, will keep itself alive and at work, until a permanent inscription, in granite or marble, rescues from dumb forgetfulness, not only the last resting-place of Isaac Paris, but also that of his companion in our county's early history, Rev. Samson Occum.

HON. THEODORE W. DWIGHT'S ADDRESS.

Whitestown, Kirkland, Clinton, Hamilton and Paris! These are some of the names that characterize the subduing and civilizing influence of man, in one of the finest agricultural regions in the world. The early settlers in this region had the judgment and good sense permanently to stamp these picturesque hills and smiling valleys with the names of the most eminent citizens of their own locality and State. They did not go to Africa, searching in its broad morasses for a buried Utica; they did not look to Italy,

to borrow, ludicrously, the names of its Rome and Verona, nor delve in Sicily, for an extinct Syracuse. Instead of all this, they chose their representative men, each showing forth in his own special way, the vigor and beauty of the highest type of their life; Kirkland symbolizing their aggressive faith and civilizing zeal, Clinton and Hamilton their assured hope for the stability of their political institutions and their coming glory, White their force as leading the great army of pioneers still moving in endless procession, and Paris representing their christian charity. Thus are we championed; there still abideth among us, faith, hope and charity. Kirkland was indeed a wonderful man, and made a great impression on his contemporaries. Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, said of him, in a public letter in 1768, while Kirkland was yet a young man, "that for three years past, with indefatigable industry and sometimes at the peril of his life, he has been propagating the christian faith among the tribes of the Six Nations." We all know how, in later life, his views widened so as to embrace the education and culture of our entire population. Of Paris, I know but little. I imagine him to have been an earlier Peter Cooper, with flowing locks and benevolent countenance and guileless disposition, successful as a merchant, and at the same time with open hand distributing his gains for the public good. His act of kindness that we celebrate to-day, though like a farthing light in the great blaze of charity that now illuminates the world, is of a warm and penetrating beam.

"How far this little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

But good Mr. Paris did not intend to pauperize the objects of his benevolence. He knew that a dependence by them on the gifts of the charitable would be the ruin of all manly and honest endeavor. Accordingly, he made them stipulate that they should pay him the next year in ginseng root, and I presume he received his compensation in overflowing measure.

A lesson can be learned from the traffic in this root, and from its influence on the Indians and the early settlers. Jonathan Edwards, the elder, the great theologian, who essayed to unravel the mysteries of the human will and to analyze and combine the persons of the divine Trinity, had another and more lovable side to his character. He was a zealous missionary to the Indian tribes, and though laboring among the Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts, he knew well what affected them all and their

interests in this part of the country. He particularly deprecated the effect of the search for "ginseng," upon the Six Nations. Writing in 1752, he says: "Some things have happened which have much prejudiced the cause of religion among the Indians, and among other things, the discovery of the famous tartarian root called 'ginseng,' which was found in our woods last summer, and is since found in the woods in many of these western parts of New England and in the country of the Six Nations. The traders in Albany have been eager to purchase all that they could of this root to send to England, where they make great profit by it. This has occasioned our Indians of all sorts, young and old, to spend abundance of time in wandering about the woods and sometimes to a great distance, in the neglect of public worship *and of their husbandry*, and also in going much to Albany to sell their roots, (*which proves worse to them than their going into the woods,*) where they are always much in the way of temptation and drunkenness, especially when they have money in their pockets." It is a relief to know that the early Albanians allowed no penniless Indians to get drunk. Edwards adds: "The consequence has been that many of them have laid out their money which they have got for their roots of ginseng for rum, wherewith they have intoxicated themselves." Other sources of information disclose that the Brothertown Indians united with the Oneidas in the search for ginseng, collecting 1,000 bushels annually, at $2 per bushel, and that the harvest was commonly followed by quarreling and sometimes by murder, particularly among the Oneidas. All of these results could not have happened to the Indians without affecting the white men. May not the "neglect of husbandry," to which Edwards alludes, in 1752, have been to a certain extent the cause of the famine which Mr. Paris relieved? The search for ginseng clearly produced a powerful effect on the habits of the people, an effect which long lingered in these valleys. I can well remember, as a boy in Kirkland, that this root was pointed out to me, and its great commercial value extolled. Though purchased by English traders, it was solely used by the Chinese, who make some seventy useless and probably pernicious preparations from it. The ginseng in these valleys is now forgotten, being displaced by the hop, the grape vine and the corn. The American people, for the most part, have lost all taste for irregular industry, and only tolerate such work as mining, when its operations are guided by the hand of science. In the early days of our history, the missionaries steadily set their faces against intermittent labor. They also did not allow their parishioners to mix rum with their religion,

but required them to accept it free from every sort of adulteration. The good effects of these principles are still visible throughout our society.

The people who founded our local institutions were from the beginning friends of order and desired to lay the social foundations in a strong and lasting manner. These qualities were exhibited in a marked way in the first settlement of a minister, Rev. Dan Bradley, in 1792, in Whitestown, once embracing this town of Paris. This clergyman was settled over the Whitestown church by proxy or representation, a committee having proceeded to Hampden, Conn., to act for the congregation and to listen to an excellent installation sermon from Jonathan Edwards, the younger, subsequently president of Union College, but then the pastor of a church at New Haven. He compliments them as the first of all in that new country who have formed themselves into a regular church and society. With prophetic vision he cries out that very few ministers in the United States are placed in a sphere of so great usefulness as their pastor,—few called to such strenuous exertions. He exhorts them to liberality, strict discipline and to an intense interest in a sound education for their children. It would be interesting to know who composed the committee to take this long and tiresome journey, simply to comply with an accustomed form and for due observance of seemly church order. After all, it matters not, for a like spirit has pervaded the whole region from the beginning until now. A careful observer wrote about seventy years ago of the inhabitants of the town of Paris in this wise: "The inhabitants are industrious, sober, orderly and prosperous." On this love of order they have built all their institutions, civil and religious. There is a marked steadiness in this our civilization, only one change being visible, that of onward movement and regular progress.

Citizens of Paris: You have done well to institute this celebration in honor of the man who set so fruitful an example to us all. True, it is not likely that any one will need to be stimulated by his conduct to save his immediate neighbors from famine; our resources being so varied and manifold. But neighborhood is now very large, and our fellow-men, if not our fellow-citizens need succor in a variety of forms. The little boat drawn painfully up the scantily flowing Oriskany by willing hands is the forerunner of mighty ships freighted with grain and other articles of food, while the Oriskany itself has expanded into the Shannon, the Danube and the Ganges, with famishing men within their shores stretching out their hands to receive gratuitously our life-sustaining products. Charity has been dignified by becoming a national act. Differences

in religious creeds have faded out in the mellow and uniform glow of an all-pervading philanthrophy. We can not credit all this to Mr. Paris. Still he performed his part well in the beneficent work of life and we may safely imitate him. We can not all follow closely after great men, but we can all walk abreast with charitable men. Each of us can join the white-robed procession though he have at command only the two mites that make a farthing. You have therefore done well in recalling Mr. Paris to the memory of the busy men of our time, in getting the seal of your approbation upon his act, in placing him high on the list of your local worthies and in making a beautiful and simple charitable deed a matter of public commemoration. The citizens of Oneida county are to be congratulated on their growing interest in their local history. They are also fortunate in the fact that so many noble and eminent men have lived and worked among them who have performed acts and possessed characters worthy to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

It was the policy of the earlier nations to build sepulchral monuments along frequented avenues. The dead thronged the streets almost as when alive. The living could not depart from home without looking into the marble faces of the dead and recalling their virtues.

We in the United States have pursued a widely different course. Our sepulchral memorials are scattered far apart on hills, in valleys, and sequestered nooks, awaiting the visit of the admirer, the antiquarian or the passing traveler. Thus it happens that Kirkland is at rest upon one of these hills, Paris upon another, while White sleeps in the valley, which he was the first to explore. Will we not at some future day combine these thoughts by erecting in the principal city of our county fit statues as memorials of the men to whom we owe so much, each exemplifying the special trait of character or mode of action which made him useful to his generation and makes him famous with posterity?

HON. SAMUEL EARL'S REMARKS.

Ladies and Gentlemen and Citizens of the Town:

I can not imagine why I am called upon to address you. I came to be a spectator of what was to be done and to hear what was said. I am glad that I have been permitted to listen to the remarks, and shall remember them with pleasure. I have heard much I never knew before of the history of Isaac Paris, the noble bene-

factor of the people of this town. I do not know why I am called upon, unless it is that I belong to Herkimer county to which this county once belonged. You have heard what has been said in reference to Isaac Paris. You have been told that the people of this section had to go to Fort Plain, to get sustenance there. In doing so they were obliged to pass the German settlements around Fort Herkimer. I will tell you why it was necessary that they should pass the Germans. They were an industrious and charitable class, and had lived there since 1723. They were prosperous down to the time of the French war, but by the French and English invasion they lost their all and became poor. They remained on the frontier as a barrier against the Canadians and Indians. At the close of the war they were very poor. In addition to that, you must remember that at the close of the revolutionary war, in consequence of their exposed position, many of them were killed, and others driven away. They had many widows and orphans to provide for, and it was all they could do to provide for their own poor. The war ended in 1783, and the Indian depredations continued for several years after, so that the sturdy Germans could not cultivate enough to have a surplus. In 1789 they were poor, so it was not surprising they had nothing to spare for the people of this section. But the committee did not have to go far. They found a generous friend in Isaac Paris, who opened his garners to them freely. For that noble act his name is perpetuated in this town, and his dust will be honored and protected till the final trump. At that day everything west of Herkimer was almost a trackless wilderness. When the hardy pioneers settled in this town, they were surrounded by Indians. They came here poor, and their crops failing, they were obliged to go elsewhere for supplies. They were well calculated to go on the border, being a hardy people. They cleared up those lands, made homes for themselves, and fortunes for their posterity.

REV. DR. ISAAC S. HARTLEY'S REMARKS.

I suppose I have been called upon to speak because I am a representative of the church of which the deceased was a member. This is a remarkable occasion, and one which I hope will go down to posterity clothed in the language it so justly merits. We have come here and under the shadow of the sanctuary, to pay tribute to one whose name is already a proverb in the homes in

this valley, and one I trust coming generations will render still more bright and radiant. If heaven looks down and smiles on kind deeds, I know none more bright and good than that presented at this hour; of men, women and children, speaking different tongues, holding to different creeds and pursuing different walks in life, forgetting their special preferences and coming here to pay their tribute of honor and respect to one animated with true patriotism and genuine christianity. History often repeats itself. Of the innumerable monuments that to-day dot this globe, how many were erected decades, and even centuries, after the bodies beneath them were deposited? After all, we can not forget the good, generous and brave. Time may corrode and consume the lesser virtues; but though sharp may be its tooth, it never can consume genuine patriotism and charity.

The speaker compared the exercises of the day to the burial of Jacob of old, and continued: Another scene comes to my mind and one wondrously different. A man may be a soldier and a patriot and yet not have much religion in his heart; but he who is a soldier and patriot and in whose heart religion dwells, that is the man the nations love and whom mankind honor. A few years ago, in Westchester county, a few gentlemen opened a grave and gathered together the remnants of a form that once lived. They were sent to Lord Lovelace, son-in-law of Lord Byron. Except his servant, no one knows to-day where those bones are interred. As of the grave of Moses, no man can to-day say: "There lie the remains of Thomas Paine." There is a difference in this respect between the man whose acts are prompted by christianity and those who are not. The distinguished man whom we to-day honor, contributed largely by his means as well as his influence for the establishment of the christian religion. We can not estimate our indebtedness to the many gone before us, for dotting these hills with spires pointing upward. We know that this valley has a wondrous history in efforts made to bring the redskins to a knowledge of the truth. To the same extent that these institutions of religion are kept in a community, to that extent does a country make progress. When you blot them out, you blot out the powers that have made us what we are. I hope the services of this hour will make us more loyal to ourselves, and more anxious to know our history.

HON. WILLIAM J. BACON'S REMARKS.

We have had more than enough of commemorations of those whose office it is to *destroy* life. Let us do some homage to those who do what they can, even although it be in an humble way, to *save* life, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and relieve the suffering of the great human household. This was the business, as it was a good part of the mission of Christ; and they are Christ-like who like Him seek to save and not to destroy life. Thus doing, we in the most practical and emphatic manner answer His question, "Is it lawful to do good or to do evil, to save life or to kill?" Thus, in imitation of Him, did Colonel Isaac Paris in his day, and we do well to perpetuate the remembrance of such a timely and beneficent relief, and inculcate upon our children the simple but important and ever-recurring lesson that it teaches.

After the exercises the procession formed in the following order:

Marshal I. L. Addington.
Old Utica Band.
Utica Citizens' Corps.
Soldiers of the Late War.
Marshal A. R. Eastman and Members of Sauquoit Lodge 150, Sanger Lodge 129, Clinton Lodge 169, and Amicable Lodge of Washington Mills, F. & A. M.
Clergy.
Remains of Isaac Paris, borne by Hon. Josiah Shull, Ilion; O. B. Gridley, Waterville; Morgan Butler, New Hartford; G. H. Ives, Kirkland; Charles Peck, Marshall; Colonel George Young, Utica. Assistants—Stephen Savage, Sauquoit; Adelbert Rhodes, Clayville; Theodore F. Butterfield, Utica; Frank Corbin, Marshall; Dr. A. R. Simmons, New Hartford; F. Ward, Kirkland.
Irving Paris, of New York, only surviving descendant of Isaac Paris.
Speakers of the Day.
Members of the Historical Society.
Citizens.

The procession marched from the church around the green, and returned to the burying ground in rear of the church, where a hollow square was formed about the grave, the members of the

Corps standing at present arms. Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley said the burial service and offered prayer. The remains were then lowered, the band playing a dirge.

Irving Paris of New York, spoke briefly, thanking those present for the respect shown to the deceased and for the beautiful tribute paid to his memory. The family was pleased to have the remains sent here among his friends. He congratulated the people of Paris on the prosperity of their town.

Rev. Dr. Hartley pronounced the benediction, and a deputation of the Citizens' Corps fired three volleys over the grave. The procession then formed again and marched to the village green, where the corps formed in line. Lieutenant McQuade, acting as adjutant, read the following general order:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 1:

1. The Marshal Commanding desires to express to the Utica Citizens' Corps the thanks of the citizens of the towns of Paris, Kirkland and Marshall for their attendance and the kind and noble part taken by them in the memorial services of the day. And the Marshal especially desires to express to the officers and privates alike his appreciation of their courtesy and soldierly conduct and bearing throughout the day.

PARIS HILL, October 1, 1880. I. L. ADDINGTON, *Marshal.*

The following letter was subsequently received:

Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society:

My Dear Sir:—On behalf of myself and the various members of my family, I wish to take this opportunity of expressing to your Society our pleasure and gratification at the memorial services which took place at Paris, in October last. We were particularly struck with their beauty and impressiveness, and have read with the greatest interest the speeches made by the several members of your Society. Aside from the appropriateness of the remarks, which it might appear indelicate for us to praise too highly, we desire to thank you and your Society most sincerely for the assistance which you have given to the people of Paris, in preparing the ceremonies which took place on that occasion; and we also desire to convey to the citizens of that town our heartfelt gratitude for the beautiful tribute paid to the memory of Colonel Isaac Paris. I am informed that it is proposed to publish an account of the Paris Memorial, under the auspices of your Society, and I take the liberty of enclosing a check towards the expenses of such publication. I remain, my dear sir, Yours, very respectfully,

31 Pine street, New York. IRVING PARIS.

January 5th, 1881.

THE POMPEY, (N. Y.,) STONE,

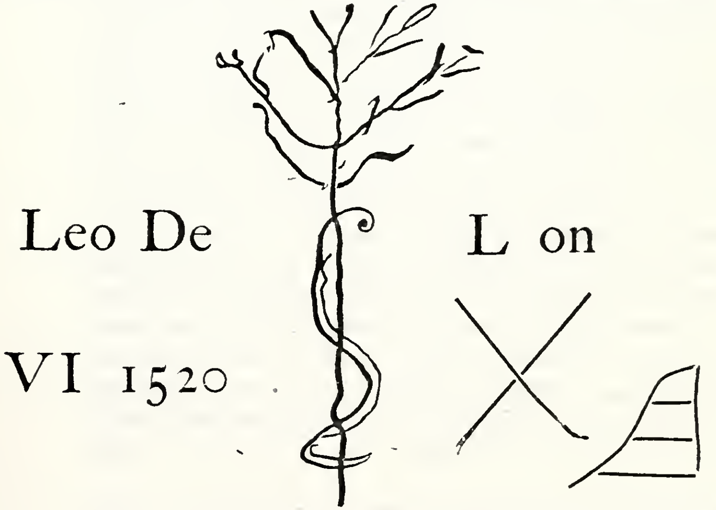
WITH AN INSCRIPTION AND DATE OF A. D. 1520.

BY HENRY A. HOMES, LL. D.,

Librarian of the State Library.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 11, 1879.

It is now nearly sixty years since there was found at Watervale, in the township of Pompey, Onondaga county, three miles northeast of Pompey Center and four miles south of Manlius, on the side of a hill looking to the northeast, a small boulder of gneiss rock, about fourteen inches long by twelve inches wide and ten inches thick, which bore a most remarkable inscription and figures.



If genuine and correctly interpreted, it is a relic furnishing the earliest evidence of the presence of the European in North America.* The appearance of the inscription on the stone resembles

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* General John S. Clark, of Auburn, a thorough student of the topography of the region, in a letter dated January, 1880, gives me a farther description of the locality, which I take the liberty to subjoin: "The great Onondaga town visited by Le Moyne in 1654, was directly north on what is now

very nearly the drawing which I offer for your inspection. This stone is the property of the Albany Institute, though for the present deposited in the State Museum. The date is earlier than that of the discovery of New England, New York or Virginia, and one hundred years earlier than the founding of the colony at Plymouth. The fullest account of the discovery of the stone may be found in J. V. H. Clark's History of Onondaga county. It is also described in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, and in his Notes on the Iroquois, and in Squier's Antiquities of New York; and there are drawings of the inscription in the works of the three writers.

The township of Pompey has yielded up more relics of the Aborigines than any other place in this State. Upon its territory there must have existed three large villages, defended with strong forts, and the same number of cemeteries. Among the articles found there have been corn, arrows, flints, stone pestles, gun-barrels, swords, cannon-balls, hatchets, sacred medals of French and Dutch origin, a gold cross, numerous brass kettles, etc. These articles in nowise indicate an early and unknown European colony, or a European town or fort, to have been established near the spot. Governor DeWitt Clinton finds no evidence for European relics of an earlier date than of French colonists from 1654 to 1669, who finally abandoned the region.* The objects found simply prove that the Indians were living there in villages so early as 1620 at least, to judge by the age of some of the trees. The early colonists found a profit in digging up the graves in the township for the sake of valuable objects buried with the dead; and especially for the sake of the brass kettles, which they afterwards used for domestic purposes. The French mission, at the village now called Jonesville, in Pompey, must be the source of such articles as the sacred medals and a piece of an anvil. The source of others must be from the Indian trade with the colonists, or from their marauding excursions. In the early times it had been the custom of the French and the Dutch to sell or give to them carbines and muskets; so that in 1642 the Mohawks alone had 300 men who were

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known as Indian Hill, the main village, about two miles from the stone. This was a very large town, and extended south probably a mile, and not unlikely quite to the locality of the stone. Directly southwest about a mile was another important town occupied about the same time by some one of the subjugated nations. South two miles, in the same valley, was still another of like character."

*Clinton's Memoir on the Antiquities of the Western Parts of New York, 1817.

armed with guns.* The French colonists at Onondaga Lake brought five cannon with them, which they must have buried somewhere previous to their stealthy flight in 1658. Sir William Johnson, in 1756, supplied the Tuscaroras with swivels for their own and the colonists' protection against the French. These facts alone are sufficient to account for the cannon-balls found in Pompey. The region of Pompey was so famous for certain battles among the Indians themselves at some period of their history, that it obtained the name among them of the Bloody Ground.† Mr. Schoolcraft's remark on the subject of these relics is, that "it is most probable that there are no remains of European art, or have ever been disclosed in this part of the country, one only excepted, which are not due to the attempts of the Dutch and French to establish fur trade."‡

There were found on the rocks in one place grooves resembling five Roman figures for I and an X, in size three-quarters of an inch broad, three-quarters of an inch deep and nine inches long, contiguous to each other. Another rock with similar marks has been lately found, and both are now in the possession of Mr. Ledyard, of Cazenovia. Careful observation has shown that these marks have no significance, and that they are simply indentations produced by the Indians in sharpening their stone tools.

The stone which is the subject of our present remarks bears a date nearly one hundred years earlier than French intercourse with the Indians at this point, a date within twenty-three years of the first discovery of the new continent by Cabot. The genuineness of the inscriptions upon it have never been questioned by any of those who have written regarding them, down to Mr. Haven, of the American Antiquarian Society, who very lately has declared them to be well authenticated.§ These writers have merely failed to give explanations or conjectures regarding its origin and meaning that have harmonized with all the facts. Mr. J. V. H. Clark, the historian of Onondaga county, who published in 1849, comes nearer to a correct, though incomplete, view of it than others. Mr. Clark says: "It was probably designed as a sepulchral monument. * * * It may not appear incredible that a party of Spaniards, either stimulated by the spirit of adventure or allured by the love of gold, or driven by some rude blast of misfortune, may have visited this region, lost one of their number by death,

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* Parkman; p. 214, 230.

† Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, p. 470, 446.

‡ Notes, p. 189.

§ Am. Ant. Soc. Proc., 1863; Ap., p. 33.

and erected this rude stone with its simple inscription as a tribute to his memory."*

Mr. Schoolcraft assumes that the serpent climbing a tree refers to a well-known passage in the Pentateuch. He thinks that the date (VI 1520) means the sixth year after Pope Leo Tenth took the Papal chair; and that, also, some straggler from Ponce de Leon, who discovered Florida in 1513, reached the Iroquois.† His contradictory conclusions only create dilemma and bewilderment.

Mr. Squier expresses no opinion of his own as to its origin, but says that it is the conjecture of some that Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, or some other Spanish commander, penetrated thus far to the northward during the period of Spanish adventure in Florida.

Thomas Buckingham Smith, who is the last person who has speculated upon the topic, as late as 1863, had advanced no farther than to surmise that the inscription was derived from Spanish missionaries, who early penetrated the country, and to say that the inscription in full would be, "*Leo decimus Pontifex maximus.*" "Leo the Tenth, grand high priest."‡ This he inferred from the fact that in the year of Christ 1520, Giovanni de Medici sat upon the Papal throne, and therefore, these might possibly have been the words.

Regarding some of the solutions offered of these mysterious carvings, they seem to be either improbable or impossible. It is even now surmised that the stone might refer to Leo X, Pope, and only for the reason that he was Pope from 1513 to 1521. But he was not from the town or kingdom of Leon, a part of Spain: and there is nothing but the date to connect the stone with him. Leo or Leon is a very common name among all the Latin nations. It is surmised that the name may have referred to Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida. The answer is, that in this case there is no coincidence of a name of person, but only of a name of place. Surmises which have been made connecting the stone with persons in various other expeditions, fail to apply, because we find that the dates of those expeditions were at too late a period, that this stone could be a memorial of any incident connected with them.

In my present contribution to the study of the origin of this stone, I do not pretend to have solved every problem connected with it, but I hope that by bringing into new relations some facts from the history of the progress of discovery in the New World,

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* Clark's History of Onondaga County. Syracuse: 1849. 2 v., 8vo.

† Notes on the Iroquois, p. 323.

‡ Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc., Ap., 1863; p. 33.

and some facts from the customs of the Indians, I may succeed in limiting the range of investigation, and that while the stone itself will always remain a most interesting object, it may seem less of a mystery.

The conclusion to which I have come, is one so simple, that if true, it must in a measure dispel curiosity to seek to reach farther into the darkness; and after it is presented, it may seem so obvious, as hardly to deserve so much form in setting it forth.

My position in a single proposition, is the following: The Pompey Stone is a memorial stone of a European, probably of a Spaniard, who previous to 1520, with one or more companions had been made a captive by the Indians in some part of North America, and both had been adopted as members of the tribe with which they were living, and one of them had become a Sachem. At the death of Leo a surviving companion carved on the stone his name with the month and year of his death, and emblems of his hope of an immortal life.

Upon this proposition, the first question which one asks is, in what way could any Spaniard have reached Onondaga county as early as the year 1520. The answer to this is, that from the discovery of Hispaniola or San Domingo in 1492, and its settlement, occasions when Europeans landed upon the continent must have been much more numerous than the voyages from Hispaniola which have been specifically reported and recorded. But we will go back only to the voyage of the first discoverer of the continent, that of John Cabot, father of Sebastian Cabot in 1497. No one who considers how persons of every nation of Europe were mingled among these early adventurers, will have any difficulty in believing that a portion of those that sailed from Bristol with Cabot in 1497, may have been Spainards. Cabot himself, born in Genoa, and a naturalized Venetian, it has been shown was at Seville in Spain in 1496.*

Dr. O'Callaghan has lately found in the roll of the discovery-ship, the Pinta of Columbus, that one of the crew was an Irishman of Galway.† It is evident that Cabot landed upon the coast of North America, and he brought home some natives of the country to London.‡ In his next voyage in 1498, he is reported to have sailed with five ships, and with hundreds of persons on board,

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* H. Stevens, Memoir on Cabot. London: 1870.—Also, Historical and Geographical Notes, 1869, 8vo., by the same.

† From a newspaper of August, 1879.

‡ Stow's Annals of London, of 1502, quoted by Biddle, p. 225.

doubtless for purposes of colonization, and only one or two of these ships ever returned to England.*

Following after Cabot, we have the Portuguese Navigator, G. Cortereal, who in 1501, on his second voyage with three ships, landed in Labrador, and two of the ships carried back seventy persons as laborers, whence the name of Labrador to that region, from the Portuguese word for laborers. Cortereal was lost with one of the ships. He had commenced his discoveries at the south of the river St. Lawrence.† A third voyage of a brother, Miguel, is reported, but the ship never returned in which he sailed.

,We come next to the voyage of Ponce de Leon in 1513 to Florida. He landed twice or thrice on the coast, and had a battle in which two of his men were wounded; at another time, he was attacked by eighty canoes. His first place of landing was a little below St. Augustine. In 1515, on another voyage, he again landed, coming from Seville, with three ships. The Indians, says Gomara, came against him to prevent his halting in their town, and fought so bravely, that they defeated him, slew a great many of the Spaniards, and wounded him with an arrow; from which wound he afterwards died.

In 1517, three ships from Hispaniola, discovered Yucatan, landed and brought back some of the natives.

In 1518 and 1519, Pineda in the service of Garay, went to Florida, and fought with the natives at several points.‡

Besides these voyages, and those of Denis in 1504, of Pinzon and Solis in 1507, of Nunez de Balboa in 1513, of Hernandez in 1517, Cortes in 1519, all before 1520, there are other voyages mentioned by the historians of those early days, by Galvanos, Oviedo, Herrera and others.§ I do not refer to Columbus's voyage to South America in 1503, nor to the voyages to Central America. But besides all these voyages, how many unreported voyages must have occured where the adventurer never returned to Europe, to Spain or to Hispaniola? And last, and perhaps as much to our purpose, were the early voyages to the fishing banks, reported as discovered as early as 1463, and by some, even thirty years earlier. One navigator reports that ships of various nations, catching cod or Bakalaos in that quarter, were seen by him in the year 1519, to the number

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*Biddle's Cabot, pp. 87, 88, 239.

† Biddle's Cabot, p. 241.

‡ Galvanos, Hakluyt Soc., p. 133, 134, 141. Kohl, p. 142. Gomara, lib. 2 cap 48, French edition.

§ Galvanos, p. 130, 134.

of fifty. Either driven by storms, or landing on the coasts to salt and dry their fish, some persons of their crews could hardly fail to have been left on land and captured.*

It must be left to your imagination to reckon up the total number of the consequent landings and contacts with the natives, from all these enumerated and unenumerated voyages, when you at the same time have recalled the secrecy, and the suppression of facts practiced, regarding new discoveries, not only by Spain, but by all the nations interested in adding to their dominions, by asserting claims to sovereignty by right of discovery. It is an evidence of the extent to which this principle of preserving secrecy was carried, that Spain published no official geographical charts of these new countries, with the admitted jurisdiction over them, previous to the year 1790.†

This rapid review of the voyages to America from 1492 to 1497, and down to the date of the Pompey stone is sufficient to give us the conviction, that the Spaniards very frequently during that period of time came in close contact with the Aborigines.

This may have seemed to you so clear, that it would have been sufficient that I should have affirmed it in a single sentence.

But the next consideration refers to facts which are not so well known; that it can be shown that from a very early period after the discovery, there are recorded a number of cases of Europeans living among the Indians long after their captivity, and becoming honored members of the tribe with which they happened to be thrown. Facts of a similar nature have been repeating themselves to the present time. In the majority of cases, the Indians did not massacre or devour their captives. At first they were ready to receive them with hospitality and respect.‡ In some cases they reverenced them as more than human. From what ships their captives came, in many cases we have no information; for the buccaneers and corsairs of those days, whether preying upon the Indians or upon the commerce of European nations, most frequently have left us but the most insignificant reports of their adventures.

We will illustrate this intercourse of the Spaniards with the Indians, and allude to the long residence of some among them, by a few examples. When Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, in 1513, he found on the coast, in latitude 28°, an Indian who was liv-

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* Gomara in Kohl, p. 404; Brevoort on Verazzano's voyage; Major's P. Henry, p. 374.

† Brevoort on Verrazano (Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., v. 4).

‡ Heckewelder, p. 59.

ing with his tribe, who served him as an interpreter, having learned Spanish at Hispaniola, showing that there had been previous intercourse. D'Ayllon actually commenced, in 1526, a settlement at Coosakatchie, in South Carolina, near the mouth of the Combachee, having five hundred persons with him from Hispaniola. The Indians revenged themselves for the treatment they had received five years before from him, on his first voyage, when he had carried off a cargo of the natives and sold them as slaves, and they destroyed the colony, so that not one-quarter of them escaped back to Hispaniola. Of course of those that did not escape, many may have remained alive only to become captive to the natives.*

When Martin Affonso, in 1532, landed in Brazil, he was unexpectedly saluted by Ramalho, a Portuguese refugee, who had married the daughter of the chief of a tribe, and was held in much honor. The story of the captivity of Hans Stade in the same country, Brazil, fills one of the last volumes of the Hakluyt Society. He lived with wild tribes from 1547 to 1555.

Biedma, who was with De Soto in 1539, in his great journey from Florida to the Mississippi, obtained information regarding D'Ayllon's settlement, made twelve years before, from one of his soldiers, who had been permitted to live with the Indians. The destruction of this colony has been celebrated in a poem of two thousand lines, by W. J. Grayson, of South Carolina.

Let us next recall the expedition of Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, who started, in 1528, with Narvaez, with 300 men, to cross the country westward from Florida. After two years of wandering and six years of captivity, traveling three thousand and five hundred miles, he succeeded in reaching Sonora, on the Gulf of California, and finally, with only three companions, joined the Spaniards in Mexico.

When he reached the Province of Sinaloa, on the Pacific, the whole community of the Nevome Indians united in acts of hospitality, built them a house and a fort, till there should be a favorable moment for their departure for Mexico.

The case of John Ortiz is a very interesting one. Soon after De Soto landed in Florida, in 1539, he learned that a soldier from Narvaez's party was living with the Indians. He wished to secure him, and sent a captain and eighty men for the purpose. The soldiers seeing a band of Indians of equal number, galloped fiercely towards them, and they all fled but one—who turned out to be this captive from Narvaez's army. His story was, that after

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*Galvanos, p. 160; Schoolcraft, vi; 39.

he had been captured, his life had been spared through the intercessions of a chief's daughter. This genuine story was already in print when Captain John Smith was preparing a final edition of his works, and, to still farther excite the wonder of the English regarding Virginia, led him to invent the story of his having been saved in a similar manner by Pocahontas, sixteen years before. De Soto himself left the coast of West Florida with 1,300 men, crossed the Mississippi and the Arkansas, and reached Mexico after four years, with only one-half of the number.

The story of the campaign of Coronado, in 1540–41–42, from Mexico, with 400 horsemen, up through Arizona and Colorado, to the cities of Cibola and Quivira, is a marvelous one. In numerous skirmishes with the Indians, many of his men were slain or disappeared, and on his return to Mexico, he had with him but 100 men. Within a few years, coats of armor, supposed to have belonged to some of his party, have been found by our soldiers in mountain caverns of that region.* We can not doubt but that some of all these warriors became members of Indian tribes.

Fontaneda, a Spaniard who was shipwrecked on the coast of Florida when he was thirteen years of age, narrates that he lived with the Indians seventeen years from the year 1551, and that he spoke four of their languages. He mentions by name, incidentally in the course of his narrative, seven of his countrymen whom he met among them. He mentions one ship which was wrecked with 1,000 souls on board, of whom 300 reached the land in safety. He describes the people as poor in gold and silver, except the millions which they had obtained from wrecked European vessels. "It was a consolation," he says, "for those who were lost after us, to find on shore christian companions who could help them to understand the brutes. Many Spaniards have saved their lives by finding before them their countrymen."† So prominent a feature were shipwrecks, resulting from the treacherous currents around the coast of Florida, that Oviedo devotes one hundred and thirty folio pages of his work to an account of those shipwrecks that had come within his knowledge, there and in the Gulf of Mexico, previous to 1545.‡

Champlain, Governor of Canada, in his account of his attack on the Iroquois in 1615, at Fenner in Madison county, in this State, observes that they had with them three Flemish (Dutch) men aid-

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* General Simpson's paper, Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., vol. V, p. 194.

† Smith's De Soto and Fontaneda, p. 20, 21, 22, 32, &c.—Ramusio.

‡ Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, Jour. IV, l. L.

ing them at that early period of a Dutch trading settlement, in their war against the Algonquins, whom they afterwards gave up to the French. In 1642 and 1643 the reverse of this occurred, that the Iroquois having captured Fathers Bressani and Jogues from the French, gave them up to the Dutch.*

It would unnecessarily protract this paper to embody all the evidence I have collected of the residence of Spaniards and Europeans among the Indians of North America within the first one hundred years from the discovery of the continent. The original narratives and the compilations of the historians show that there were many, either as captives or as adopted members of the tribes, living with them, and occasionally acting as interpreters to vessels that touched the coast for commerce. Our libraries are full of narrations of what are called Indian captivities. DeWitt Clinton says: "The Indians made free all the captives whom they spared in battle."† The Mohawks had *Englishmen* included in their tribe at an early date.‡ The Five Nations in 1684 had added so largely to their numbers from Indian captives as to have increased the number of their warriors by more than 600 men. And this year of centennial celebrations of Sullivan's campaign of 1779, makes it appropriate to state that when he came to Newton he found fifteen captives from the settlers among the Senecas.§

The whole evidence, therefore, goes to show that from the considerable number of voyages previous to 1520, when the navigators came into actual contact with the Indians on land, and from the frequency of captives living with them at that time and in years following, that this Pompey stone was probably inscribed by a Spaniard domiciled with the Indians; and if this stone was found in the place where it was first deposited, then it was among the *Onondaga* or the *Oneida* Indians, and near the line of the great Indian trail from the Hudson and the south to Lake Erie.‖

We next, therefore, come to the explanation of the *marks on the stone;* and we proceed to account for them in accordance with the

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*Champlain's Ed. of 1619. Trans. in Mag. of Am. Hist., I, p. 563.—Geddies, Mag. of Hist., p. 527.

† DeWitt Clinton.

‡ Parkman, lxvi p.—Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 340, 341.

§ In my statement as first delivered, I mentioned thirty as the whole number of captives. Not being able to refer to my authority for that number, I accept the correction which the Rev. David Craft has kindly made to me in a letter since an extract from this paper was published.

‖ L. H. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 421.

assumption we have made. As a grave-stone memorial, the inscription would mean that in the year of our Lord 1520, in the sixth month, (which according to old style would be September or October,) Leo, a Spaniard of the city of Leon in Spain, died here. The carving of the tree and the serpent we infer was done contemporaneously with the inscription of the name of the deceased, and that the whole was cut by a surviving companion. The tree entwined by a serpent we must believe was placed there by a man who had recollections of the christian teachings of earlier days, and of the pictures he had seen in the churches and in his books of devotion, of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, which is at the same time the tree of immortal life, thus entwined. The same symbol he might have seen employed in the vignette of early printed books, as a printer's mark, perhaps surmounted with an owl, as the bird of wisdom. Our captive, having obtained the respect of the Indians and become familiar with their beliefs, does not carve any object emblematic of christianity, but adopts one which conformed much nearer to the beliefs of the Indians, than the learned world was generally aware of fifty years since. The religious reverence for trees and serpents, which may be called worship, as it existed in East India, is now seen to have been almost universal, certainly very prevalent in the whole New World. J. G. Mueller, a German writer, in 1855, finds traces of tree-worship combined with serpent-worship all over the American continent. Ferguson in England, in 1873, devotes a large quarto volume, with one hundred plates, under the title of "Tree and Serpent Worship," to a history of that mythology, not only in India, but "in all parts of the world." And besides the chapters on the subject in Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes of the United States," we have the volume of Squier, published in 1851, on the "Serpent Symbol in America." I will make no quotation from either of these, but content myself with a single sentence from the latest authority, that of J. G. Henderson, in a paper read by him at the meeting of the American Scientific Association at Saratoga, September, 1879, on this topic. He says: "The serpent was at one time worshiped as a divine being by all the tribes from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, and from ocean to ocean." I will only add one or two illustrations specifically from the traits of our own northern Indians. The Indian mounds of the mound-builders are frequently constructed in the form of a serpent. Lawson, a land surveyor among the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, in the years 1710 to 1712, writes that they have a superstition which forbids

them to step across a tree, and that they will never kill a snake.* Cusick, an Indian preacher, (a Tuscaroran of New York,) fills the pages of his "History of the Six Nations" with stories of snakes and serpents exercising divine power over the destinies of the tribes in their legendary period. Sir William Johnson, in his account of the Oneidas, tells us that this tribe used a tree as a symbol of stability.†

The chief object of worship among the Onondagas was a being whom they called, Hotarho, who was always pictured with the hair of his head composed of writhing snakes.

Without farther illustrations, we must conclude therefore, that this emblem was placed here as being one which would commend the stone to the respect and reverence of the Indians, and would at the same time express hopes of an immortal life for the one buried near it.

In coming to the remaining marks upon the stone, those at the right hand corner, at the bottom, we think that they represent two pipes or calumets crossed, with perhaps a tobacco pouch below them. As the calumet of peace, it would be an emblem that he who was there entombed was at peace and amity with the survivors. Says DeWitt Clinton, "For an infringement of the rights of the calumet, the confederate Five Nations carried on a war of thirty years against the Choctaws."‡ Hennepin says, "I had certainly perished in my travels had it not been for this calumet of peace."§ Charlevoix says, "To smoke in the same pipe therefore in token of alliance, is the same thing as to drink in the same cup, as has been practiced at all times by many nations."‖ Whether pipes, arrows or war-clubs, these marks on this stone are plainly Indian emblems: and if they are a token of ownership by a chief, it might be that they were carved in after years, as marks of an Indian family—family arms, or *totem*. Fontaneda states that memorials set up by the Spaniards were treated with religious respect by the Indians. In this sense Longfellow makes Hiawatha address his "wondering people":

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* Lawson's Travels in North Carolina; 1709, p. 202, 210.

† Doc. Hist., vol. iv, p. 271.

‡ Clinton. Address, 1811, from Smith's N. Y., p. 52.

§ Hennepin's voyages. Chap. 24, p. 94. London, 1698.

‖ Charlevoix. Dublin, T. 1., p. 180, 181.

* * * "Behold, your grave-posts
Have no mark, no sign, nor symbol.
Go and paint them all with figures;
Each one with its household symbol,
With its own, ancestral totem;
So that those who follow after,
May distinguish them and know them."

Many of the incidents and facts which I have mentioned, I have touched upon in the most brief manner possible, so as not to weary your patience. And I will not enlarge farther regarding the meaning and import of this stone, but will just repeat in an abbreviated form my general proposition as my conclusion. The stone is the grave-stone of a European and probably a Spaniard, who with a companion was once a captive, but at the date of 1520 were adopted members of some tribe of Indians. The inscription was made by the survivor. The marks in the right hand lower corner indicate tribal relationship.

In view of all the considerations which I have presented, I think we are authorized to regard the Pompey inscribed stone with its genuineness and authenticity, as the earliest monument either in the State of New York or in the United States, attesting the discovery of the New World and the presence here of the European.

Gentlemen of the Society! I thank you for the indulgence with which you have listened to my utterances on this very minute historical theme. I regret that I have not been able to offer to you topics of a wider scope: but I have been glad of an opportunity to offer something even though it be but a trifling gift, as an acknowledgment of your kindness. To have been able to carry back your thoughts to the noble and heroic nation that once flourished here, is all that in the circumstance of a daily very busy life, it has been possible for me to accomplish.

JOHANNIS RUEFF,

A PIONEER OF ONEIDA COUNTY.

BY DR. F. H. ROOF, OF RHINEBECK, N. Y.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1879.

In Jones' "Annals of Oneida County," page 326, we find that in the year 1760 John Roof and —— Brodock resided at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. Beyond this fact, the author states his inability to obtain further information concerning them, other than a brief notice of John Roof contained in an obituary of his son, John Roof, Jr., published in the *Rome Sentinel* in October, 1847.

Johannis Rueff (Anglicized Roof) was born in the city of Durlach, Suabia, Germany, on the 9th of January, 1730. His ancestor removed from the Tyrol into Suabia at a period of civil war. He married Annie Mari Leonhardo, of Heidelberg, Germany, January 13, 1759. In October, 1759, they landed at Philadelphia, Penn. Early in 1760 he made his way westward as far as Fort Stanwix, N. Y., where he established himself as a trader with the Indians. As shown by bills of sale in the writer's possession, his business transactions extended as far east as Stone Arabia and Caughnawaga. He purchased from the Indians in the year 1762, in connection with Philip Livingston, Oliver DeLancey and Peter Dubois, a tract of land containing twenty thousand acres. It appears from a petition of Johannis Rueff on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, dated January 31, 1789, that the share of John Roof, in this tract (four thousand acres,) together with the share of others, was conveyed by the State as bounty land at the close of the Revolution. Oliver DeLancey and other shareholders having been attainted of treason, all of the patentees excepting Philip Livingston (several of whom, including John Roof, were Whigs,) were deprived of their property, for which they never received an equivalent. From 1760 until the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Roof continued with great pecuniary advantage his traffic with the Indians, exchanging provisions, &c., for furs, often furnishing

supplies to the garrison, and cultivating a farm near the fort. In 1777, previous to the siege proper of Fort Stanwix, while yet the settlers could scarcely leave their quarters with safety, John Roof was warned by an Oneida Indian of an impending attack upon the fort by the Indians and British troops. Deciding to remove his family and effects to a place of safety, he so informed Colonel Gansevoort, in command of Fort Stanwix. Colonel Gansevoort, however, appropriated the supplies for the use of the garrison, and later ordered Mr. Roof's buildings burned, which were strongly constructed and furnished protection to the enemy, then in possession. Colonel Gansevoort gave Mr. Roof a certificate in the name of the Government, promising to make good his loss. An ungranted petition of John Roof's, on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, asks redress for the above. During the years 1796 and 1797 a final effort was made, through his friend, Judge William Cooper, then Member of Congress, to obtain satisfaction from the Government for his losses, which was also unsuccessful.* In 1844 a further attempt to obtain reparation from the State was made by John Roof, Jr., which met a fate no better than those which preceded it. (See Assembly Journal for 1844, 1845 and 1846.) In advancing the claims at this late day, as Colonel Gansevoort's certificate and other vouchers were missing, evidence of some kind became necessary. Henry Sitts, a Revolutionary soldier, formerly in the employ of John Roof, accordingly made his affidavit, which contains much that is irrelevant to this sketch, yet, as a whole, gives the best account we have of the circumstances under which Mr. Roof was compelled to leave Fort Stanwix. A copy follows:

STATE OF N. Y., HERKIMER COUNTY.

This 24th day of July, 1844, Henry Sitts, of the town of Stark, in the County of Herkimer, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: That he was born the 29th of August, 1754, in the town of Canajoharie, south of the Mohawk river, and that in the month of April, 1777, he went to Fort Stanwix, now the village of Rome, to work for Captain Johannis Roof, who then resided at the fort commanded by Colonel Gansevoort; That he sowed his spring grain and helped plant his corn and potatoes, and that he occupied a well stocked farm lying southerly and westerly of the fort, containing commodious buildings. The house was as well-built a residence as any along the Mohawk river at that time.

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* House Journal, Fourth Congress.

And that John Roof was an Indian trader and store keeper to the garrison at the fort, and had a storehouse, &c., near his dwelling, also large barns filled with hay from meadows on the flats.

About the last of May, 1777, he, Sitts, left Fort Stanwix and returned home. In July he went under General Herkimer to Oriskany, and that on the 6th of August, they met the troops under St. Leger, were defeated and a great many of their men killed. Fort Stanwix was then besieged by the British and Indians. And that he was at the fort in the fall of 1778, and then all the buildings of Captain John Roof were destroyed by burning; that they were burned by order of Colonel Gansevoort, that the buildings were near the fort, and at the time of the attack by St. Leger the Indians got into his buildings and fired upon the fort, which was the cause of Gansevoort's ordering them burned. The effects of Captain Roof were appropriated for the use of the garrison, and that had it not been for his cattle, swine, provisions, &c., the troops at that station could not have held the fort until the arrival of supplies from the government, [which came to hand on the day the siege opened,] as they would have been destitute for some weeks preceding the siege. That before the battle of Oriskany took place Captain John Roof removed his family to the residence of General Herkimer, and the following year, located at Canajoharie where he resided until his death. And that he was well acquainted with John Roof, Jr., who lived with his father at Fort Stanwix. That he has lived at Roof's Village now Canajoharie since that time. And since the Revolutionary war, John Roof the 2d commanded the regiment to which he belonged for several years. He is not now able to state the full value of the property taken for the use and benefit of the troops under Colonel Gansevoort, but from his best recollection of the cattle and other stock, flour, hay, corn, potatoes, and many other articles in his possession, considering their scarcity at that point, particularly at so great a distance west of the settled portions of the Mohawk valley, should say they were of great value.

Herkimer County, Town of Stark. HENRY SITTS.

John Roof, Jr., born August 28th, 1762, was the first child not of Indian parentage born, in what is now Oneida county. The christening which occurred soon after, was therefore quite an event. Among the guests present was Sir William Johnson; Captain Nicholas Herkimer also present, acted as godfather to the child. Susanna a daughter, was born August 9th, 1766. Martyn a son

born February 2d, 1770, was baptized February 12th, 1770, by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a record of which appears in his diary.*

Barbara Roof, born October 30, 1771.
Adam, born May 16th, 1773.
Annie M., born April 5th, 1777.
Martyn died in infancy.

At Canajoharie three sons were subsequently born: Daniel, Martyn 2d and Andrew. Mr. Roof was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the village of Canajoharie, after its destruction by the Indians, under Brant in 1780. To those calling upon him with a view of settling there, he offered every inducement, usually entertaining them at his own house. He met his death under the following circumstances: Towards the close of the year 1798, a stranger from New York, called upon Mr. Roof, with a view of negotiating for a farm and building site, and while the guest of Mr. Roof he was taken ill, with what proved a malignant fever. Although warned by the medical attendant of the contagious nature of the malady, Mr. Roof insisted upon personally superintending the nursing of the invalid, who soon succumbed to the violence of the disease. A few days later he was stricken with the fever.

Notwithstanding all that medical skill could do in his behalf, he died November 15th, 1798. He made his will April 18th, 1798, probated December 26th, 1798. Three of his grandsons are still living: Philip Roof, the father of the writer, a resident of New York city. Judge Adam Roof of Ionia, Michigan, and Gerret L. Roof, D. D., late of Lowville, N. Y., at present a resident of Troy, N. Y. He is I believe an honorary member of the Oneida County Historical Society.

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* Extract from the Diary of Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

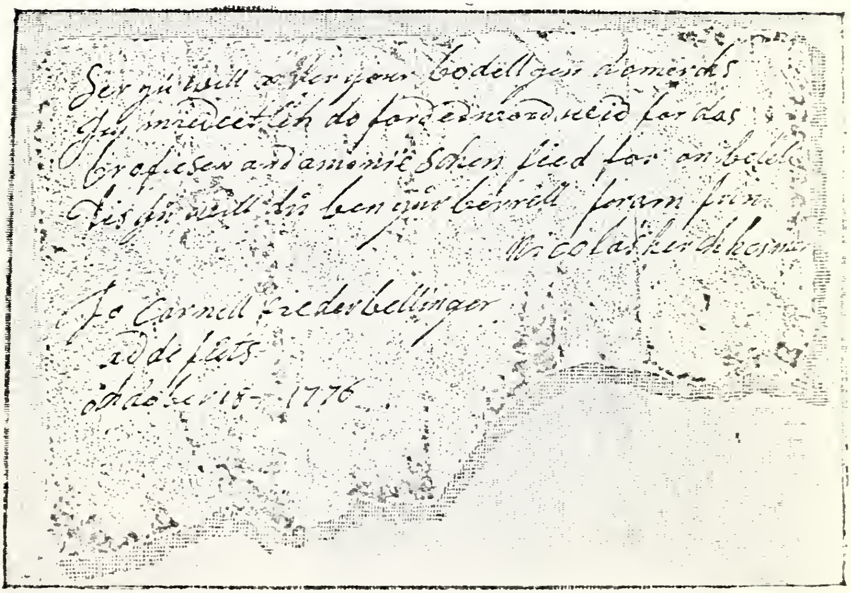
(1770) February 12, Monday. Set out for the German Flats to get some provisions and intend to proceed to Col. Butler's for some money I hear Dr. Wheelock has sent there for my present necessities. Rose at 4, set off at sunrise: came to Fort Stanwix P. M., and preached a lecture. Baptized two children—Martin, son of John Ruff, and Martha Christian, daughter of William Cline—lodged at Mr. Ruff's.

THE HERKIMER PAPERS.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PAPERS OF GEORGE HERKIMER, ESQ., THE BROTHER OF GENERAL HERKIMER, RECEIVED FROM H. G. BABCOCK.

BY MATTHEW D. BAGG.*

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 25, 1879.



AUTOGRAPH MILITARY ORDER BY GENERAL HERKIMER.†

Transcribed literally, it reads:

Ser you will order your bodellyen do merchs immiedeetleh do fordedward weid for das brofiesen and amonieschen fied for on betell. Dis yu will dis ben your berrell—from frind

NICOLAS HERCHKEIMER.

To Cornell pieder bellinger
ad de flets
Ochdober 18. 1776.

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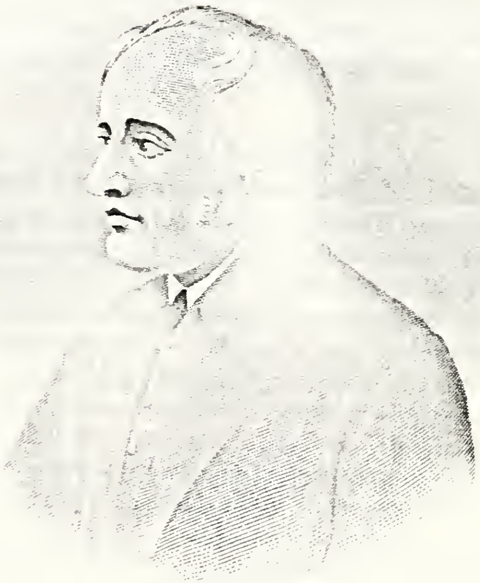
* See page 107.

† For this fac-simile of the original, in the Society's collection, we are indebted to the publishers of Bryant's Popular History of the United States, C. Scribner's Sons.



NICHOLAS HERKIMER

The order, rendered in better English, reads as follows:

> SIR: You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle.
>
> This you will disobey (at) your peril.
>
> From (your) Friend,
> NICHOLAS HERKIMER.
>
> To Colonel PETER BELLINGER, at The Flats.
> October 18, 1776.

In the roster of the four Tryon county battalions of militia, as furnished by (General) Nicholas Herkimer, Chairman of the Tryon County Committee, August 26, 1775, Peter Bellinger is named as Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Battalion: that of the German Flats and Kingsland District. Colonel Bellinger commanded a battalion at the battle of Oriskany.

Copy of a receipt given by Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, to James Stevenson, for £100, for necessaries furnished by Herkimer for the expedition against Niagara, dated at Albany, 3 September, 1755; and, on same sheet, copy of order on P. V. B. Livingston, Esq., given by said Herkimer for refunding the same sum, dated 29 March, 1756. The necessaries referred to consisted in carrying provisions and stores over the Oneida carrying-place. This expedition against Niagara, under the command of Governor Shirley, was abandoned on the 24th of October, 1755, after having passed beyond Oswego. Hans Jost Herkimer was one of the very first persons practically to demonstrate the great value of the central route along the valley of the upper Mohawk in the transportation and carrying trade, and may be esteemed as the true precursor of the Jason Parkers and Cornelius Vanderbilts of later eras. He resided at Fort Herkimer, fifteen miles east of Utica, where his son, General Nicholas Herkimer, was born one hundred and fifty years ago.

An unsigned receipt for £224 8s. 6d. paid by said Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, dated 14 December, 1767.

Autograph order of J. Wolff, written in German, dated Petersbourg, 25 February, 1768, for 25 skipples of corn, payable to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard. Petersbourg, or New Peterboro, known also as Germantown, is the same place now called East Schuyler, and is in Herkimer county. Mr. Wolff, whose christian name was Johannes, came from Saar Brock in Germany, under the

auspices of Peter Hasenclever, and was the merchant and trader for the company formed by Hasenclever, and established at East Schuyler. A cavalry sword brought by him from Germany is now in possession of E. Remington & Sons, at Ilion. Mr. Hasenclever is mentioned in this receipt as Herrn. Peter Hasenclever. From him the place received its name of New Peterboro. In the year 1766, Hasenclever had erected here a pot and pearlash factory, two frame houses and thirty-four log houses, and had a settlement begun for the cultivation of hemp, flax and madder. Sir William Johnson was his partner in the potash manufacture. Hasenclever had also a patent for 18,000 acres of land near his settlement, called Hasenclever's Patent, and bought, in addition, from General Oliver DeLancey, 6,755 acres in Cosby's Manor for his agricultural operations. The range of hills along the north side of the Mohawk from West Canada creek to Nine Mile creek, was formerly called from him or his patent the Hasenclever Hills; but that name seems now to be restricted to the lands of the patent a short distance north of the village of Herkimer.

Hasenclever was a man of extraordinary energy and enterprise. He was one of the first persons in the colonies to enter upon the manufacture of iron, and in this same year had in operation four furnaces and seven forges in New York and New Jersey. He was known in some places as Baron Hasenclever, and in at least one locality, where his name was in use one hundred years since, it has been corrupted into Baron Hass. But his operations were too extended, and in 1766 he became embarrassed, and in 1770 was declared a bankrupt. He returned to Germany and died in 1792. He was born at Remscheid, in the Rhenish provinces, in 1716.

But the settlement on the Mohawk, where Hasenclever had introduced many Germans, was continued as an agricultural establishment. It was during the war of Independence, the frontier settlement, at least after that at Deerfield Corners, was temporarily abandoned in 1776. The settlers found it necessary to make fortifications against the inroads of the Indians, and erected for their protection, a small fort, called Little Stone Arabia. This was found sufficient for their security, although more than once threatened. On one of these occasions, it is said, the fort was saved during the absence of the men, by the women, who put on men's coats and hats, displayed themselves upon the ramparts, and succeeded in impressing the Indians with the belief that the fort was well guarded. But in September, 1778, when the German Flats were burned by Brant and his murderous myrmidons, Ger-

mantown did not escape, and was also destroyed. On this occasion, Mrs. Wolff, the wife of Johannes (or John) Wolff, was killed while attempting to take refuge in the fort. Before the end of the war, the settlers were compelled to seek safety at Fort Dayton, at the village of Herkimer. Mr. Wolff, however, survived the war, and was, in 1790, one of the first to sign a remonstrance against the erection of the County of Herkimer. His descendants now hold high positions. The settlement of New Peterboro or Germantown, was important and ambitious enough to claim the location of the court house and jail for the new County of Herkimer, at its organization, in 1791.

Hasenclever also built a dam and saw-mill on the stream now called Sterling's creek, by the early settlers named Staring's creek, by the Indians Rasceloth and by the French Rassëdot.

The following is a rendering of this document in English:

Mr. George Dacheteter, give, on the presentation of this, to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard, one whole freight of corn, for the account of Mr. Peter Hasenclever, of New York, for which Mr. George Herckheimer will guarantee the payment of 5s. per skipple, to the amount of £6 5s.

Dated Petersburgh, the 25th February, 1768.

(Signed,) J. WOLFF.

[Good for 25 Skipples of Corn, at £6 5s.]

Autograph memorandum signed by Cornelius Glen, of goods left at General Herkimer's, near Little Falls, 17 February, 1763.

Autograph order of George Herkimer, for four skipples of corn, dated Burnetsfield, 20 July, 1768, written in German. A skipple was a dry measure for three pecks, in general use on the Mohawk. The name of the signer is here spelled Georg Herchkeimer. This name is said to be derived from the town of Herchkeim, in the Rhenish Palatinate, and not far from Manheim. Malte Brun's Geography gives the orthography Herscheim. It is a place of about 2,500 inhabitants.

Autograph order written in German, of John R. Quackenboss, in favor of Hans Jost Herkimer, dated at Albany, 7 February, 1770. Hans Jost was a family name, and belonged both to the father and brother of the General. It may be rendered in English, John Joseph.

Memorandum of several tracts of land in German Flats District, allotted to General Herkimer. S. D.

Autograph letter from Jacob Cuyler, dated Albany, 21 May, 1773, addressed to General Herkimer, at Canajohara. It acknowledges the receipt of three bundles of beaver, and advises of forwarding a box of glass. From this it may be inferred that the General was, like his father, engaged in the Indian trade.

Account of John Vaughan against General Herkimer, for £5 5s., for merchandise, dated ——— 1774.

Unsigned letter dated Conjadaraga, 14 December, 1774. Relates to private matters. The place may be Canaderago Lake, at one time called Schuyler's Lake, near Richfield Springs, where some of the family were settled.

Unsigned order for drafting eighteen men from Colonel Herkimer's battalion, for the expedition against Canada in June, 1775.

Autograph letter of Charles Gordon, dated Canajoharie, 12 September, 1777, relating to the settlement of Gen. Herkimer's estate. This man having some pecuniary transactions in which the general was also interested, complains that Peter S. Dygert is arrogating to himself the management of the estate, and craves the interference of George Herkimer, surviving brother of the general. The general had not been dead a month. The writer says, that he always found the general to be a true man. The general's will dated 7 February, 1777, was not admitted to probate until 1783. Peter S. Dygert was the father of the general's widow.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates, dated Palatine, 15 March, 1779, addressed to the magistrates residing in Canajoharie District. Mr. Yates was the chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. Canajoharie District extended on the south side of the river, from Mohawk District to Fallberg or Fall Hill, near Little Falls. Mr. Yates was the first lawyer in the county, took an active part in favor of the cause of the colonies, was frequently in the assembly and held other offices of honor and trust. His chirography is neat and elegant.

Autograph letter of John Lansing, Jr., dated Albany, 10 June, 1780, addressed to George Herkimer, Esq., at Canajoharie. Relates to some legal proceedings. After serving in the war of Independence Mr. Lansing held several important offices, and was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution. Being opposed to the principles of government adopted by the convention he seceded from that body. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chancellor of the State. He died 12 December, 1829, not without suspicion of violence.

Depositions of Martin Van Sleyck and Peter P. Schuyler, 26 January, 1781, concerning a charge of perjury taken before George

Herkimer, Esq., justice, with autographs of two of the persons named.

Autograph letter of Abraham Van Horn, High Sheriff of Montgomery county, dated 26 March, 1785. Relates to private matters.

Autograph letter of Hendrick Frey, dated at Freyburgh, 26 November, 1785. This place is not now well known, but from the Frey family was derived the name of Frey's Bush. The latter word was the common designation in early times in New York for a settlement in the woods, and is still commonly used in that sense in Canada and Australia. It has been unfortunately superseded since the war of Independence by such terminations of local names as "corners" and "ville." This place has been recently called by a person well acquainted with it simply "The Frey Farm." It is near Fort Plain. Hendrick Frey was a prominent loyalist before and during the war, and remained afterwards in the valley. His brother Bernard is said to have been actually present in the camp of St. Leger (or Silinger as he was popularly called) before Fort Stanwix. Another brother was the patriot Major John Frey who was the first Sheriff of Tryon county elected in 1775 by a popular vote; and the first in the State so chosen and the last for forty years afterwards. Hendrick Frey married Elizabeth the sister of General Herkimer. The Frey family emigrated from Zurich in Switzerland, in 1688, to the valley of the Mohawk.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates to George Herkimer, dated Frey's Bush, 9 April, 1788, recommending certain candidates for the Assembly, Senate and Convention that had been authorized to act upon the subject of the proposed Constitution of the United States. The names of the candidates which were originally contained in the letter, probably on a separate piece of paper, are not now there; but those intended for the Convention were undoubtedly the ones who were actually chosen at the ensuing election. They were, for Montgomery county, John Frey, William Harper, Henry Staring, Volkert Veeder, John Winn and Christopher P. Yates, the last named being the writer of this letter. They were opposed to the ratification of the Constitution, and were chosen as anti-Federalists. It is even now, at least sentimentally, to be regretted that these patriotic gentlemen should have taken so narrow a view of the comprehensive scope, well-guarded provisions, symmetrical character and beneficent design of the Federal Constitution. For by their success the vote of

Montgomery county, which included all the inhabited parts of the State west of Albany county, was, nominally at least, recorded in opposition to the measure. But the good name of the State was destined to be redeemed by the watchful energy, the matchless eloquence, the ready argument, the lofty courage and profound knowledge of the gallant Creole, Alexander Hamilton, who was also a member of the Convention, and of whom it has been said, that the people of the United States owe it to him that they have a Constitution. His exertions snatched a victory from the jaws of defeat. Perhaps, however, Mr. Yates and his associates were biased by the controlling influence of Chief Justice Robert Yates and Chancellor Lansing, of Albany, both of whom had been members of the Convention which shaped the Constitution, and had taken the decisive step of withdrawing from its deliberations, and who were at this time exerting their energies for its rejection. They both, it is believed, had an extensive influence in the valley.

It has been intimated that some of the anti-Federalists withdrew from the Poughkeepsie Convention in order to allow of the adoption of the Constitution. But, according to Elliot's debates, the votes of all the Montgomery county members are recorded in the negative upon the decisive questions, except that Mr. Yates was absent on the final vote.

Mr. Yates in this letter says that the adoption of the Constitution would be attended with such bad consequences that it was an indispensable duty to oppose it, and adds that Colonel Frey has entered heartily into this business. Ninety years of trial have sufficiently refuted this opinion.

Autograph letter of Peter D. Schuyler to Mrs. Alida Herkimer, dated 13 February, 1789. Recommends that she should not let her negro Pit be married by the minister, as he would then be free: states that General Herkimer once had a law suit as to a similar matter. Schuyler was not a lawyer. He married Elizabeth Barbara, the eldest sister of General Herkimer, and was the father of Hans Jost Schuyler, who acted a prominent part in the relief of Fort Stanwix. Mrs. Alida Herkimer was the wife of General Herkimer.

Autograph order of Harmanus Peek, January, 1823.

MEMORIAL.

At a special meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, January 12, 1881, the following communication from the President of the Society was read:

Messrs. Alexander Seward, Erastus Clark, Edward S. Brayton and John F. Seymour, of the Oneida Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:—In common with all our citizens I feel a deep regret at the loss which our Society has suffered in the death of Matthew D. Bagg, Esq. He was not only a valuable member of community, held in high regard by all, but his loss will be very much felt by the Oneida Historical Society of which he was a member. Beyond most men he was familiar with the early history of this part of the State, and he ever felt a lively interest in all things relating to it. As President of your Society I request that you prepare a paper expressive of the loss which it has suffered in his death.

Very truly yours,

Utica, January 6, 1881. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Whereupon, the special committee so appointed reported the following memorial, which was adopted and ordered to be entered in the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family of the deceased:

In the recent death of Matthew D. Bagg this Society has lost one of its early and most valuable members: one whose tastes and acquirements peculiarly qualified him for the work in which we are engaged, and who, during the few years of our organization, evinced deep interest in our transactions and rendered us valuable services and contributions. To a very observant mind and strong desire for information was added a remarkably retentive memory, so that few excelled him in the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, not only on historical, but on scientific, political and legal subjects. In demeanor modest, in disposition amiable, in friendship unfailing, his was a character such as is not often encountered, and it is proper that we who witnessed these qualities, associated with rare abilities and acquirements, should record our appreciation of them and our profound regret for the loss we have suffered.

THE GENEALOGY OF A UTICA NEWSPAPER.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY OCTOBER 29, 1878.

THE WHITESTOWN GAZETTE, 1793.

The first Newspaper printed west of Albany in this State was the *Whitestown Gazette*, at the village of New Hartford. Thus says Elisha Harrington in his Utica Directory of 1828, fifty years nearer the event than we are. It was commenced July 10, 1793. Such is the testimony of a copy of this paper in the possession of the Society, No. 7 of Vol. I., dated August 22, 1793. The proprietors were Jedediah Sanger, Samuel Wells and Elijah Risley; the printer, Richard Vanderburgh. It was discontinued the following winter, says Mr. Harrington, for want of patronage and a suitable person to conduct its operations, but was re-established in May, 1796: Samuel Wells, proprietor; William McLean, printer. The latter within a few months became the proprietor and in July, 1798, removed to Utica and issued the paper under the name of *Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol*, which was continued until February, 1803, when McLean disposed of it to John H. Lothrop, who changed the name to *The Patriot*, Merrell & Seward, printers.

The second newspaper printed in this county was the *Western Centinel*, at Whitesboro; James Swords of New York, proprietor; Oliver C. Easton, printer. It was begun in January, 1794,—six months later than the Whitestown Gazette,—as appears from a copy of the Centinel, presented to the Society, dated July 17, 1798, No. 237, Vol. 5. After changing proprietors several times in a few years, the Centinel was discontinued.

In 1804, the title of The Patriot was changed to *Utica Patriot*, under which name it continued until 1816, being printed "for the editor," after 1808 by Ira Merrell, and after 1813 by Merrell & Camp. William H. Maynard succeeded Mr. Lothrop as editor in 1811.

The Patrol was commenced by Seward & Williams at Utica, January 1, 1815, and was united January 2, 1816, with the Utica

Patriot, under the style of *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* It was printed for the proprietors by Ira Merrell, and was issued semi-weekly, Tuesday and Friday, for about one year, then weekly, on Tuesdays, till 1821. The proprietors, according to its prospectus, were Asahel Seward, William H. Maynard and William Williams. The name of the editor did not appear, in those days, on the paper itself. Examination of these old newspapers shows that the part of the editor then was very different from what it is now. What is now called editorial matter seldom appears. The paper was chiefly made up of news selected from other newspapers, with the briefest editorial headings, communications and advertisements. In fact, the editor fulfilled the dictionary definition of the word—one who arranges, prepares, and superintends the publication of the work of others—a much humbler part than that of the newspaper editor of the present time.

The *Utica Sentinel* appeared in the place of the Patriot and Patrol March 13, 1821. The cause of this change of name was somewhat peculiar. The Patriot and Patrol was Clintonian in its politics; representing the sentiments of the large majority of voters in this district. The politics of the editor changed and the tone of the paper also. An alarming loss of patronage naturally followed. No arrangement being practicable between the parties in interest, the Patriot and Patrol was dropped by its publisher, under the advice of prominent Clintonian lawyers, and the Utica Sentinel, "printed by Ira Merrill for William Williams, editor and proprietor," appeared in its stead.

The Utica Sentinel was sold to Samuel D. Dakin and William J. Bacon, and by them united with the *Columbian Gazette*, and issued May 6, 1825, under the name of *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, "printed by Northway & Bennett," till April 1, 1828, then by Northway & Porter. Messrs. Dakin & Bacon were joint editors and proprietors from 1825 till 1828, when S. D. Dakin became sole editor and owner, and in 1829 he sold it to its printers, Northway & Porter. It was published semi-weekly, till January, 1829. In 1831, Rufus Northway became the sole proprietor. Theodore S. Gold became editor after Mr. Dakin, and continued so till the establishment of the daily paper, in 1842, though Mr. Northway himself did much editorial work.

The Columbian Gazette, which was united with the Utica Sentinel, was first published at Rome, August 17, 1799, by Thomas Walker and Ebenezer Eaton, by the name of the *Columbian Patriotic Gazette*, and was removed to Utica and issued March 21,

1803, as the Columbian Gazette, by T. Walker, and continued to be so published until its union with the Sentinel, in 1825. Elisaph Dorchester was associated with Mr. Walker in its publication in 1815 and 1816.

In January, 1831, the *American Citizen*, and August 7, 1832, the *Utica Intelligencer* were united with the Sentinel and Gazette.

The Utica Intelligencer was commenced February 2, 1826, by William Tracy as editor and proprietor, and was printed by Ira Merrell for one year, and afterwards by Joseph Cólwell, till its termination. E. S. Ely succeeded Mr. Tracy as editor, May 9, 1828, for two years, and was followed by Joseph H. Buckingham, from January 1 to October 5, 1830.

The first number of the American Citizen appeared June 8, 1830. George S. Wilson was the editor and proprietor. The paper was continued about half a year.

The *Elucidator*, the organ of the anti-Masonic party, was commenced January 1, 1829, by Beriah B. Hotchkin, as editor and proprietor, and was published from January 1, 1830 to May, 1834, by William Williams as proprietor. Samuel P. Lyman became the editor after the retirement of Mr. Hotchkin, January 1, 1833. It was united with the Sentinel and Gazette, and the combined paper issued May 20, 1834, under the name of the

Oneida Whig,

"R. Northway, Printer and Publisher." This paper, in which so many previous ones were merged, continued to be published weekly by R. Northway and his associates, for nearly twenty years, till October 12, 1853, when it was sold to Lyon & Arthur, and the name changed to the *Weekly Gazette*, J. M. Lyon, editor; and July 25, 1856, it was transferred to N. D. Jewell, C. J. Radford, editor, and the name became *Weekly Gazette and Courier*, by whom it was continued to January 29, 1857, when its subscription list passed into the hands of Ellis H. Roberts, the purchaser of the Utica Daily Gazette, with which it had been associated from 1842.

The Utica Daily Gazette.

This was the first daily paper published in Utica, with the exception of the *Morning News*, published for one month immediately preceding and two subsequently, by Lyon & Arthur, and edited by Jarvis M. Hatch and C. Edwards Lester. The Daily

Gazette was commenced by Rufus Northway, the publisher and proprietor of the Oneida Whig, February 1, 1842. Richard U. Sherman was its editor, and Erastus Clark and William Allen associates in the first year. Ezekiel Bacon was editor for two months following. Alexander Seward became the editor and joint proprietor May 1, 1843, and under the firm name of R. Northway & Co., it was published till the fall of 1853. Dr. H. C. Potter was associate editor from November 1, 1847, and the sole editor from May 1 to September 23, 1850, when he became part proprietor with Northway & Seward. Erastus Clark was Dr. Potter's associate editor till November 1, 1851, when Mr. Seward resumed the editorship with Dr. Potter. The establishment was sold to Lyon & Arthur, October 12, 1853, and J. M. Lyon became editor. It was bought by N. D. Jewell, July 25, 1856, who published the paper till January 29, 1857, C. J. Radford being editor, when the name and good will were purchased by Ellis H. Roberts, and united with the *Morning Herald.*

The pecuniary value of these newspapers appears to have fluctuated widely. When the Sentinel was substituted for the Patriot and Patrol, by William Williams, in 1821, he was adjudged, by arbitrators, to pay William H. Maynard $7,500 for the latter's interest in the old paper, a weekly, in a village of 3,000 inhabitants.

The Sentinel, thus dearly paid for, was sold to Dakin & Bacon four years later, 1825, for $3,500, which included $500 for the printing materials. Of this sum, $3,000 was subsequently recovered of the seller, for printing a specimen number of the American Citizen, a paper projected and subsequently published a short time by G. S. Wilson.*

In 1843, when the population of Utica had become 18,000, R. Northway sold to A. Seward one-half of the Daily Gazette and the Oneida Whig and of the printing office, for $2,250. The Gazette was then the only daily paper in Utica, and had one hundred and twenty subscribers, not one of whom lived outside of the city.

In 1853, R. Northway & Co. sold their paper and office to Lyon & Arthur, for $12,000, the circulation of the daily paper being then about 1,200, notwithstanding the existence of three other dailies—the *Observer*, *Herald* and *Telegraph*.

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* See 11 Wendell's Rep., 67; 17 Id., 447; and 22 Id., 201.

THE EARLIEST FACTORIES OF ONEIDA,

AND THEIR PROJECTORS.

BY DR. M. M. BAGG.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY JULY 29, 1879.

It is generally understood in this vicinity that the first mills for the manufacture of cotton goods, and also the first mills for the manufacture of woolens, which were built in the State of New York, were erected in the town of Whitestown. This, I say, is generally known and believed. The time of erection of these first mills and the agencies that were at work in their establishment, are not so well known; and with reference to these particulars, there is in fact some discrepancy of statement among those who ought to be considered as authorities. The object of this paper is to compare certain recently published communications relating to these matters, and by the aid of further inquiry to endeavor to arrive at the truth. For if early residents of Whitestown were the first of any in New York to embark in enterprises that have since become common, and productive of much of the wealth and prosperity of the State, it is worth the while to learn when these projects were begun, and who were their projectors. And if we, their successors, pride ourselves on the fact that Oneida county was the place where the first cotton and woolen mills of New York had their beginning, it is fit that we should know the grounds of our self-gratulation.

It is admitted that the earliest of these mills was the cotton factory commonly known as the Oneida, or the one which was owned and controlled by the Oneida Manufacturing Society, and which stood nearly on the site of the present "lower" or "No. One" mill of the New York Mills, a few rods south of the canal above Yorkville. Of the time and circumstances relating to its establishment two somewhat different accounts were furnished the compiler of Everts & Ferris' recently published History of Oneida County, and are printed by him on pp. 243 and 623, respectively, of his volume.

One of these accounts is from the pen of General Horace Capron of Washington, son of Dr. Seth Capron formerly of Whitesboro, who, as will be seen, was concerned in the founding of this and two other of the early factories of the county. General Capron gives some particulars of much interest relating to all of them; but while unable to refer to manuscript records, and writing from memory only of occurrences that took place sixty or seventy years since, of some of which he was not personally cognizant, it is natural that he should be sometimes in error, especially with respect to dates. Yet as he tells us that one motive which led him to embrace the privilege accorded him by the compiler of the above work was to "aid in establishing a more correct history of the county, by pointing out several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories," it is reasonable to expect of him in this matter of dates a greater degree of accuracy than he has been able to show. While, therefore, we are grateful to him for his communication, embodying, as it does, personal reminiscences of the pioneers in these enterprises, a sketch of his father, and many incidents of much value, the truth of history requires that his statements should be examined side by side with those made by others, and compared likewise so far as possible with existing manuscript records.

The following is an extract from General Capron's account of the origin of the Oneida Factory.

"The first cotton-mill erected in the State of New York was the Oneida Factory, established in 1807. This was of brick, and stood in the vicinity of the site of the present York Mills. It was intended for the production of cotton-yarn only, and was in operation long before the introduction of the power-loom. The originator of this enterprise was Dr. Seth Capron, the father of the writer of this letter. Associated with him were counsellor Gold, Theodore Sill, Newton Mann and others. About this time Benjamin S. Walcott, then a young man, who afterwards established the York Mills, was induced to emigrate from Rhode Island, because of his knowledge of spinning machinery, which he had acquired under Samuel Slater. He began as superintendent of the spinning department, and in 1809, was appointed agent of the mill, which was then in operation."

On page 623 of the above mentioned history is another account of the beginning of this factory written by Leander S. Wood of New York Mills, who has lived in the village all his life, has worked in the factory since 1825, and is the son of Ezra Wood, who was connected with it from the year 1818. From this we extract also a passage:

"In the winter of 1807–8 a joint stock company was formed in Whitestown of which Hon. Thomas R. Gold, Hon. Theodore Sill, General George Doolittle and Jesse W. Doolittle were prominent members. This company was incorporated by the Legislature under the name of "The Oneida Manufacturing Society," with a nominal capital of $200,000, and chartered with banking privileges. Mr. Walcott* of Rhode Island, as their representative, in 1808, erected a three-and-one-half-story brick building, known as the Oneida Factory. * * * In 1809, Mr. Benjamin S. Walcott† as agent of the company, procured the requisite machinery and began to card and spin cotton, making mostly coarse yarn, which was put out to families to weave."

In a comparison of the two accounts there appears to be a difference of about a year in the alleged time of erection of the building, and a much greater discrepancy in the mention of the agents by whom the work was effected, inasmuch as Mr. Wood says nothing of Dr. Capron by whom as his son tells us, the factory was built. Leaving aside this latter point, except as it will be noticed incidentally, let us first examine a little further the question of the date of building and of starting of the factory.

The book which contains the record of proceedings of the Oneida Manufacturing Society is still extant, and although during the first two years, these proceedings are but partially and imperfectly set forth, we are enabled by means of it, aided by deeds on record in the office of the County Clerk, to learn the following items of the earlier history of this factory. The land and water privilege designed for its use were bought of Amos Wetmore, February 2d, 1808, the purchasers being Seth Capron, Newton Mann, Asher Wetmore and William M. Cheever. Of these parties Dr. Seth Capron, the probable prime mover, will be noticed hereafter. Newton Mann, his brother-in-law, was a merchant at Whitesboro, Asher Wetmore was a son, and Wm. M. Cheever a son-in-law, of Amos Wetmore, the former being the manager of the grist and saw mills previously erected by Amos Wetmore, at Yorkville, then known as Wetmore's Mills, and the latter living nearly opposite them. Soon after this purchase Messrs. Thomas R. Gold and Theodore Sill, well known lawyers then practicing at Whitesboro, and Benjamin S. Walcott, Sr., who had just arrived from Rhode Island, obtained an interest in common with the above named parties, and the co-partners assumed the name of

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* The writer here intends Benjamin S. Walcott, Senior, father of the late B. S. Walcott.

† Benjamin S. Walcott, Junior.

"Walcott & Co." At their first recorded meeting, held May 30, 1808, Mr. Cheever was appointed agent to build a dam across the Sauquoit, and to procure timbers and contract for the erection of a building for the use of the factory. This was accomplished in the course of the year ensuing, a building having been put up which was 60x35 feet in dimension and three stories high, and also two dwelling houses and a machine shop. Mr. Wetmore contracted to build the floom and Mr. Walcott the building. The latter was a practical manufacturer who had learned the business at the Cumberland Mill in Rhode Island, and was invited hither, as it is said, by the projectors of the work. In the spring of 1809, he was joined by his son B. S. Walcott, Jr., and together they finished the building and mill work, that is the water-wheel and shafting, and put in the machinery. Though this latter statement does not appear on the records, it was so represented by the late B. S. Walcott as well as by several others now deceased who were conversant with the early history of the mill.

From a conveyance recorded in the office of the County Clerk and dated, October 28, 1809, we learn that the shares held by the respective partners were made by said conveyance to be as follows: Seth Capron, William M. Cheever, Asher Wetmore and B. S. Walcott, Sr., each one-tenth, Newton Mann, B. S. Walcott, Jr., each two-tenths, and Gold and Sill, jointly, two-tenths. In November, 1809, the firm bought cotton and other materials and began the spinning of cotton yarn. Their first public advertisement is dated November 13th, and is subscribed by all the co-partners; it sets forth that the mill is now in operation, and invites the public to aid and cherish an institution calculated to support the independence of the country. The name of the elder Walcott now disappears from the records, he having returned to the east, and his son is made superintendent, or agent as it had been termed in the advertisement.

On the 9th of March, 1810, an act was passed by the Legislature of the State, to incorporate the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." This act, having set forth in the preamble that the before mentioned parties had, at great expense, erected a cotton factory at Whitestown, which is now in successful operation, and the desire of its builders to extend their establishment to the manufacture of wool, scythes, axes, &c., proceeds to incorporate them under the above title, with a capital of $200,000, to be managed by trustees elected annually who are to make regulations as to stock and other property. It was also provided that the act was not to impair the

existing contract between Messrs. B. S. Walcott, Sr., Gold, Capron, Mann, Sill, Cheever and Wetmore, of the first part, and B. S. Walcott, Jr. of the second part, respecting agency and superintendence. About this time the firm determined to sell $8,000 of their stock, the purchasers to become interested from the first of April next ensuing, which was to be the date of their first payment. And on the 7th of May, 1810, was held the first meeting of stockholders of the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." Five trustees were elected to manage the concerns of the Society, viz: G. G. Lansing, (President,) Theodore Sill, Thaddeus B. Wakeman, Seth Capron and William M. Cheever. Dr. Capron was president of this Board during the five years included between 1811 and 1815, and Theodore Sill for five years thereafter. Mr. Walcott was superintendent until October, 1812, when he was succeeded by Dr. Capron, who performed the duties until November, 1816, when they were again devolved upon Mr. Walcott. The latter had been engaged during part of the intervening time in building machinery for the company, and in 1817–18, he was their out-of-doors agent.

It will have been observed that during all this period the factory was employed in spinning yarn only. This they sent out to their agents in the villages of Whitesboro, Utica, New Hartford and Rome, as well as more distant places, by whom it was sold. An establishment for weaving by hand-looms, known as the Whitesboro Cloth Factory, and incorporated April 19, 1811, and which was located on Canal street in that village, the company bought. It was reorganized by Dr. Capron, run on their account for about three years, and then leased.

The weaving of cotton cloth by means of the power-loom was not introduced into this country until the fall of 1812, when it was put in operation at Waltham, Mass., and soon after at other mills in that vicinity.* The process was, however, kept secret. To obtain the knowledge of this secret, William B. Copley, a machinist in the employ of the Capron Company, went to Pawtucket, R. I., where these power-looms were in use, and engaged himself to labor as a simple operative. Having thus become possessed of the requisite information, he left the mill, without waiting to take up his wages, and returned to this county. Under a joint contract made with the Oneida and the Capron Companies, he built power-looms for both of these factories. This contract, as appears from the record-book of the latter company, also extant, is dated De-

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* Appleton's New Encyclopædia.

cember 5, 1817. The power-loom presently superseded the old method of weaving by hand, and formed a new era in the history of the factory.

The next manufactory organized in the county was that commonly known as the Oriskany Woolen Factory, which was situated on the bank of the Oriskany creek, in the village of that name. "Its erection," says General Capron, in the letter before referred to, "must have been cotemporaneous, or nearly so, with the Oneida Factory, since, from the best evidence I can command, work upon the former was begun in 1809, two years before the charter for the incorporation of the enterprise could be obtained from the Legislature." This assertion is based upon his recollection of what is contained in two papers upon the subject, written one by S. Newton Dexter and the other by Hon. Mr. Dudley. Neither of these papers, as he has since informed the writer, has he had the opportunity of inspecting for ten years or more, nor can they be now produced.

Turning again to the secretary's book of the Oneida Manufacturing Society, we find therein recorded what are doubtless the first steps that were taken towards the founding of this Oriskany Factory. Under date of May 3, 1810—four days before the first meeting of stockholders of the Oneida Society—it was "resolved that the company purchase of G. G. Lansing a site for water privilege with ten acres of land at and for the price of $1,000, payable in stock at 40 per cent. advance, and that the committee appointed to sell stock negotiate with Colonel Lansing for the same." At the same time a committee was appointed to take into consideration the most eligible way of building a *cotton* factory on the site thus purchased. And on the 26th of the same month they decided to go forward in their undertaking. But on the 11th of July they voted to subscribe five hundred shares in the stock of "the new company," appointed a committee to circulate a subscription paper for stock in this *new* company, and three days later authorized Theodore Sill to subscribe therein five hundred shares in behalf of their society. Here, then, it appears that the society abandoned the intention of building the factory themselves and entrusted the work to another association, formed, in part at least, of the same members. Concurrent with the first mention of this new company, viz., July 10, 1810, is the date of a document in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society, which would seem to be the original subscription thus directed to be put in circulation. It is

entitled a subscription for the purpose of erecting a cotton, woolen and iron factory on the Oriskany creek near the house of Colonel Lansing, and has annexed thereto a plan for its construction. Subscriptions were to be paid to Gerrit G. Lansing, Seth Capron and Samuel S. Breese, who were to be trustees until an incorporation had taken place. On this paper there are in all fifty-nine subscribers, mostly citizens of Whitesboro and of Utica, and among them appears the name of Theodore Sill in behalf of the Oneida Manufacturing Society. The record-book of this new society—the Oriskany Manufacturing Society—is also in existence. From it we learn that the company was organized in accordance with the terms of the above mentioned subscription paper, and held its first meeting of stockholders on the 11th of April, 1811, the act of incorporation having passed the Legislature on the 16th of February previous. The directors then elected were Gerrit G. Lansing, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Samuel S. Breese, William G. Tracy and William Carpender.

The original plan of this society seems to have been "to erect a cotton, iron and woolen factory." In the contract they made with the Oneida Society, July 14, 1810, wherein the latter agreed to convey to them the ten acres of land and the site on the Oriskany creek, which this parent society had previously bought, this parent society agreed, also, to furnish the new factory with all kinds of machinery in their possession. In April of the following year, they were applied to, to take back the machinery they had contracted to build, and, soon after, to furnish the Oriskany with woolen in lieu of the cotton previously ordered. On the 9th of August this Oneida Company entertained a proposition from the one at Oriskany, asking advice as to the course they thought best to be taken by the latter, whether to embark in the manufacture of cotton or of woolen. Their opinion was given in favor of woolen, and about the same time they agreed to assist the company at Oriskany in disposing of their cotton machinery. This was subsequently effected, this machinery having been sold to the company at Newport. Thus it will be seen that six months after the passage of the act incorporating the Oriskany Company, and fifteen months after the conception of the enterprise, the land being in possession and the building nearly completed, the company were but just reaching a conclusion as to the kind of business in which they would engage. In the course of the next three months, they had bought wool, of the Mt. Merino Association and elsewhere, had engaged their operatives and begun the making of woolen goods.

"The next cotton factory," says General Capron, "was the Capron, erected in New Hartford, and which closely followed the Oneida Factory, both of which were established by Dr. S. Capron, and of both of which he was the largest proprietor. Associated with him in this work were Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Seward and others. * * * Dr. Bagg* states that the Capron factory went into operation in 1814, which is, I am sure, an error, as I well remember the building of the factory, and that here was used the first power-loom for weaving cotton erected in the Empire State, which was about 1812; and although the mill was not in full operation, much of the machinery was running, and had been for some time."

That General Capron is at fault in respect to the date of beginning of the Capron factory, I shall presently show, and that this was not the next factory established in the county, there having been two others in existence before it, is proved by the secretary's minutes of the Oneida Society. These were the mill of the New Hartford Manufacturing Society, located in the village of that name, and that of the Whitestown Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Society, known also as Walcott's factory, and likewise as the Buhr-stone—from its having been previously used for preparing mill-stones—which was situated above all of the present structures of the New York Mills Company, and near the New Hartford line. The former of these, the New Hartford Company, was incorporated by a special act, March 30, 1810, and would seem, therefore, to have been but little later in origin than the Oriskany. The latter, the Walcott or Buhr-stone factory, organized, January 23, 1813, under a general manufacturing law that was passed in 1811. The incorporators named in the act which created the former were Frederick Stanley, Richard Sanger, Jacob Sherrill, John Eames, Amos Hull and Joseph Kirkland. Their capital was $200,000, and they were empowered to make cotton and wool. The first mention of the association made in the minutes above referred to is under date of February 15, 1812, when a committee of the older society was appointed to meet one from that of New Hartford, in order "to make such resolutions as shall promote the interests of both establishments." So that it is fair to presume that the New Hartford Society was then organized and had begun its work. And on the 24th of December, 1813, a committee was authorized to concert with the Newport, (Herkimer

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* Pioneers of Utica.

county,) New Hartford and Walcott's (Whitestown) Societies on the subject of purchasing cotton at the South. In the year 1812 there were woolen factories in operation at Ballston, at Poughkeepsie, at Hudson and elsewhere in the State.

The Capron was not founded until 1814, as will be seen from the following data: The first reference to this factory is found in the land records of the county, by examination of which it appears, from a deed therein recorded and dated on the 3d day of January, 1814, that Seth Capron and Nathan Seward bought of Arthur Perry eleven acres of land, being a part of lot No. 108 in Freemason's Patent, and that after the dispesal by said Capron to said Seward of about one-half an acre of the same, these parties sold the remainder to the trustees of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company on the 14th of April, 1814. On the same day, Nathan Seward and wife, Asahel Higby and wife, and Asahel Seward and wife, also sold a part of lot No. 108 in said patent to the directors of the same company, "with the right of water from the pond above and adjoining the paper-mill, and of conveying it in the most easy and convenient manner to and for the use of the cotton factory intended to be erected on the premises hereby granted, so as to operate with sufficient speed 2,000 spindles, with the machine shops and picking machine."*

Nearly cotemporaneous with the date of the above mentioned sale is the certificate of incorporation of the Capron Company, a copy of which, as certified by the Deputy Secretary of State, is in possession of the Oneida Historical Society. It is as follows: "To whom it may concern: This may certify that Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby, Asahel Seward, Thomas R. Gold and Herbert B. Mann, all of the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida, have associated, by the name of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton yarn and cloth, and that the amount of the capital stock of the said company consists of one thousand

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*The paper-mill alluded to as previously existing, stood on the Sauquoit within the limits of the present town of New Hartford, contiguous to what became the site of the Capron, now Utica Cotton Company factory. It was built in 1807 by Leonard Kellogg & Co., a firm consisting of Leonard Kellogg, Nathan Seward, Asahel Higby and Thomas Sayles. The interests of Kellogg and Sayles were bought by Asahel Seward, of Utica, in 1810–11, who, after the death of his father, Colonel Nathan Seward, in 1815, conducted the same till 1824, when it was sold to the cotton company. The Capron factory was burnt October 14, 1822, and on being rebuilt in 1824, the title of the corporation was changed to Utica Cotton Manufacturing Company.

shares, each share consisting of one hundred dollars, and that the number of directors is five, and that the names of the directors who shall manage the concerns of the said association the first year are Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby and Asahel Seward; and we further certify that the manufacturing operations of the said company are to be carried on in the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida. Dated at Whitestown, this fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen."

Thus it appears that at this time the Capron factory was only "intended to be erected," but not yet in being, and that General Capron is again in fault in his attempts to "correct several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories of the county." The only previous historian of Oneida county is Judge Pomroy Jones, who gives correctly the year of incorporation of the Oriskany factory, and does not mention the time of founding of either of the others. "The Pioneers of Utica" treats but incidentally of the county at large, and only of such events as the citizens of Utica took part in. Such dates as it gives of the matters now in question conform to those herein stated.

That General Capron should fail in respect to dates is by no means strange, when we consider that he relies almost wholly on his memory in the narration of events which occurred in his extreme youth. Still he has related particulars of much interest; and for his efforts "to do justice to the memory of the pioneers in the introduction of one of the most important industries ever developed in the Empire State"—a second and the prevailing motive for writing his letter—we are truly grateful. That he has not departed from the truth in crediting his father with the origination of these enterprises, I am quite disposed to believe. From the account I have presented of the recorded proceedings of the Oneida Society and the deeds copied from the official records of the county, from the subscription paper that heralded the establishment of the mill at Oriskany, and from the certificate of incorporation of the Capron mill, it is evident that Dr. Seth Capron was a leading man in all of these undertakings. It is seen that he was one of the first board of directors in three of them, that his name heads the list on two. Of the Oneida he was chairman of the board for five successive years, and likewise four years their superintendent, and in this board no member served on more numerous and important committees. Of the Oriskany, also, he was a trustee from 1811 to 1815.

Dr. Capron came to Whitesboro, in 1806, from Cumberland, Rhode Island, where, in 1798, the hands employed by Samuel Slater had introduced from Pawtucket the Arkwright processes of spinning cotton which Slater first brought from England, in 1790, and established at Providence, and afterwards at Pawtucket.* It was at Cumberland doubtless, that Dr. Capron became impressed with the practicability and importance of this kind of industry. Though trained as a physician, and for some years after his residence still engaged in the practice of it, he soon began to interest his neighbors in the subject which had taken so strong a hold upon his own mind. The preliminaries in the enterprise were not the work of a day; prejudices and obstacles attended every movement. Every thing was to be taught and every thing learned, while capital available for such work was exceedingly limited. He met these prejudices, and overcame these obstacles. He organized the company, furnished a portion of the requisite funds and stimulated others to contribute of theirs, and took a leading part in the purchase of the land and the development of the water power. According to his son, who is sustained in this assertion by the brother of the latter, six years older than himself,—as quoted in a letter to the writer from General Capron,—he built the factory, and when it was partially completed, invited Mr. Walcott to come from Rhode Island and take charge of it. Even if the truth of this declaration should not be fully admitted,—and I think I have shown that there is reason to doubt it,—he certainly seems to have been the projector and prime-mover of the work. He preceded and prepared the way for his townsman of Cumberland, a more practised workman than himself, and if he did not build the factory he was the head of the company that did build it.

His agency in the inception and organization of the Oriskany factory, even without the testimony of his son, can not be questioned. And when we learn of the numerous flocks of costly sheep maintained on his farms in Deerfield by him and his colleagues of the Mt. Merino Association to supply the finer kinds of wool for the factory, and which were sold at his failure, we may well believe that this factory not less than the Oneida absorbed his thoughts, and taxed his energies. "Taking into consideration," remarks his son, "the large price paid for a single sheep—$1,000,—cost of attendance, risk by sea and land, and time required to place the stock in Oneida county, under the then existing circumstances, it will be readily

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* Appleton's New Encyclopœdia.

seen that the importation of wool-producing animals was no trifling undertaking." And in a letter to the writer he says further, "I have often, in more matured years, heard my father talk of the trials and tribulations of that early period. The facts that I relate are not the coinage of my own brain; the remembrance of them is implanted in my very existence. I know my father's agency in this work, and the sacrifices that he made."

The result of the sacrifices he incurred in the carrying out of his various projects,—the Capron mill just begun as well as of the two that had preceded it,—is made evident by an examination of our county records. When peace was declared with England and the importation of foreign products, suspended by the war, was again renewed, the manufactured cottons and woolens of Oneida, the blooded sheep of Dr. Capron and his associates, fell so greatly in value, as to curtail, or wholly stop the working of the mills, and to overwhelm their projector with ruin. In the summer of 1816, he signed over to his creditors the whole of his real and personal property, excepting only his dwelling house, including various parcels of land in Deerfield and elsewhere, that amounted in all to nearly 1,000 acres, 500 half-blooded Merinoes, 175 shares of Oneida and 222 of Capron mills stock, his notes, bonds, &c. At this time he retired from the superintendency and trusteeship of the Oneida Company. About two years later he was made superintendent of the mill at Oriskany and removed there to occupy that position until his withdrawal from the county in 1825. The business of manufacturing continued to interest him, and the construction and running of factories formed the occupation of the rest of his life. Going hence to Walden in Orange county, he became the principal agent in establishing a large woolen factory, and also, with his son a cotton mill, and was instrumental in giving life to that now flourishing village. And there he died September 9th, 1835, at the age of seventy-three.

Few men have led more active lives; few, by their ardor, their enterprise, their perseverance and industry, by their conciliation and persuasive honesty of purpose, their patriotism and self-sacrifice, have done more for their generation and their commonwealth. He may have been over sanguine and incautious, too assured of prosperity to refrain from engaging in more numerous and greater ventures than he had the means to carry to perfection. Or he may have been simply the victim of a commercial storm which ordinary prudence could not or would not, have averted. But if wrecked

himself, he was the navigator who planned the voyage and led others along the track; like many another discoverer and inventor, he came short of success in a course wherein he opened up to others the avenue to wealth. I would not derogate from the credit that is due to the other patriotic men who were concerned with him in his earlier projects, still less deny the obligations we owe to the late Benjamin S. Walcott for the practical knowledge and the very efficient aid which marked his superintendency from the outset and characterized it to its close, nor to the ripened skill and the wondrous executive ability which have crowned with prosperity the later labors of himself and his colleagues. Yet I crave for the projector his share of the merit of conceiving and of giving impulse to the enterprise. Assuredly to Dr. Seth Capron is Oneida county indebted for much of that abundance she is now reaping from her splendid factories, and with its history his name equally with that of the Walcotts, Marshal and Campbell should ever be identified.

ANDREW A. BARTOW,

AND THE DISCOVERY OF WATER-LIME IN THIS COUNTRY.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 9, 1880.

I have recently become possessed of some old letters and papers which belonged to the late Andrew A. Bartow, who for many years resided in Herkimer county, and was one of the honored and useful citizens of Central New York. These letters and papers were placed at my disposal by his two daughters, now advanced in years, and who at the present time are temporarily residing in Herkimer. I propose to leave these letters and papers with this Society. They are somewhat interesting as coming from persons whose names were prominently before the public more than a half-century ago, and who were connected with the early history of the canals of this State. Mr. Bartow was the intimate associate of those persons, and was in the service of the State on the Erie canal from the time it was commenced until it was completed in 1825. And during the whole progress of this great undertaking he was a most useful and efficient agent of the State in all of the various and important trusts confided to him.

It is probably known to some of the persons here present, that before work was commenced on the Erie canal, the material called Water-Lime was not known to exist in this country, and that it was supposed it would be necessary to import the Tarras, or Roman cement, to be used in the construction of the canal. But just at the proper time, and when the question as to making provision for the importation of water-cement was being considered by the State officials, a limestone theretofore supposed to be a spurious kind of limestone, and of no use for any purpose, was found on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which, by experiments made, was found to form cement which would harden under water. This was a most timely discovery. The material was found right at hand which was indispensable in the construction of the locks and aqueducts on the canal, and which

has since become throughout the country a prime necessity in all kinds of hydraulic masonry.

I claim for Mr. Bartow that he was the original discoverer of Water-Lime in this country, and I propose in this paper to present the proof which, I think, sustains the claim I make.

I am well aware that the discovery of this important article in this country is accorded to Canvass White, a native of this county, who was one of the chief assistant engineers on the Erie canal, and actively and responsibly engaged as such during the whole progress of its construction. I am aware, also, that before the canal was commenced Mr. White was sent by the Erie canal officials to England, to procure mathematical instruments for use in constructing the canal, and while there to make observations in regard to canals. While abroad, it is said, Mr. White paid attention to the use of the article known as Roman cement. It was then thought that kind of cement would have to be imported for the Erie canal. The State officials, as early as 1818, had been advised by Benjamin Wright, the chief engineer upon the canal, that quicklime would not do for the construction of the locks, and that provision ought to be made for the importation of Tarras, or Roman cement, for that purpose.

After Canvass White's return from Europe, and in the year 1818 or 1819, the discovery was made that the limestone on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which had been previously regarded as wholly useless, was suitable for making a water-proof cement. Experiments and tests were made, which resulted in determining the fact that Roman cement could be dispensed with in the construction of the canal, and that ample material for hydraulic cement was near at hand.

The question to which I wish to invite your attention is, who is really entitled to the credit of the first discovery in this country of this indispensable article; whether Canvass White, to whom the honor belongs, if we take as granted what appears in his favor in the public prints and official documents on that subject, or Andrew A. Bartow, whose name, so far as I have been able to discover, has never been publicly or officially connected with its discovery?

From the letters and papers I have the honor of presenting to this Society at this time, I feel warranted in saying that the honor of this discovery belongs to Mr. Bartow, and not to Mr. White. The evidence contained in these letters would, in my opinion, be deemed sufficient before any court or jury to establish the claim of Bartow to this honor.

In behalf of Mr. White it is claimed that he made the discovery of the cement after repeated experiments in 1818; and it is true that in 1820 a patent was issued to him for the discovery. Under this patent White put in a claim to be remunerated by the State for the cement used upon the canal, which had been purchased from other parties. He claimed it was manufactured and put upon the market in violation of his patent; and for this violation he commenced several suits, and recovered judgment in one of them for $1,700 damages against one Timothy Brown. From what I can learn of this case, it appears that Captain Brown, as he was called, had furnished a large amount of Water-Lime for the use of the State on the canal, and that *White* in virtue of his patent claimed a royalty of four cents a bushel, and because it was not paid brought suit, which resulted in the judgment against Brown. In 1825, Brown petitioned the Legislature for relief against this judgment, and in his petition alleged that he furnished the cement for the construction of the canal at its then usual price, without taking into account the four cents per bushel royalty charged by White; and as the State had the benefit of the cement at four cents per bushel less than it would have cost if the charges of *White*, the patentee, had been paid, and as he, Brown, considered himself acting under the countenance of the acting canal commissioners, he thought it just and reasonable to ask of the State an indemnity against the judgment so recovered against him by *White*. The committee of the Legislature to which the petition of Brown was referred, reported in his favor, and to prevent further prosecutions under the patent against those who had furnished cement for the construction of the canal, unanimously recommended that the sum of $10,000 be paid to Mr. White, on condition of his assigning and assuring to the people of this State the full right forever to use the cement, and of his discharging his judgment against Brown, and all claims against him and all and every of the citizens of this State for or on account of any infringement of his patent. This report, which is dated February 11, 1825, concludes as follows: "And as Mr. White agrees to accept said sum upon the conditions aforesaid, the committee ask leave to introduce a bill."

I can not find that the report of the committee was adopted. At all events, no act was passed granting any relief to Mr. Brown. He probably appealed from the judgment, and quite likely defeated the patent. How it is I do not know, and it is not material to my present purpose to inquire.

I mention the foregoing facts because it is undisputed that Canvass White took out the patent for this cement, and was popularly supposed to be entitled to the credit of the discovery.

And now, before producing the proofs which I claim show that Bartow and not White is entitled to this credit, I will briefly state what the daughters of Mr. Bartow say of their father's connection with the discovery of the cement. They say, and their memory extends back to that period, that at the time the locks on the canal at or near Syracuse were about being built, he ranged all over the county of Onondaga for stones suitable for that purpose. That one of the duties with which he was charged was to select and contract for the materials for the locks; and for that purpose he visited the stone quarries and stone ledges in the vicinity and examined the quality of the stone. That on some occasion, when he was on a tour of inspection of stone quarries in Onondaga county, his attention was attracted to a different kind of limestone from what he was familiar with, found in the town of Manlius; and he took a specimen and examined it, and while looking at it some farmers were present, and he asked them what kind of stone it was, and they replied that it was a bastard limestone. That no use could be made of it. That some of the farmers had tried to use it as plaster by grinding it and putting it on their corn, and they found that it was good for nothing and would become hard. It occurred to Mr. Bartow to take a specimen of the stone and place it in his cabinet, as was his custom to do with the different kinds of stone he found. He brought the specimen with him to his lodgings, and among others showed it to two English masons, who were brothers, by the name of Horn, and who were then at work on the canal. These masons had worked on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, in England, and were familiar with the use of Roman cement, and with the stone from which it was made. After examining the stone, they told Mr. Bartow that it was an inferior kind of limestone, and that it looked very much like the stone from which the Roman cement was made. The curiosity of Bartow was now excited to know the value of the stone, and he resolved upon making experiments with it. To that end he hired the use of a blacksmith shop, and as he could not have the use of it on a week day, he took it to use on Sunday. He shut himself up in the shop, and worked all Sunday in burning the stone and pulverizing it, and in making experiments with it. He was so elated with the results of his Sunday work, that he took some of the stone to Prof. James Hadley, of the Fairfield Medical College, and together

with that learned chemist, he made further experiments, and finally demonstrated the fact that the stone produced a perfect waterproof cement. The daughters of Mr. Bartow distinctly remember the fact of his bringing the stone to Fairfield, for Prof. Hadley to make experiments with, and they were old enough at that time to know their father's employments, and what he then said about the stone and the use to be made of it. And they say that Canvass White knew nothing of the properties of the stone until informed by their father, and that to make use of the discovery and profit out of it he paid their father $2,000, and applied for the patent, agreeing to let him have a quarter interest in the patent, in addition to the money consideration paid. It is certain that Mr. Bartow never applied for a patent, and that White did; and knowing Bartow as I did, I can imagine a satisfactory reason why, as between him and White, the latter was put forward as the discoverer, and to get the patent.

And now, before presenting Mr. White's letters on the subject of the cement and the patent, which he addressed to Mr. Bartow, I will introduce the latter by reading some papers relating to him, not as evidence on the main question which I seek to establish, but as preliminary thereto.

UTICA, 18 July, 1817.

Dear Sir:—The Canal Commissioners have appointed you their agent to procure grants of the land through which the western canal is to pass, and have agreed to allow you three dollars a day and the expenses of yourself and horse, or four dollars a day, including your compensation and all expenses. If you agree to accept the trust, you will repair immediately to Rome and report yourself to Benjamin Wright, the Engineer, who will furnish you with blank deeds and other necessary information. You will commence your operations at Utica and go on westerly. Write to me, directed at Albany, and I will furnish you with other directions if necessary.

I am yours, with esteem,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. DE WITT CLINTON.

I do hereby authorize and empower Andrew A. Bartow. Esq., to make and conclude contracts at his discretion for the purchase and delivery of lime, sand, timber and plank at any place where they may be required for the construction of any works connected with the Erie canal on that part of the line which lies between Utica and Salina, hereby engaging to ratify and confirm all such contracts, and when they are executed to make all such payments as by said contracts said Bartow shall bind himself to make in behalf of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York.

MYRON HOLLEY,

Dated 26 May, 1818. One of said Canal Commissioners.

The bearer hereof, Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, has been in the employ of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York since the first part of the season of 1817 to this time, and has attended to various duties as an agent for making contracts for labor and materials necessary for the work, in all of which, he has, as far as has come to my knowledge, performed the various duties to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioners and their Engineers.

Utica, State of N. York, BENJ. WRIGHT,
November 17, 1821. Principal Engineer Erie Canal.

UTICA, November 17, 1821.

The bearer of this is Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, who has been appointed by the Board of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, their agent for procuring cessions of land whereon the canals of this State have been located. This duty he has discharged much to their satisfaction. He has also been intrusted with various other duties in relation to the construction of the Erie canal, particularly in the procuring and selecting Water-Lime, of which he professes to be a competent judge, having had much experience in regard to it, and made more observation in regard to the peculiarities and properties of this important article than any other person of my acquaintance.

HENRY SEYMOUR,
Utica, November 17, 1821. Acting Canal Commissioner.

A. A. BARTOW, AGENT, ACCOUNT WITH CANAL COMMISSIONERS, TO THE 16TH NOVEMBER, 1821.

The Erie Canal Commissioners to A. A. Bartow, Agent. *Dr.*,

To services rendered (as per subjoined statement) from the 29th day of April, 1821, to the 16th day of November, 1821, inclusive, being 201 days, at $4 per day,............... .... $804

STATEMENT.

Engaged to the first of June in obtaining cessions of land through the eastern section of the canal and in inspecting the Water-Lime and lime-kilns to the west to prevent adulteration.

To the first of July, occupied in examining the different stone-quarries on the eastern section, contracting for the quarries and superintending the setting of the locks and aqueducts.

To the first of August, engaged in examining for Water-Lime through the counties of Herkimer, Montgomery, Otsego, Schenectady and Albany, and occasionally in superintending the construction of the locks under Stewart, Doolittle & Butler, between Utica and the Little Falls.

To the first of September, employed as a superintendent on the line of the canal between Utica and Schenectady, examining the setting of the locks, inspecting the Water-Lime made use of, and in examining stone-quarries and the cutting of the stone.

To the first of October, occupied, with Commissioner Bouck, in estimating damages on the Mohawk river and on the Northern canal, and in measuring stone at the different quarries.

To the sixteenth of November, employed on the line of the canal between Utica and the Little Falls, making preparation to let in the water.

KINGSTON, December 9, 1825.

Doct. A. A. Bartow:

Dear Sir:—I am desirous of seeing you here with as little delay as possible, and that you may understand the object I have in view, I will in part state that I wish to have several points examined and experiments made with the Water-Lime found near the line of our canal. You will readily perceive the necessity of our having this matter attended to immediately, on account of the advanced season of the year, and that I should see you here to confer on the subject before you commence operations. I shall expect, if you are willing to engage, to see you to-morrow or Sunday; and if you decline, to hear from you by that time at farthest. With great respect,

Yours, most truly,
MAURICE WURTS,
Agent for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

ROME, N. Y., 7th August, 1880.

S. Earl, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of 2d inst. was duly received. Memory in transactions of over one-half a century is not very reliable. I recollect Doctor Bartow very well. He was a sort of general agent of canal commissioners. From 1818 to 1820 I saw him often. The young scions in the Engineer Department always enjoyed his genial and frank manner. I recollect many pleasant interviews.

In regard to the cement question, I recollect he took great interest in it, when it was generally regarded with doubt, and insisted it would be a success. He discussed the matter freely with the young engineers. I well recollect the strong confidence he expressed in its success. I do not recollect that he claimed to be the original in the discovery. It was supposed Canvass White made the experiments which showed the hydraulic quality of the cement. Doct. Bartow often showed specimens of cement; he seemed always to have them in his pocket. As to the main question: Who first suggested the thing? I am not able to say.

With pleasant recollection of the genial Doct. Bartow,

I am, very truly, yours,
JOHN B. JERVIS.

Having now shown who Bartow was, and what his occupations were on the Erie canal, I am prepared to give the evidence contained in White's letters, which I think fairly show it was understood between them that Bartow was the actual discoverer of the cement. That this evidence may be fully understood, I have concluded not to extract the letters, nor state their contents, but to give them in full, and with them to give also, in their order of

time, a letter from Benjamin Wright, and the draft of two letters which were written by Bartow to White.

ALBANY, April 12, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I received a note from you by Judge Wright, stating the time you extended to me for closing the negotiation between us respecting the cement. I should have written sooner, but I was in hopes the Commissioners would do something in my behalf that would enable me to comply with your terms. I yesterday got their answer, and they refuse giving or making us any compensation whatever. I also requested J. B. Yates, Esq., to purchase your share, but he thinks you ask too much. I am not able to purchase it. I got a statement of my account respecting the sales of the cement, and that I am now more than $1,600 in debt. This has so far been a bad business for me. Now, my dear friend, what can I do? The Commissioners pay no regard to Judge Skinner's decision. They say it must be decided in Supreme Court of the United States before they will consider the patent valid. I ask of you what must be done next. The sales have been so bad that Peter Remsen & Co. do not talk as favorably as they did in proposing to pay for the part I contracted with them to take. I wish you to write to me at Lebanon, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania. I go on this morning in the steamboat. My health is not very good, but am gaining slowly. I will write you again when I get to New York, and have an understanding with P. Remsen & Co. My respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from Albany respecting the cement, and requested you to write me at Lebanon. I have been trying to make some arrangement with P. Remsen & Co. and J. B. Yates. I find that they put a very small value on the patent, on account of the number of persons who have been engaged in manufacturing for the Commissioners; also, the number that own land on which the cement is found. These men may combine and make a good deal of trouble. Also, a great number of failures which have attended the use of it in this city and other places. It is so subject to difficulties of this kind that I begin to despair of receiving much benefit from it. The refusal of the Commissioners to make any remuneration was a great disappointment to me. I mentioned that I was considerably in debt. I am now fearful that I shall be worse off than I represented. Messrs. P. Remsen & Co. have about 700 casks on hand, and it is feared that it is all damaged. This lot, with all the charges, has cost me nearly $4 per cask. I have also 200 casks at Albany; in all, 900 now on hand. This is a bad concern for me. I have not been able to accomplish any arrangement on my own account, but have requested Mr. Yates to treat with you for your fourth part of the patent. I should be very glad to dispose of my part; that would save me from a loss. Your friend, Samuel Horn, has told Mr. Bouck that all the knowledge you possess respecting the cement you obtained from him and his brother in an improper manner. He says that you lay behind their shanty and overheard a conversation between them, which developed

their knowledge to you. This is the last part of the story. It was prefaced by a long statement of circumstances relating to the unsuccessful experiments which they made with you, and your fair propositions to reward them. These stories have some influence, however false they may be. You see, from all the circumstances combined, that the prospects are very poor for any remuneration for all the trouble and expense of the cement. My health is yet very delicate. I start for Pennsylvania this morning in low spirits. Please write to me as directed. My respects to your family.

Yours, affectionately,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, Penn., April 25, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from New York, and mentioned that Mr. Yates would probably make application to you for your fourth part of the patent for the hydraulic cement. As I was not able to purchase it of you, I intend you shall have your proportion of any remuneration that may be obtained from the State. This I neglected to mention in my last letter, which has induced me to write before I received an answer to my letters. I regret very much that it has not been in my power to make a final settlement before I left the State. I expect, however, to return in June, and hope I shall then see you. I found advertised for sale in Philadelphia a water-proof cement from Richmond in Virginia. I can say nothing of its merits, for I had no opportunity of ascertaining its qualities. It is recommended to be a superior article by the agent. I have not yet commenced operations. My health continues to improve. I am not yet as strong as usual; the weather has been unfavorable for me. Remember me to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

SCHENECTADY, May 13, 1823.

My Dear Friend:—I have just received a letter from Mr. White, wherein he says he has written three letters to you on the subject of the Water-Lime, and as I understand received no answer. He wishes me to see you and talk with you on the subject, and as I have understood you are about coming down to Albany, pray when can I see you and how can it be managed. I set out to-morrow to go up the river from this place, and shall be about three days in getting to the Falls, and I should like to see you if possible then, and have some conversation on the above subject.

I wish very much you was on the line now. Your presence between Schoharie creek and this place would be worth to the State ten dollars per day at this time, and tend to accelerate our getting in the water. Such an event would be pleasant, but how to bring it about is the question. When the engineers have no power to employ persons, it becomes difficult to say when the water shall come in. However, patience in this troublesome world is a great and excellent quality in human creatures, and I endeavor to practice as much of it as I can.

I should be glad to see you and enjoy a few hours' chat; and without intending to flatter you, I really think it would do me a great deal of good. If I can not see you, pray write me. Direct to Schenectady. With much affectionate regard,

I am, yours truly,

A. A. Bartow, Esq. B. WRIGHT.

Herkimer, May 19, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I have received your three communications of April 12th, 17th and 26th, and regret the ill success attending the introduction of our water-cement into common use. The reverses experienced in your attempts, appear to be owing to the want of your personal skill and attention, in the selection and calcination of the lime in grinding, and compounding it for use; and perhaps the greatest utility to the public and profit to us, the proprietors, would be secured by a division and allotment into counties and cities, enabling each to superintend his own immediate interest. I had long been of this opinion; but apprehending some collision almost unavoidable, from the exercise of separate divisions, I felt it my duty to offer to you the sale of my right, at a sum considerably less than I think I might realize from it, after a partition of territory, and I do not yet feel disposed to withdraw that offer and ask immediately for what you have often expressed a willingness, a partition of territory.

I beg leave to assure you that the patent can not be impeached by reason of any information communicated to me, or obtained by me from any person in relation to the discovery. My knowledge on the subject was not derived from others; but of my own seeking and experiment.

Considering the highest offer which Mr. Yates, as you say, is disposed to make for my interest, compared with offers made by others, to which I have not, and do not wish to listen; I think I could do better for all concerned by the sale of the interest of all, than he would do by me. As your engagements make it difficult for you to attend to this concern, would it be agreeable to you, that I should inquire what the proprietors of our western limestone would give for the exclusive privilege secured to us by the patent? I would venture on these inquiries with a delicate hand, and in answer to proposals occasionally made for my interest: but I do not wish to venture even this without the consent of all concerned.

When I shall have procured a proper analysis of the Bald mountain lime. I expect I shall be able to tell you that it is our's precisely, excepting only its coloring matter, which can not take its hydraulic use out of the patent.

If a division be thought best, we shall probably find it best to divide this and some of the neighboring States by counties, and the Atlantic cities by cities, the western and more remote States by large districts. In this way each may attend to his own interest, or procure a special agent to do it for him. And in this way I think no reasonable doubt can be entertained of our success and profits.

In the course of the summer, I propose a variety of new experiments in regard to the best modes of selecting, calcining, grinding and compounding this cement, so as to be able to reduce all these, not only to rules such as those

acquainted with kindred arts *can*, but so plain that even those unacquainted with the use of cements can not mistake the best process.

I would be glad to hear what you can say on the practical use of the newly proposed southern cement. Can you send me its analysis?

As the Canal Commissioners decline paying anything to the patentees of the cement, I suggest the propriety of calling all persons in the State to account for their infringements of the patent. I think this would bring the Commissioners to terms, unless they are willing to see their contractors suffer. The State not liable to suit stands upon its exemption; let the patentees recline on their right secured by the Laws of the Union. In a compromise so far as my interest goes, I am willing to be liberal; but if by the refusal of the Commissioners to do us justice, we are driven to prosecute, I ask the utmost farthing which can be recovered. If the Commissioners tell us they can do nothing till we have maintained our exclusive right by various expensive litigated suits; our answer must be that these suits securing us verdicts we will collect them without permitting the Commissioners to interfere. A compromise is offered to save the expenses of suits; but suit once brought, let those interested in the patent seek and recover damages, and let the Commissioners indemnify those who may suffer.

Such, my dear sir, are my views on the subject. I shall expect an answer from you as soon as may be, respecting a sale of my interest, a division, a sale of the interest of all, and the suits to be brought for infringements, and such information as you can give respecting the newly proposed southern cement. I shall communicate what I can learn respecting that of Bald mountain.

CANVASS WHITE. A. A BARTOW.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, June 9, 1823.

A. A. Bartow, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 19th May, mailed the 22d, has been received. I should have answered it sooner, but I expected to have seen Judge Wright. He has returned without making me a visit. I have had the contents of your letter under consideration. I expect to be in Troy about the 20th of this month, and have, therefore, concluded to defer giving an answer to your proposition of a division of territory until that time, and must solicit you to meet me and Judge Wright, and make a final settlement on such terms as we may agree on. I will write you again and state the precise time—perhaps it may be a little later—for I feel anxious to get a considerable part of the line under contract before I leave it; and, further, I should like to make it convenient for Mr. Wright and yourself. If you should have any engagements that would make it inconvenient to meet me at that time, or between that and the first of July, you will have the goodness to inform me. I have a sample of the Virginia cement, and have some on trial. It is a compound; the constituent parts I do not know. I will furnish you with a sample. I have a specimen of stone found on Maiden creek, which empties into the Schuylkill above Reading, and is said to make a good cement. I have seen none of it tried, but shall make the experiment soon. It has the appearance of the Bald mountain stone. If it should prove good, our patent would be

contested. I shall be able to understand it before I see you. The p are very anxious to find it in this State, and will go as great len Colonel Y. with a substitute. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHI

HERKIMER, June 28, 18

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 9th and the 21st inst. have come to hand. T contain an invitation to meet yourself and Judge Wright at Troy on third of July. I should be happy to meet friends and old labore the canal, and to hear your several remarks and observations on the con plated improvements of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryla but the situation of my business and family make it very difficult, say practicable, and nothing ought to tempt me away at present but urg business. If, therefore, to the agreeable call of friendship, you had add some definite proposal for a distribution of our common interest in cement, I should have repaired to Troy, feeling extremely anxious to hav my fourth in severalty, that I may make it productive to myself and famil Yet even then I might not have been able to attend at the time you fix, well from private circumstances as that I do not know where to find t Judge.

Since, then, I can not attend, I may renew the expression of my wish fo a distribution of our interests in the hydraulic cement. The basis of th division should be perfectly equitable, territory, population and probab profit duly considered. In procuring the cement or material for it, the righ should be common to all in interest in the several places where it is or ma be found. In vending and using it, the right should be exclusive in th places distributed to each. It would seem that each should have some of the Atlantic cities, some of the counties in this and the middle and lak States, and in the other States the distribution may be fairly made by larg districts; and I am of opinion that it will be well for us to refer the distribution upon such a basis to some proper person with power to define ou respective territories, and to settle our shares in all sales made, and in all infringements practiced and to be practiced hereafter. Among the person fit to make this distribution and to draw the necessary conveyances, I nam Thomas J. Oakley. If you concur in this nomination, or will make one in which I can concur, we will then agree on the things to be submitted an the matters to be determined, so as to effect in the most friendly and equitable manner a distribution.

I will add that considerable has been lately said as to newly-discovered cements. After all reasonable inquiry and due consideration, I am disposed to believe the present one perfectly secure from competition, and therefo of handsome value; and surely at present I should find no difficulty in making my share very productive if separated from the interests of the concern. Indeed, I have been tempted to bring the cement into use by offering it in market supported by the skill of good workmen, but have declined this, the proper method, lest it might not be agreeable to the wishes of yourself.

Soliciting your speedy answer and a full statement of your views on this subject, I am, dear sir,

Your humble servant,

C. WHITE, Esq. A. A. BARTOW.

NEW YORK, July 12th, 1823.

Dear Sir :—I regret very much that I did not see you while at Troy, so that we could have made some arrangements as to future operations. There is a good deal of interest excited in regard to the results of the suit against Brown, and I think he will appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, because, as it now stands all those persons that have manufactured the cement are liable to prosecution, and the same amount in proportion could be recovered against them ; so that instead of an amicable suit it will probably terminate in an hostile appeal. If it should take this course a considerable expense will necessarily occur in defending our just claims. And from what has been said, by the Commissioners we need not expect a single farthing until it has been decided by the Supreme Court ; as I have already expended a good deal of money in trying to introduce it into general use, and now feel the effects of considerable losses. I have taken this responsibility on myself out of pure friendship towards you, knowing that you had not funds on hand to advance for the manufacturing of the cement, and wait the returns of protracted and uncertain sales. A strong prejudice has arisen against the cement which has been manufactured for some time, it therefore can not be sold except fresh from the manufactory. I have therefore been under the necessity of disposing to Mr. Seymour 600 casks, to be used on the canal; as this must be sent back from this place there will be considerable loss. About 200 more casks will remain of last year's stock. Great exertions are made to introduce it. I hope to hear from you soon at Reading, Pennsylvania.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, September 15, 1823.

Dear Friend :—Since I wrote you last I have obtained Mr. Emmot's opinion respecting the validity of the patent for the water-proof cement. He considers the patent as good as any ever granted. I have written to a friend of Captain Brown, to advise him to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. That decision will be law; and if it should be favorable, we shall stand a chance to be remunerated by collecting a percentage on all that has been manufactured. I am still of an opinion that it will be difficult for us to sustain the patent against the infringement of other States. I expected to have heard from you before this time and had your opinion as to the best mode to pursue; but as the time is drawing near that something should be done, I have concluded that it would be better to run the risk of an appeal than to be kept in suspense, and probably never receive any benefit from the discovery. I return to Pennsylvania to-morrow morning, and shall be happy to hear from you at Reading. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

READING, October 21, 1823.

Dear Friend:—You may think me a troublesome correspondent because I have written several letters without receiving an answer. The reason of my letters being neglected I do not know, but I hope it is not on account of a falling off of friendship. If that is the case on your part, I assure you it is not so on mine. I feel the same interest for your welfare that I ever did. As to the cement business, it remains the same as when I wrote you last, except the prospect of getting a remuneration from the State, which I think is more favorable. I mentioned to you before that I wished Captain Brown to appeal, and have advised him accordingly. I have taken this responsibility on myself, not hearing anything from you. I hope it will meet with your approbation. One reason I had for so doing was, that I was fearful that a hostile appeal would be made, which would place us on different ground from what we now occupy, and I think it would have been more unfavorable. I think much of Mr. Emmot's opinion, which was decidedly in our favor; and if we should be successful on the appeal, we then have it in our power to enforce our claims to the fullest extent. All things considered, I think you will approve of the course I have taken. My greatest anxiety is to get a decision the ensuing winter. I think it advisable to employ Mr. Emmot to argue the case at Washington, as that will be attended with the least expense. I have said nothing to him on that point, but as he will attend the Supreme Court on other business, he can easily attend to ours. I had thought some of Mr. Colden, as he will be there on other business also. I should like to have your opinion on this subject, and hope you will do me the favor to write as soon as you have leisure. The sales of cement have been tolerably good this season, but without profit. I reduced the price last spring, in anticipation of a reduction in the transportation by the opening of the canal to Schenectady, but in that I have been disappointed. There was a considerable quantity on hand, which had been kept through the winter, and it was not considered very good by the purchasers in New York. I, therefore, concluded it would be best to dispose of some to the Canal Commissioners, knowing it to be better than that generally used on the canal. I think there will be a loss on the lot sold them of about one thousand dollars. I was sorry that I did not have the pleasure of seeing you at the grand celebration at Albany. I shall, I hope, have the pleasure of seeing you next winter, for I shall return to Albany with my family. They will remain in the State of New York in future. It is getting too sickly in this part of the country for them to remain another summer The same sickness which has prevailed on the Schuylkill, has lately made its appearance on the Talpehocken, and more than three-fourths of the inhabitants are now and have been sick. The young men that came with me are all well. The workmen on the canal have not been much affected yet, but I am fearful the sickness will be troublesome another season. I gave Judge Wright a specimen of the cement found in the neighborhood of this place. No more experiments have been made with that particular kind, but some on a larger scale have been made with a quantity which appeared to be the same. The result I do not know. Please give my respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

These letters constitute all that remain in the family of Mr. Bartow, relating to this subject.* There were many more letters, and a mass of papers between Bartow and White, in relation to the cement, but which, within a few years, have been destroyed, as his daughters inform me, because they had no place to keep them. But I think the letters I have read. fairly sustain the claim I make for Mr. Bartow, as the original discoverer of water-proof cement, in this country. It is true, however, that the patent was granted to Canvass White as the discoverer; and so far as this fact goes, it is at most only *prima facie* evidence that he was entitled to the honor of the discovery; and what I claim is, that his letters which I have read fairly overthrow the presumption in his favor, founded upon the patent.

It will be observed that in none of his letters to Bartow, does White use language showing that the discovery was his own. On the contrary; in his letter of April 16, 1823, he talks discouragingly of the value of the patent, and to get off easily with Bartow, who had made him a proposition to sell out his fourth interest to him, he intimates that there is not much value in the patent, because Samuel Horn (who was one of the masons to whom Bartow showed the stone, as I have stated) had started the story that he (Bartow) was not entitled to the credit he claimed, but that all the knowledge he possessed in reference to the cement, he got from Samuel Horn and his brother.

At this time, confessedly, as all the letters show, Bartow had a fourth interest in the patent, and White was the patentee. It seems to me it is impossible to conceive why Mr. White should have used the language he did in this letter, if, as between the two, it was not understood that Bartow was the discoverer. It certainly was of no consequence what Horn said of Bartow, if White was the discoverer, and the value of the patent could not, in such case, be affected by what Horn said of Bartow. I think that it is apparent, from these letters, that *White* took the burden of the patent on his shoulders, under some such arrangement as the daughters of Mr. Bartow say. Such, I think, is the fair inference from all the letters.

Another significant fact appears, which is, that in all these letters which concede to Mr. Bartow a quarter interest in the patent, and mention what he is doing, expending and losing in his efforts to introduce the cement into use, he nowhere calls on

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* These letters are all in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society.

him to contribute to the expense or loss, and nowhere intimates his liability to do so. And from this circumstance I infer what his daughters assure me is a fact, that White, under the arrangement with their father, was to take the patent in his name and assume all the risk, trouble and expense of introducing the article into use, and give him one-fourth of all the net profits, and retain the other three-fourths for his compensation and the risk of the outlay on his part.

I have given only some of the inferences which may be drawn from these letters, in support of the claims I make. I think no more are needed to show that Mr. Bartow is fairly entitled to the credit I claim for him.

I should say here, as giving some plausibility at least to what I have said, that Mr. Bartow was a communicative man. He was full of practical and scientific knowledge. His skill on the subject of Water-Lime was vouched for by Hon. Henry Seymour, as early as 1821, as will be seen by his testimonial of him which I have read. And knowing him as I did, if I were to make any guess on the subject, I should say that after making the discovery he freely talked about it, without the thought of any personal benefit to himself, through a patent; and I am inclined to think also that the idea of a patent came from White, and that at his suggestion application was made for the patent, and for reasons satisfactory to Bartow taken in his name. And I have no doubt that as between them, it was thought that the patent could be made the most available in the name of White. At that time he was widely known as a prominent and skillful hydraulic engineer; and at the time these letters were written, he was the chief engineer on the Schuylkill canal in Pennsylvania. He certainly would be supposed from his position and well known character as an engineer, to be just the person to bring into public notice the cement, and make market for it. He failed and his failure was a great disappointment to Bartow.

Here I will state that soon after the Erie canal was completed and in 1825, the Delaware and Hudson canal was commenced. Mr. Bartow in conjunction with Harvey Hackley, who was a brother of the late Hon. Aaron Hackley of the city of Utica, and who also resided in Herkimer, took a contract on that canal on the summit level in Sullivan county. He was at work on his contract at the time Maurice Wurts wrote him the letter, which I have read of December 9, 1825, addressed to him at Warwassing, care of Mr. Lamoree. To the call made in this letter Bartow at once

responded, and using a blacksmith shop as he had done in Onondaga county to burn the stone, and the anvil to pulverize it he made the necessary experiments to demonstrate the fact, that the stone shown him by Mr. Wurts made a very superior article of hydraulic cement.

From that time the projectors of that canal used this stone for cement, which previous to that time they had to transport at great expense from Chittenango. I do not claim for Bartow that he discovered the stone in Ulster county, which proved to be cement; but I claim to him belongs the honor of demonstrating the fact that it was cement. This stone in Ulster county was found on the line of the Delaware and Hudson canal, late in the year 1825, as would seem from the letter of Mr. Wurts. It was found in the towns of Marbletown and Rosendale.

After Mr. Bartow's tests were made, and upon his judgment the manufacture of cement was at once begun there, and it took the name of Rosendale cement, by which name it is still known. And this was the beginning of the immense manufacture of the celebrated Rosendale cement, which has since been carried on in that county, aggregating, in many years, $4,000,000 a year. The manufacture of Water-Lime has become and is an important industry in this State, and its beginning can be traced to the discovery made by Mr. Bartow.

Having said what I have in respect to Mr. Bartow and the claim which I make for him, it will not be out of place here to give some further account of him. He was the son of an Episcopal clergyman, born at New Rochelle in this State, and was of French Huguenot descent. He received a good education, and he was a good thinker and a good talker. After his marriage he settled near New Rochelle, and engaged in the milling business. His wife was a Miss Hunt, of Hunt's Point, which at the time of her marriage, and for nearly a century before belonged to the Hunt family. She was the aunt of the Hon. James B. Hunt, who was a prominent lawyer in Herkimer county, some fifty years ago, and she was the first cousin of the father of Judge Hunt of this city.

In the year 1806, Mr. Bartow sold out his interest in Westchester county and removed with his family to Fairfield, in Herkimer county. He settled upon a farm which either then or soon after included the hill near the village of Fairfield which took his name, and has ever since been called "Bartow Hill." He no sooner had taken up his residence in Fairfield than he took an active interest in the academy there, and he became one of its warmest and most active friends. He was the chief promoter and one of the corpo-

rators of the Medical College at Fairfield. In his efforts to secure the college at that place, and to promote the interests of the academy there he was brought in connection with the Board of Regents at Albany, and often appeared before them. He was much respected by the members of the Board, and he enjoyed also the confidence and friendship of Governor DeWitt Clinton, with whom he was intimately acquainted before he came to Herkimer county. He resided at Fairfield until 1820, when he removed to the village of Herkimer, where he continued to reside until 1837, when he removed to Little Falls, where he resided until 1850, when he removed with his family to West Farms, in Westchester county, at which place he died in 1862, at 88 years of age. He was called Dr. Bartow and he was usually addressed as such; and this was in consequence of a joke perpetrated upon him by Governor Clinton. He had an occasion to appear before the Board of Regents at Albany, at which Governor Clinton was presiding. Some question was under discussion by the Board as to which there was some difference of opinion, and a member of the Board seeing Mr. Bartow present, and not doubting that he was a real doctor from the fact that he had often appeared there as the representative of the Medical College at Fairfield, said to the Regents, "suppose we hear from Dr. Bartow on the subject:" Mr. Bartow responded to the call made upon him, and commenced by saying "he was not a doctor, and was not entitled to so honorable a title, and that he supposed it was intended simply as a complimentary expression or as a joke." Governor Clinton promptly interrupted Mr. Bartow by saying, "Go on, Doctor, the Board of Regents never joke." This turn upon Mr. Bartow brought the laugh upon him, and the story of what Governor Clinton had said passed all along the line of the canal where he was known, and the joke was repeated on him, and from that time he was called Dr. Bartow. His letters after that usually came addressed to him as such, and it will be remembered he was so addressed by Maurice Wurts in his letter of December 9, 1825.

Dr. Bartow as I shall now call him was a staunch supporter of Governor Clinton, and a warm friend of our canal system. He believed in the canals, and was always ready to defend them against the attacks of skeptics and politicians. He never could believe with his fellow townsman, the Hon. Michael Hoffman, that the canals ought to be, or would be supereeded by the railroads, and he often had disputes with Mr. Hoffman about the canals. Mr. Hoffman's wife was a cousin of Mr. Bartow and their families were intimate,

but the two seldom met without discussing the canal subject, and always differing.

Dr. Bartow was a good man, and was always genial and talkative, and as Governor Clinton once said of him he was by no means parsimonious in communicating. He was a true patriot and he loved the institutions of his country. In politics he was a Clintonian and a whig. He always took a great interest in current politics, and was well posted. He foresaw the storm arising between the north and south, and when hostilities commenced he was much distressed. He insisted to the last that the daily papers should be read to him, giving him the latest news about the conflict. To him the horrors and the trials of the war were a constant grief, and he was full of anxiety as to the result of the contest.

The brave and gallant Col. Francis S. Bartow, who was killed on the confederate side on the bloody plain at Manassas, was a nephew of his. He had other friends and relations on the confederate side, but his anxiety was not for them, but for the preservation of the Union.

He died in the second year of the war and was buried in the old family burying ground at Hunt's Point.

THE SYRACUSE AND UTICA RAILROAD.

BY HON. D. E. WAGER.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JULY 13, 1880.

The contemplated movement for the construction via Utica, of the New York, West Side and Buffalo railroad, with a view of adding another link in the chain of railroad connections between the Atlantic and the great west, can hardly fail to recall the events of forty and fifty years ago, relative to the efforts then made to construct the first railroads through central New York; and it may also serve as a reminder to old residents of Oneida, Madison, and Onondaga counties of the struggle and sharp contest which took place, regarding the location through Oneida county of the Syracuse and Utica railroad.

Prior to 1826, there was not a railroad in America. In that year a railroad four miles in length, called the "Quincy railroad," was built in Massachusetts, used to transport granite from the quarries. The motive power was horses; the use of steam was an after-thought, and not dreamed of when railroads were first projected.

In April of the year that the Quincy railroad was built the Legislature of New York chartered the "Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company" to construct a railroad between Albany and Schenectady. This was the first chartered railroad company in the Union authorized to carry on a general transportation business of freight and passengers. It was the year the Erie canal was brought fully into use, and the public had seen and felt the beneficial results arising from internal improvements of this kind. The capital of the company was $300,000, with liberty to increase it to $500,000. If the road was not completed in six years, the charter was forfeited; no restriction was imposed as to the charges to be made for carrying passengers; nor was the company prohibited from carrying freight, nor required to pay tolls thereon, nor restricted as to the charges to be made for carrying freight, except that such charges were not to exceed the amount of the

tolls and duties, (together with the charges for carrying freight,) which property was then subjected, as the cost of transportation on the Erie canal. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the road at any time within five years after its completion, by providing for the repayment to the railroad company the cost of construction and interest thereon, first deducting the tolls the company had received for carrying passengers and freight.

In the meantime, and before work on this road was begun, railroads in other States were commenced, completed and brought into use, and locomotives propelled by steam placed thereon. In August, 1830, and about twenty months before the six years were up within which the road was to be built, the work of construction was commenced, and it was pushed forward with so much vigor and energy that in October, 1831, it was fully completed and carrying about 400 passengers daily on an average. This was the first railroad built in this State; it was, of course, crude in its plan, imperfect in its construction, and expensive both in its construction and operation. The road-bed was mostly of solid stone, and with such a firm and unyielding foundation, it acted the purpose of an anvil and the rolling stock as hammers, to batter up and wear out in a short time the timbers, cross ties and rails of the track. Its cost was $68,000 per mile, and the inclined plane and stationary engine thereat near Schenectady, (so well remembered by older travelers,) and which skill and railroad experience had not then learned to dispense with or obviate, were an additional expense of $1,000 per month.

But imperfect and expensive as the construction and operation of that railroad were, they had their advantages, for they served as lessons in the construction of subsequent roads; and besides, that mode of carrying passengers and freight was such a vast improvement on all former or other modes of transportation, it very naturally stimulated similar enterprises, and served to whet the appetite of the public for the chartering and construction of more railroads.

Schenectady and Utica.

Each year, for the then next ten years subsequent to the incorporation of that railroad company, the Legislatures of New York granted many charters for the construction of railroads in various parts of the State; but nothing however was done under any of them (except the one granted in 1831, and the road finished in

1833 to construct the road between Schenectady and Saratoga,) until after the charter in 1833, to construct a railroad between Schenectady and Utica; the last named road to run from Schenectady on the north side of Mohawk river to the village of Herkimer, thence to Utica, at a point to be designated by the common council of the last named place; the point so designated was east of and at the foot of Genesee street. The capital stock of the company was $2,000,000, and the work on the road was to be commenced and $100,000 expended within two years, and the road to be completed within ten years after the passage of the act, or the company to forfeit its charter. Property was not allowed to be transported over the road, except the ordinary baggage of passengers, and the company was limited to four cents per mile for transporting passengers; and before commencing to carry persons, the company was required to pay, or tender to the Mohawk Turnpike Company $22.50 on each share of the stock of said Turnpike Company. That turnpike was chartered in 1800 to construct a dirt road between Schenectady and Utica. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the railroad within ten years after its completion, the same as provided in the act incorporating the Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company.

The work on this new link of railroads was begun in the fall of 1834, and was fully completed at a cost of $20,000 per mile in the summer of 1836, so that it was in running order and regular trips commenced August 2, of that year. The opening of the road was duly celebrated, and the newspapers all through the State announced the completion of that additional link with a grand flourish, and boasted in a magnificent strain that the company had six locomotives, fifty cars, and fifty emigrant wagons, and that "each car would carry twenty-four passengers!." The next year, after the Utica and Schenectady Railroad Company was chartered, the Auburn and Syracuse Railroad Company was organized, and the construction of the road between those two places was at once put under way, rapidly pushed forward, and completed in the summer of 1837, that it might be the means of attracting by that route other connecting links in the great railroad thoroughfare, which then seemed must be inevitably and soon constructed through the entire State.

The fact that there were to be railroad connections between Albany and Utica, and between Auburn and Syracuse, very naturally stirred up the people along the line, through central New York, to fill up the gaps and supply the needed links that should make a completed railroad chain from the waters of the Hudson

to those of lake Erie. These considerations, and the fact that railroads were not only paying investments, but were of incalculable benefit in developing the resources of the country, made it pretty apparent in the year 1835 that the Legislature to assemble in January, 1836, would be besieged for charters for railroad companies; and in many localities at the fall election in 1835, members of the Legislature were selected in reference to their power, influence and usefulness in procuring charters for such purposes.

In the fall of 1835, David Wager, of Utica, was chosen State Senator from this county. To the Assembly were chosen on a general county ticket, John Stryker, of Rome; Henry Graves, of Boonville; John W. Hale, of Clinton; William Knight, of Paris, and Jared C. Pettibone, of Lee. It will be assumed that these men are sufficiently well known in Oneida county, even by younger residents and new comers, as to need no introduction or further mention. In the Assembly from Madison county were William J. Hough, of Cazenovia; John B. Yates, of Chittenango, and Ephraim Gray, of Lebanon. Mr. Hough was a leading lawyer and prominent citizen of that county, and a few years later was elected to Congress. Mr. Yates was a wealthy and influential citizen, highly respected, and so closely connected with other public enterprises as to make him a power in the State. He had been in Congress in 1814 from Schenectady, and about 1816 was practicing law in Utica, and about 1818 he made Chittenango his home, was in 1835 First Judge of Madison county, and by his liberal endowment of, and munificent donations to "Yates Polytechnic School" of his village, made himself popular and influential. He was brother of Joseph C. Yates, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State in 1814, and Governor in 1823. He will also be remembered as one of the managers of the lotteries in this State sixty years ago. Mr. Gray was an early and an old resident of his county and a farmer of influence. With persons of such position and influence Madison county was ably represented and her interests well protected. Their geographical location would naturally lead them to favor the route of a railroad that would run as far south as the hills of Madison county would permit. In the Assembly from Onondaga county were John Wilkinson, of Syracuse; David Munro, of the town of Camillus; Sanford C. Parker, of Marcellus, and Daniel Dennison, of Manlius. Mr. Wilkinson was a lawyer of tact, and of busy, bustling habits; he was short in stature and small in size, but he made up for these in enterprise and in physical and mental activity. He was the first postmaster of Syracuse, and it was he

who in 1820 gave that place its present name, it having been theretofore known successively as "Bogardus Corners," "Milan," "South Salina," "Cossit's Corners," "Corinth," and lastly Syracuse. Mr. Wilkinson was elected to the Assembly in 1834 and reëlected in 1835. He was among the foremost and strongest advocates of the route on which the road was subsequently located. Mr. Munro was a farmer of large wealth and of considerable influence, and stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in the advocacy of the present route; but he did not stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in stature nor size, for Mr. Munro was tall in height, and was large in size as well as in wealth, for he weighed between three and four hundred pounds. Mr. Parker was a person of prominence and engaged in the milling business; for some reason or other, he cast his influence in favor of the more southern route. Mr. Dennison favored the present route. He was Member of the Assembly not only in 1836, but again in 1837.

When the Legislature convened in January, 1836, it was besieged with petitions and applications for the granting of charters to construct railroads in almost every part of the State. At that session some fifty-eight railroad charters were granted or old ones renewed, and among the list was one granted to build a railroad from Johnstown to Fonda, one to build a railroad from Herkimer village to Trenton, one to build a railroad from Carthage, Jefferson county, to the river St. Lawrence, one to build from Utica to Oswego, one from Attica to Buffalo, one from Auburn to Rochester, and one from Utica to Syracuse. It is with this last-named road that this article has mainly to do.

At the commencement of the session the friends of the last-named road and of the two routes were on hand in force, and at once began the maneuvering, marching and counter-marching of the two hostile forces. One party insisted that the road should be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal, starting at a point in Utica near the present site of the City Hall, thence through New Hartford, Westmoreland, Vernon and as near Oneida Castle and the Madison county hills as the grades would permit. This was the shorter distance, and brought the road nearer the southern and more cultivated portions of Madison county and the little hamlets or country villages of Cazenovia, Chittenango, "Quality Hill," &c., and hence was strongly favored and strenuously urged by the Assemblymen from that section and by about the whole of Madison county. Most of the Utica influence favored that route, too; for that would insure a break in the railroad chain

in Utica, and make that locality what the site of Rome had been near a hundred years before, a "carrying-place." It was argued by Uticans that if there was no break and there should be a continuous chain of railroads, Utica in due time would become but little better than a way station upon the great thoroughfare, and its growth and business facilities greatly crippled and dwarfed. The other party favored a route that would take the projected railroad along or near the sixty-mile level of the Erie canal, and it was urged that although the distance by this route might be a few miles further, yet it was more than compensated by the more favorable grades, and by the cheapness of construction and the small amount that would have to be paid for land damages. The Romans and the northern portion of Oneida county, of course, favored this route, as did the greater part of Onondaga county, as well as capitalists in other parts of the State, who wished to invest their money in roads that could be constructed and kept in repair the cheapest, and, as a consequence, yield the quickest and largest dividends. A road built strictly on the Erie canal level would make the road eight miles longer than it now is, and might take it westward from Rome via Higginsville, Durhamville, and into Onondaga county through the "Cicero swamp," much farther to the north through Madison county than it now runs; and although the friends of this route promised or conceded to the Madison county people that the road, after it reached Rome going west, should be constructed on or near its present location, yet the friends of the southern route were suspicious and unwilling to yield, except by compulsion.

It must not be forgotten that at that time that, with the exception of about fifteen miles, the whole route between Utica and Syracuse, now traversed by this road, was a swamp, and much of the way a wild and unbroken forest. The site of the present flourishing village of Oneida was a wilderness. There was a saw-mill but then recently built, a log house for the sawyer, and one erected by Mr. Sands Higginbotham, who had previously purchased a large tract of wild land in that locality. The village of Canastota was but a hamlet, brought into existence and notice by the construction of the canal.

In the early history of railroad charters in this State, the Legislature named the commissioners whose duty it was to open the books for subscriptions to stock, and when the stock was subscribed, to distribute it among the subscribers. The owners of the stock elected the directors of the railroad company, and the

latter located the road, unless the location was designated in the charter itself. It was, of course, important that the right railroad commissioners should be named, as upon them might depend the destiny of the road. It seemed to be conceded that there were to be twenty-five railroad commissioners, of which Oneida county was to have seven, Madison county four, Onondaga county seven, and the other seven to be selected from the State at large; and it also seemed to be understood and agreed that the Senator and Assemblymen were to name the commissioners from their county, and each was to name one. Mr. Stryker, from this county, was the principal champion and wire-puller for the Rome route, and Pomroy Jones, of Westmoreland, for the southern location. From this county, David Wager, as Senator, named as his choice for commissioner Julius A. Spencer, of Utica, then a director of and for a long time connected with the Utica and Schenectady railroad. Mr. Stryker named Henry A. Foster; Mr. Graves named David Moulton, of Floyd; Mr. Pettibone named Timothy Jenkins, of Oneida Castle, (Mr. Pettibone had a brother living in Vernon, and hence was half inclined to favor that route;) Mr. Hale named Pomroy Jones; Mr. Knight named Israel S. Parker; the seventh commissioner from this county was Riley Shepard, of Augusta. Five of the above commissioners were positively in favor of the Rome route, and although Mr. Jenkins lived at Oneida Castle and along the southern location, yet he was not hostile to, and in case of a pinch would not act against the Rome location. The commissioners from Madison county were John Knowles, of Chittenango; Ichabod S. Spencer, of Canastota; John Williams, of Cazenovia, and Benjamin Enos, of DeRuyter. From Onondaga county were Vivus W. Smith, Miles W. Bennett, Horace Wheaton, Thomas J. Gilbert, E. L. Phillips, Aaron Burt and James Beardslee—most, if not all, of them friendly to the canal location. The commissioners in the State at large (named by a select committee of the Legislature, to which the charter was referred for amendments and perfection) were Henry Seymour, of Utica, father of Governor Seymour, (Mr. Seymour was among the first Canal Commissioners of the State, one of its warmest and active friends, and formerly State Senator; he warmly favored the Rome route, and having been so long a friend of the canal, his influence was great;) James Hooker, of Poughkeepsie; Hollom Hutchinson, of Livingston county; James M. Allen, Frederick Whittlesey, of Rochester; Rufus H. King, of Albany, and Charles Oakley, of New York city. The Rome route had a decided ma-

jority of the railroad commissioners as thus constituted, and hence the friends of the southern route were obliged to resort to other tactics to carry their measure. John B. Yates was chairman of the railroad committee in the Assembly, and hence in that respect the southern route had an important advantage. That committee reported the fore part of the session a bill chartering the company, but required the road to be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal! This was a death blow to the Rome route, but the friends of the canal line succeeded in having the bill referred to a select committee consisting of Charles A. Floyd, of Suffolk county; C. T. Chamberlain, of Allegany, and G. W. Patterson, of Livingston, to amend and report the bill complete. This move was ominous, and petitions and remonstrances poured into the Legislature from Madison county and portions of the southern part of Oneida county against locating any part of the road on the north side of the canal. On the third of May, 1836, that select committee reported the bill as amended, authorizing the directors of the company to locate the road. This was, of course, just what the Rome friends desired, and was perhaps more than they could reasonably expect, considering the strong influence and persistent effort in favor of the southern location. The bill, as thus reported, was vigorously assailed by Mr. Yates and others. Mr. Yates moved to refer the bill back with instructions to the select committee to report the bill as it had been first reported by the railroad committee, (locating the road on the south side of the canal.) Mr. Wilkinson opposed this motion, claiming that it was impracticable if not impossible to so locate the road, especially in portions of Onondaga county. Mr. Stryker urged that the Rome or canal route was almost a dead level the entire length of the road, and although the distance was a few miles greater, yet the grades were enough better to compensate for the difference in length. The motion of Mr. Yates was defeated. Mr. Parker, of Onondaga, to get rid of the commissioners named in the bill, moved that the Governor appoint them. This was voted down. Orville Robinson, of Oswego, struck the popular feeling in the Assembly when he moved that the majority of the directors should locate the road "on the most direct and eligible route." This was carried, and the contest was ended in the Assembly, and the Rome route practically adopted, for althought it might not be the most "direct," yet it was the most "eligible," and it was supposed that the directors to be selected would so determine. On the 11th of May, 1836, the bill was made a law and the above persons named as rail-

road commissioners. The capital stock of the company was $800,000, and if the road was not commenced in two years, and at least $25,000 expended, and was not finished in four years after the passage of the act, the charter was forfeited. The railroad commissioners organized by the election of Henry A. Foster as president of the board, and I. S. Spencer, of Canastota, (brother of the late Joshua A. Spencer,) as secretary. The president named as committee from this county to prepare and report a plan for receiving subscriptions and distributing stock, David Moulton, Israel S. Parker and Pomroy Jones. Books of subscription were opened July 19, 20 and 21, 1836, at the Syracuse House, in Syracuse; at J. C. Spencer's coffee house, in Canastota; at T. H. Pratt's canal coffee house, in Utica; at the Mansion House, in Albany, and at the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company's office, in New York city. Although the capital stock of the company was but $800,000, yet nearly two and a half millions of dollars were subscribed outside of the city of New York, viz: In Syracuse, $643,000; Canastota, $447,000; Utica, $1,066,000; Albany, $250,000. It was then a delicate task to distribute the stock and give no real ground of complaint; but it was done.

September 22, 1836, the first election of directors of the railroad company was held at the Syracuse House in Syracuse, at which the following were elected directors, viz.: Henry Seymour, David Wager, Henry A. Foster, David Moulton, Samuel French, John Wilkinson, Oliver Teall, James Beardslee, James Hooker, Isaiah Townsend, Miles W. Bennett and Charles Stebbins. Henry Seymour was elected president of the road; H. A. Foster, vice president; Vivus W. Smith, secretary; M. S. Marsh, treasurer, and Aaron Burt, superintendent. John Stryker was selected as attorney for Oneida county to perfect the land titles, John Wilkinson attorney for Onondaga county, and S. T. Fairchild for Madison county. Oliver H. Lee, formerly engineer on the Utica and Schenectady road, was made Chief engineer, with J. P. Munro and C. B. Stuart (the latter of Vernon, and in 1847, State engineer,) as assistants. Surveys of different routes were at once commenced. At the election held in July, 1837, the same officers were re-elected, but as President VanBuren had called an extra session of Congress to convene in September of that year, which necessitated Mr. Foster's absence, (Mr. Foster had been elected to Congress in 1836,) he resigned the vice presidency and directorship, and John Wilkinson was made vice president, and John Stryker director in the places thus vacated. In August, 1837, Mr. Sey-

mour died, and Mr. Wilkinson was made president of the road, which position he held for sixteen years, and until the consolidation of the several links into the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad company in 1853.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROAD.

In December,. 1837, the company advertised for proposals to furnish 7,000,000 feet of timber, board measure, of white and yellow pine, cedar and hemlock for rail, sills and ties; and, March, 1838, proposals were invited to grade 33 miles of the track in sections of one mile each, and to be completed January 1, 1839. The whole contract for grading was made May 1, 1838, and in September of that year, proposals were invited for 255,000 feet of white oak for "ribbon pieces," and to be one and one-half by three inches in size, ten to fifteen feet in length, and to be free from wane, sap and knots, and to be delivered along the line of the road as soon as the canal opened in 1839; also for 50,000 cast iron knees. Within fourteen months after the road was put under contract, it was fully completed—most of the way upon piles, a system then for the first time brought into practical use. The pile system was mainly the invention of E. P. Williams of Utica, who was formerly engaged in the construction of the first railroad in this State, and who subsequently went south and perfected his system. The piles were first thoroughly soaked in salt to add to their preservative qualities, and provision made for resalting as it became necessary; they were driven, by steam power, to a depth of twenty-five or thirty feet in the marshy ground, by splicing. On the top of the piles were placed long timbers of pine, on which rested the "ribbon pieces" of oak, and on these ribbon pieces, were spiked the flat iron rail. The long timbers of the track were kept from spreading by cross ties. Not infrequently the spikes and the flat rail worked loose, and in such cases the latter paid an unwelcome visit to the inside of the coach, by protruding through the floor, to the imminent peril of the lives of the passengers. A passenger coach in those days seated twenty-four persons, they facing each other, after the style of an omnibus or street car, with no stove inside, or other means to warm the travelers in the winter, than those vehicles have, or as provided in meeting houses in olden times.

The road was fully completed the last of June, 1839. Its cost was $700,000—$100,000 less than its capital stock. On Thursday, June 27, the first train of cars reached Rome from Utica, and the

editor of the Rome *Democratic Sentinel* boasted in its issue of July 2, 1839, that on the Thursday previous he had shaken hands in the streets of Rome with persons who had left Utica forty-five minutes before. The arrival of that train in Rome was the occasion of great excitement and of unusual rejoicing; it was welcomed by the firing of cannon and the cheers of assembled thousands. In the afternoon the train proceeded to Syracuse, and among the number was one who went on the first canal boat west. The rest of the week the cars ran free over the road. On Wednesday, July 3, the company commenced taking pay and the average receipts for many successive days were over $600 per day. Thursday, July 4, there was a great excursion over the road, and the day and the scene will not be soon forgotten by those who took part in the celebration. The road most of the way ran through a dense forest, and the road was upon piles, not filled in with earth between, and the train seemingly run in the air. Everything was new and rural. The heavy forest all around, with fresh openings for the track, piles of brush, new stumps, white logs stripped of their bark, the green foliage, the broken earth, the thousands of empty salt barrels scattered along the track, the great, excited and curious crowd, all made the day and the scene of thrilling interest.

In the spring of 1839, the primeval forest was cleared away to make room for the "Railroad House, at Oneida depot." That building yet remains, as does the "Railroad Hotel" at Rome, erected the next year.

On Wednesday, July 10, 1839, the completion of the road was duly celebrated. Two carloads of prominent citizens came July 9, from Albany as far as Utica, where they were welcomed by John Wilkinson, and there they remained over night. Among the number were Solomon Van Rensselaer a soldier of the revolution; Charles E. Dudley, John Townsend and Francis Bloodgood, three ex-mayors of Albany; David Wood, president of the Mohawk and Hudson railroad; Gideon Hawley, Lewis Benedict. At 5 A. M. Wednesday, July 10, 1839, two extra trains left Utica for Syracuse, with two locomotives to each train, and with banners flying, streamers flaunting, bands of music playing, and accompanied by the Utica Citizens' corps, and prominent citizens. All along the route large crowds of people gathered to welcome and cheer on the passing trains. The party reached Syracuse at eight and one-half A. M., and was received at the depot with military honors by a corps of artillery and escorted around the village amid the roaring of guns, the ringing of bells and the huzzas of the multitude. Dinner was

served, at which between 400 and 500 persons sat down. E. W. Leavenworth, president of the village, presided, assisted by ex-Mayor Townsend, of Albany. Toasts and speeches occupied the principal part of the afternoon. At 4 P. M. the party started to return, and the editor of the Albany *Journal*, who accompanied the excursionists, gave a brief but glowing account of the trip and seemed to think the acme of rapid traveling was reached.

The same week the road was completed, its stock was sold at ten per cent advance, and the Utica and Schenectady road declared its sixth semi-annual dividend of $5.00 per share. In that same month this portion of the State was excited and complimented by a visit from the illustrious Henry Clay, who visited Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and thence to Oswego and down the St. Lawrence. He spoke in the Syracuse depot to a large crowd. A few weeks thereafter, President Van Buren went eastward from Buffalo over the whole length of the then completed railroad in the State, staying over Sunday at Geneva, speaking at the depot at Syracuse, and staying at Utica on the night of September 10, 1839.

Such in brief are some of the incidents in the organization, location and construction of the above road. But a few are now living who took an active and prominent part in the matters above referred to, and to some of them am I mainly indebted for the principal facts above narrated. The local newspapers of that day furnish but little from which to gather material.

It is extremely doubtful whether the grades in the southern part of this county could be effectually used now as an argument to induce a railroad to make the curve at Rome the present one does; but that argument, added to the tact, shrewd management and strenuous efforts of ex-Judge Foster and Hon. John Stryker, were the means of preventing Rome being left eight or ten miles out in the cold; and yet, subsequent experience in the history of railroads and of railroad connections, has demonstrated that it would have been an unwise measure and a short-sighted policy, both for Utica and railroads, to have had a break in the link in that city, and thereby necessitated a transhipment of freight and passengers from one depot to the other. Far better and wiser as it is.

THE TELEGRAPH AND ASSOCIATED PRESS.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 31, 1878.

The "Telegraph in America," an elegant and valuable historical volume by J. D. Reid, just published, suggests the history of the Associated Press. It is claimed that the latter originated here, where the former found its most efficient promoters.

It is the fact that the first completed line of telegraph built by private enterprise in the United States, was that between Albany and Utica. The owners and builders were chiefly citizens of Utica. The only line of telegraph preceding this was the experimental one from Washington to Baltimore, built with an appropriation of $30,000 from Congress and opened early in 1844. Notwithstanding this line had demonstrated the practicability of telegraphic communication and had been operated under the Post Office Department for months, it was regarded by the government as a practical failure, not paying expenses. In this unpromising condition, the telegraph was adopted by private enterprise and brought to its present magnificent success.

More than a year elapsed from the completion of the experimental line when, about June 1, 1845, the following appeared in the N. Y. *Tribune:* "The citizens of Utica have completed arrangements for laying wires for the Magnetic Telegraph between Utica and Albany and the work is to be commenced at once. Negotiations are also in progress for extending the telegraph to Boston, but not completed. Mr. Kendall is now in the city with the arrangements for the Utica and Albany line all complete." The same paper, about July 30th, reported contracts for building the telegraph from Rochester to Buffalo, taken by Messrs. Livingston and Wells, and that the arrangements for lines from New York to Boston and from New York to Philadelphia "are now said to be complete."

On the 27th of August, 1845, the several contractors for telegraph lines from New York to Buffalo, viz: J. Butterfield, T. S. Faxton and H. Greenman of Utica, C. Livingston and H. Wells of

New York, met in this city, and appointed Mr. Faxton, President, and Mr. Livingston, Secretary. The telegraph, however, was then actually building and was nearly complete between Utica and Little Falls and between Lockport and Buffalo. These contractors subsequently consolidated their respective interests and formed a joint stock company under the title of the New York, Albany and Buffalo Electro Magnetic Telegraph Co.

Mr. Reid's book discloses the remarkable apathy of most business men and capitalists in regard to this great invention. It seems incredible that the small amounts* required for constructing the telegraph between the chief cities of the Union,—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston,—should have been contributed mainly by non-residents of those enlightened centres of business intelligence and wealth.

The telegraph was completed from Albany to Utica, January 31, 1846; from Baltimore to Philadelphia, June 5; from New York to Boston, June 27; and from New York to Buffalo, September 9. The line between Philadelphia and New York was completed as far as Fort Lee—nine miles above New York on the west bank of the Hudson—January 20, 1846; but the river baffled all efforts, and over two years elapsed before complete telegraphic connection with Philadelphia was accomplished.

It is also true that the first State Associated Press originated in this city. It was the necessary sequel to the fact that the first telegraph line was opened to general business here. Nor can those who, from being then connected with the press, were obliged to invent a system for availing themselves of the advantages offered by the telegraph, claim any special merit for a contrivance which would doubtless have suggested itself to others similarly circumstanced. But the brief notice which Mr. Reid has given of the Associated Press, is so very inaccurate that it is, perhaps, a duty of this Historical Society, as a guardian of the truth, to correct his inadvertent errors. He says:

"On the 4th of July, 1846, the line having been completed between Albany and Buffalo, the idea of a State Associated Press was practically born by a call from President Faxton for a meeting of editors, by telegraph, in the various offices at that time open. This started the idea of a federation for the supply of tele-

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* $10,000 from Baltimore to Philadelphia, $15,000 from Philadelphia to Ft. Lee.—The Telegraph in America, pp. 115, 124.

graphic news. The first daily reports to the press of the State were sent January 1, 1847."*

There was deposited with this Society, about three months since, a volume containing the correspondence with the proprietors of the *Utica Daily Gazette* relative to the formation of this Associated Press. This collection had passed the ordeal of two fires and escaped the greater peril of the paper-mill. It contains about a hundred letters from those who represented the daily newspaper press of the State from Albany to Buffalo thirty-three years ago, and it may become of some historic value two generations hence, when the memories of Croswell, Ten Eyck, Lacy, Northway, Smith, Oliphant, Dawson, Butts, Jerome, Foote, Jewett, Clapp, Stringham, &c., &c., have been further mellowed by age.

The telegraph was completed between Utica and Albany, as before stated, on Saturday, January 31, 1846. The first news dispatch—not "a few words," but nearly a column—appeared in the *Utica Daily Gazette* of February 3, 1846. The correspondence relative to the Associated Press begins contemporaneously and continues till the association is fully organized and in complete operation from Buffalo to Albany. The cause of the organization is also apparent. Necessity was the mother of this invention, as of many others. News dispatches—chiefly brief summaries of Congressional proceedings—had been telegraphed from Washington to Baltimore long before. But that government telegraph, like most government operations, was not a paying institution. The New York and Buffalo Telegraph was conducted on strictly business principles from the start. It offered great benefits to the local newspapers, but it required a compensation which in their then feeble condition they were unable single-handed to pay.† Hence the idea and the subsequent fact of the Associated Press. The daily newspapers in the State, west of Utica, mostly agreed to contribute to the expense of collecting and telegraphing the news from Albany to Utica, at which latter place it was printed in slips and forwarded by express in advance of the mails. Besides the proceedings of the Legislature, which were telegraphed as they

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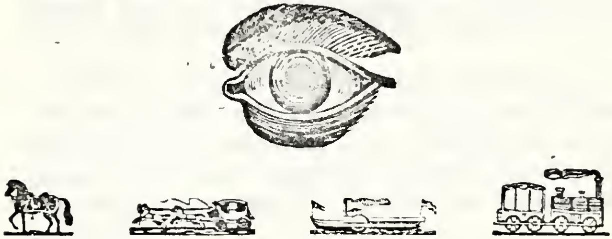
* The Telegraph in America, page 307.

† The profits at the New York office from the line to Philadelphia from January 1 to June 6, (twenty-two weeks,) were reported $293.17.—Telegraph in America, page 125. The New York, Albany and Buffalo Telegraph Company was paid $100 per week for news dispatches alone, on the completion of the line between New York and Buffalo.

occurred, and the Albany market, the dispatches consisted of a summary of news made up from the New York papers as soon as they arrived in Albany. The device of the *Gazette* at the head of the telegraphic dispatch: "the Eye, representing Ubiquity, calmly looking down upon the former swiftest modes of conveyance," the horse, stage, steamboat and locomotive—is probably remembered by some of the elder members of the Society.



When the telegraph was completed to Syracuse, June 1, 1846, the receipt and forwarding of telegraph dispatches was transferred to the papers of that city. A meeting of the editors from Utica to Buffalo was held there, to arrange matters, May 28.

The meeting of July 4, which Mr. Reid mentions, was in pursuance of the following invitation:

> "T. S. F.'s compliments to the editors of all the daily papers between Albany and Buffalo: will be happy to meet them and their friends at the different telegraph stations, on the Fourth, between the hours of 4 and 5 P. M., for the purpose of interchange of sentiments."

Thus it appears that this meeting was a social gathering, of President Faxton's happy invention, to celebrate the day and the accomplishment of instantaneous communication, by the electric fluid, between Lake Erie and the Hudson river. Twenty-one years before, the water connection between the two had been magnificently celebrated, and the event telegraphed by cannon from Buffalo to New York. The *Gazette* of July 4, 1846, thus announced the more wonderful fact:

"THE HUDSON TALKING TO LAKE ERIE!

The lightning flashed through from Albany to Buffalo, 325 miles by railroad, this morning at 8½ o'clock. The Telegraph now spans the Empire State! The events transpiring at the Capital, at one end, are made known at the other extremity in 'less than no time'—from twenty minutes to half an hour before they happen.

> This is the longest line of telegraph in the world. The swift messengers, upon whose wings messages are sent along the copper track, are bred in a large galvanic battery in the loft of Dudley's Triangle in this city. The fluid there generated makes a circuit of 650 miles. The only object *it* has in view is to get from one end of the battery into the other, like a carrier-dove returning to the spot where it was trained. This fiery steed, whose speed surpasses the imaginings of tales of the Genii; this mighty agent, whose sports are in the volcano and tornado; this weapon of the ancient king of heaven, forged in the infernal regions;—the utilitarian of our day approaches and says: 'I'll trouble you with a line.'"

A two-column account of Mr. Faxton's novel party was given in the next *Gazette*, entitled, "Electro-Magnetic Drama, or a Lightning Sociable," consisting of "a single act without change of scene, as these necessities of the drama do not appertain to electro-magnetic performances." In other words, time and space were annihilated.

On the 5th of August, the editors from Albany to Buffalo met in this city, and extended and perfected their association, preparatory to the opening of the line to New York city, on September 9, 1846.

LETTER OF DR. SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, 1804,

RELATIVE TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ITS WRITER.

BY MORVEN M. JONES.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 2, 1881.

Samuel Latham Mitchell was born at North Hempstead, Long Island, August 26, 1764, and became distinguished as a physician and scientist, a politician and statesman, a wit and an author. He commenced his studies with his uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, and Dr. Bard, of New York, and completed the course at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine, in 1786.

Returning to New York the following year, he studied law, but his tastes and studies finally settled him in the medical profession, and he soon arose to distinction. In 1788, he was appointed a Commissioner to treat with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purchase of lands in Western New York. In 1792 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry, Natural History and Philosophy, in Columbia College, and soon became extensively known in the field of the natural sciences, as well as of polite literature. While at Columbia College, he acquired considerable distinction as well as notoriety, in a controversy with Dr. Priestly, as to some of the theories of Lavoisier, the celebrated French scientist, who was guillotined in 1794. It is said that Dr. Mitchell dissented from Lavoisier, who was accused of treating Dr. Priestly unfairly, as to some of his discoveries, and yet this dissent led to a controversy with Priestly, which resulted in a life-long friendship. The Frenchman had succeeded in exploding the notion of phlogiston, which had, among the learned down to that period, served to clog and obscure all new discoveries, because they had accepted the old dogma, that inert fire existed in everything that would burn.

In 1796, Dr. Mitchell made a geological and mineralogical tour of the banks of the Hudson, a report of which he published, and which established his fame in this country and Europe.

Not far from this period, in connection with R. R. Livingston and Simeon DeWitt, he founded the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and the Useful Arts, a society whose influences have been felt to this date, by its introduction and encouragement of better modes of agriculture, of finer breeds of cattle, horses and sheep, and domestic manufactures in the agricultural portions of the country.

In 1797, in conjunction with Drs. Edward Miller and Elihu H. Smith, Dr. Mitchell founded the Quarterly *Medical Repository*, which he edited for sixteen years. This was the first scientific periodical published in the United States.

In 1808, Dr. Mitchell became Professor of Natural History in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in New York, and subsequently of Botany and Materia Medica. In 1826 this college gave place to the Rutgers Medical School, of which Dr. Mitchell became Vice President, 1826–30.

In 1815, with Drs. Hosack and Hugh Williamson, he founded the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.

Dr. Mitchell Published, 1787, "Observations on the Absorbent Tubes of Animal Bodies;" 1794, "Nomenclature of the New Chemistry" and "Present State of Learning in the College of New York;" 1795, "Life, Exploits and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief;" a half historical, half fanciful Address before the Tammany Society, of New York; 1801, "History of the Botanical Writers of America."

Dr. Mitchell proposed to change the name of this country to Fredonia, and in 1804 published "An Address to the Fredes or People of the United States." His eccentricities were satirized in the Poems of "Croaker & Co.," by Halleck & Drake. His wit and witticisms, not always discreet, often sharp and personal, made him extensively known and involved him in many bloodless controversies.

In 1791, Dr. Mitchell represented Queens county in the Assembly of this State, and in 1798 and 1810 he represented New York city in the same body. He was elected to the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Congresses of the United States, (1801–7,) but after his election to the latter, was elected United States Senator, which office he held until February 7, 1809. In June, 1810, he was again elected to Congress, to fill a vacancy, and was re-elected to the Twelfth Congress, (1811–13).

While he was distinguished particularly in the line of the natural sciences and polite literature, he was an active worker in the fields of National and State politics, and was no mean antagonist in the bitter partisan contests, which characterized and marred the Jeffersonian era, in our nation's history. He had a remarkable memory, and had stored it with facts and theories from the whole range of books, within the scope of his enterprise and research.

Judge Hammond, in his Political History, Vol. I, p. 215, thus speaks of Dr. Mitchell, and his election to the United States Senate: "The Legislature, after appointing Electors, (of President and Vice President, in November, 1804,) chose Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, as the successor of General (John) Armstrong, (who had been appointed Minister to France, and had resigned his seat in the Senate.) Dr. Mitchell was a learned man, and had read much. He was perfectly honest and sincere, but almost ridiculously vain. He was well acquainted with books, but knew little of men. He supported the republican party because Mr. Jefferson was its leader, and he supported Mr. Jefferson because he was a philosopher."

This was written forty years after Dr. Mitchell had become distinguished as a scientist in this country and Europe, forty years in which greater progress had been made in the inexact sciences, than in the preceding two hundred years.

Dr. Mitchell was succeeded in the United States Senate by General Obadiah German, of Chenango county, who was chosen at the Legislative Session of 1809, and at the general election in April, of that year, Dr. Mitchell was again chosen member of Assembly of this State. To prepare himself for the duties of his office, to learn the progress made in the settlement of Western New York, and the wants of the people of the interior of the State, he spent the summer of 1809 in a tour between Albany and Buffalo. On his return, he varied his route in different directions, that he might see as much as possible. He had previously visited Oswego by way of Oneida Lake and Onondaga River. During the next Session of the Legislature, (1810), various projects for canals and the improvement of the internal navigation of the State were presented. Most of these were crude and impracticable. These were all superceded by the concurrent resolutions of March 13, 1810, appointing Commissions to explore the route and procure surveys in reference to the inland navigation of the State from Hudson River, to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. As a friend of the project, which resulted in the Erie Canal, and from his

familiarity with the country as well as his reputation as a scientist, he was offered a place upon the Commission, which he declined.

At Utica, the Doctor decided to proceed with his wife and company, by boat down the Mohawk to Schenectady. On arriving at the boat station, he found only three batteaux at all fit for his purpose. Asking an explanation, he was informed that the business was so poor, the navigation of the Mohawk so slow and difficult, that most of the boats had been sent to Lake Ontario where business was good. Upon inquiring of the business men of Utica, he was informed that the unavoidable irregularity of the carrying business on the Mohawk, and occasional risk and loss, had terminated in most of the transportation business to and from Albany being done by wagons—that by wagons they could predict almost to an hour, when a load would reach Albany, and with almost equal certainty when the vehicle with its load of merchandise would be back. The Doctor and his party proceeded to Albany by land. The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, which had constructed locks at Little Falls, and a canal across the carrying place between the Mohawk and Wood Creek had been a failure financially, having expended its entire capital and income, and large sums borrowed, and it was apparent to Dr. Mitchell that some other system, than patching up the natural water courses was, or soon would be, required to answer the wants of our increasing population in Central and Western New York.

Daniel D. Tompkins was now, (1809,) Governor of this State. The dissatisfaction with the Embargo laws of President Madison's administration, or other causes, had given the Federalists a majority of the Assembly. At that day, instead of a message, at the commencement of the session, the Governor opened the session with a speech or address after the pattern of British sovereigns in opening Parliament, and the house made a reply. The reply this year, as reported by the committee, was bitter and severe, attacking the national administration, through Governor Tompkins, and charging that we had more cause for war with France than with Great Britain.

Napoleon had agreed to revoke the "Berlin and Milan decrees" when the British should rescind their "Orders in council," and the British Minister at Washington, had entered into a treaty with our Government, that the Orders in council should be repealed on the 10th of June, but the British Government repudiated the acts of its minister, and refused to repeal or modify its Orders in council. We had then French and British parties, so called, in the

United States. The Berlin and Milan decrees, and the Orders in council were in force still in their greatest vigor at the time of this session of the Legislature in February, 1810.

To the Federal response to the Governor's speech, Dr. Mitchell offered a substitute, approving the action of Mr. Madison's administration in its attempts by the Embargo to retaliate upon the British and French Governments. Many of the strong men of the Assembly, on both sides, made speeches for and against the substitute. A prominent gentleman who heard Dr. Mitchell's argument says,* it "afforded evidence of much reading, considerable ability, and great benevolence of heart," yet he thought "it smelt of the shop." The Doctor, in speaking of preparations for war, and the resources of the country, stated that an abundance of saltpetre could be found among us. Seeming to forget himself, and as though delivering a lecture to a class of college students, the Doctor went off into a minute detail of the history of the discovery of the art of making gunpowder, and the chemical laws which governed the process, thus transforming the house into a chemical laboratory, with the members listening to a scientific discourse on the affinities of matter. The Doctor's substitute was defeated by a strict party vote.

Until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821 by this State, lotteries had been looked upon as a proper mode for raising funds in aid of educational and scientific institutions. For years Union and Hamilton Colleges shared in the funds accruing from the profits of a "Literature Lottery," with a board of managers, under a special act of our Legislature. Who among us now would recommend raising funds for any good object by this mode of gambling? To promote medical science a lottery was organized in 1815, and Dr. Mitchell, from his prominence and extensive reputation, was selected to subscribe the lottery tickets. As a curiosity of the kind, I give a copy of such a ticket:

FIRST LOTTERY.

"STATE OF NEW YORK No. 17,746.
MEDICAL SCIENCE LOTTERY.

This Ticket will entitle the possessor to such prize as shall be drawn to its number in the First Lottery for the promotion of Medical Science, agreeably to an Act of the Legislature of this State, passed March 12, 1810. Subject to a deduction of 15 per cent.

(P) New York, March, 1815. SAM'L L. MITCHELL."

Dr. Mitchell died in New York City, September 7, 1831.

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*Pol. Hist., I, 283.

LETTER OF DR. MITCHELL.

WASHINGTON, January 15th, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—This will probably find you on the eve of departure for Albany. And I write it, that you may possess it as a document to enable you to converse with the more intelligence on the question of Louisiana whenever it shall be agitated, either in public or private. The information I am about to give you is derived from the highest source, in Europe, and was known to very few even at the seat of the national government, before I imparted it to them.

Our Minister at Paris had for a considerable time foreseen that the *east* bank of the Mississippi, to which he thought the views of our government were confined, would be insufficient to insure our tranquility, if an active, powerful and enlightened people occupied the *west* bank, particularly the country that lies above the river Arkansas, opposite to our western establishments.

Mr. Livingston therefore, *though without powers*, first endeavored to satisfy the people in power at Paris that establishments in Louisiana would be of no use to them, and that if they should continue to possess Louisiana, it was proper to give us all the country above the Arkansas in order to interpose us between them and Canada. He got his reflections on this subject submitted to Buonaparte the first Consul, through his brother, and notwithstanding his violent attachment to it, procured an assurance from him that some arrangement should be made satisfactory to our government on this subject, and that it should be done in America by the then intended Minister Bernadotte.

In March, 1803, he ventured upon what was considered there and may, you will easily believe, be deemed here a bold and hazardous measure. This was no less than a direct and forcible address to the first Consul personally on the subject of the commercial claims of our citizens. By this extraordinary overture Mr. Livingston obtained from Buonaparte a *positive assurance* that they should be fully and speedily paid. Having accomplished this point he began to look forward to an accomplishment, by means of it, of his other object; because he was now sure that the first Consul could not recede from his own personal promise, and in case of a war which then began to be probable, could he find any other means of discharging the debt than by a cession of country.

The spirited conduct of Congress and indeed of the Nation in the affair of New Orleans was also of use, and so strongly pressed by Mr. L. upon Talleyrand that Mr. T. called upon Mr. L. for some proposition relative to that country. Though he *was wholly unauthorized by our government*, he nevertheless ventured on the 14th of March, to make them explicitly for the east side of the river and all above the Arkansas on the west, and he received a verbal assurance a few days after, that the next day should bring him a full and satisfactory answer. It is probable that such an

answer was prepared, which all was thrown aback by the receipt of letters from Mr. Pichon assuring them "that all was quiet."

On this information they determined to wait and see whether the war with England would pass over, and whether a better bargain could not be made. But as Mr. L. continued to press the execution of Buonaparte's promise for the debt, and an explicit recognition of our right of deposit on the Mississippi the first Consul announced to Council on the 8th (four days before Mr. Monroe arrived there) his determination to sell the country to us the next day. The Minister called upon our Minister for a specific proposition the day after. The business was put into the hands of Mr. Marbois for certain cogent though delicate reasons, but as they said, out of respect to Mr. L. as his friend. Talleyrand had alarmed him by pretending that he had no particular authority to speak to him on the subject, but at the same time called upon him to say what he would give. As by this time our Minister had heard of Mr. Monroe's arrival at Havre he refused to act until the arrival of his associate; but asked why they wished him to make a proposal for the whole of Louisiana, when he had only asked for the east side of the river and a portion on the west? The Minister replied that he had asked all that was worth having, and therefore must take the whole. On this Mr. L. told him he had no objection; but would now wait until Mr. Monroe came up.

On the evening of the 12th, Mr. Monroe arrived. On the 13th, while Mr. Monroe was at dinner with Mr. Livingston, Mr. Marbois was discovered to be walking in Mr. L.'s garden. He was sent for and invited in; but he declined saying he would come in the evening. When he came he seemed to be surprised at seeing Mr. Monroe, not having, as he said, heard of his arrival. After a short visit, he departed requesting, as there was company at Mr. L.'s that our Minister would come to the Treasury that evening at eleven. He went accordingly; and there they in a formal manner discussed the whole business of the cession, which Mr. Livingston told Mr. Marbois he would communicate to Mr. Monroe. During this interview Mr. Marbois promised to procure full powers. The discussion continued until after two in the morning.

The next day Mr. L. presented Mr. Monroe to the Minister, who received him politely, but said nothing of business. The great point having been gained, to wit, the difficulty of bringing the Consul to sell, the subsequent discussion related only to the price and to matters of form. So that if Mr. Monroe had not been taken ill, and confined to his bed for ten or twelve days, (having been taken four days after his arrival) the negotiation would probably have been completed before the 20th of April.

You will easily see that the difficulties attending the Treaty were very great; and what is very remarkable it was chiefly conducted verbally and without correspondence in writing. This is the reason why so little of it has been laid before the public, and even as I understand, before the Senate. And for this reason, am I so particular in giving you what may be considered the interior and confidential history of this important transaction.

Our fellow citizens ought to understand that the most perfect accordance of sentiments has taken place between Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe in every measure that regarded the Treaty, and in the steps which had been taken to pave the way for its execution previous to his arrival. After that event, the principal business consisted of commercial arrangements, and the price; and in all these our Commissioners met with much candour on the part of Mr. Marbois.

In Paris, I have been informed, it is considered a most important acquisition, and has procured for Mr. L. the congratulations of the whole diplomatic corps; who knew the difficulties that were to be encountered, and were warmly and vainly soliciting the payment of their respective claims, and appreciated accordingly the success that had attended the application for ours.

Our political friends may be gratified by a knowledge of these events. The British Government has been said by some to be deserving of the merit of this negotiation. They have however no pretension at all, for Lord Whitworth declared before he left Paris that Louisiana had never been a subject of discussion between him and the French Government. This would seem to be the case on the evidence of the papers laid before Parliament by Lord Hawkesbury, who in announcing this negotiation, declared he had no knowledge of it, until it was communicated officially. And the fact appears to be, that Mr. King who made it known to his Lordship, knew nothing of it himself before it was concluded; and then communicated it by direction of our Ministers at Paris.

Before concluding, I believe I ought to mention to you, that I have, since I have been here, been spoken to and written to by our political friends, in relation to the vacant seat in the Senate of United States, so often, that I wish my friends to act as they think for the best on the occasion.

Yours, with sincerity and great respect,

SAM'L L. MITCHELL.

THE NEEDS AND PURPOSES OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY S. N. D. NORTH.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 10, 1878.

Such frequent inquiry is made of the gentlemen connected with the Oneida Historical Society, respecting the character of the donations needed to make its collections complete and valuable, that it seems desirable to have these questions all answered at once, and fully, in the name of the Society. The public, already convinced that this Society is to be a permanent and a live institution, shows a disposition to extend that aid and sympathy without which our hands are tied. The approach of the date set apart for the formal opening of the Society's rooms, furnishes another reason why its claims and wants should be clearly made known. In the following paper an effort has been made to express the views of the Society at large regarding its own work; and if any member has any addition, suggestion or correction to offer, it should be made freely, in order that the whole ground may be covered.

Many citizens who stand ready to respond to the appeals of the Society, have hesitated to make the gifts within their power because they are not sure that what they have to give comes within the legitimate domain of the Society. To all such, exact information will be a guide; and the Society itself may find that its collections will thus receive a coveted and valuable increase.

THE SCOPE OF THE SOCIETY.

A prevalent misapprehension as to the scope of the Oneida Historical Society should be thus early corrected. This misapprehension may have arisen from the local character of the Society's name—a localization which could not well have been avoided. Because it is "The Oneida Historical Society at Utica," it should not

be inferred that its jurisdiction is bounded by the limits of Oneida county. A historical society deals with the past; and Oneida county is a modern civil division. The original civil division of this section of the State was the county of Tryon—erected in 1772; rechristened Montgomery in contempt of a royal Governor in 1784; divided in 1791 into the counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer—Oneida county being erected out of the latter in 1798. It is obviously the mission of this Society to cover the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of Central New York. It is a wide field; for the boundaries of Tryon county included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present county of Schoharie. All the State of New York west of that line is our legitimate field. If there are, or should hereafter be, kindred institutions in cities west of us, we welcome them as coadjutors in a broad field of investigation, where the harvest will be abundant for all.

THE HOME OF THE IROQUOIS.

There is another and a better reason why we aim to gather within these archives the history of the territory comprised in the original limits of Tryon county. That county included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form the only glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are at the centre of the famous "long house," within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of the Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica's Cemetery Association is permitted to be the custodian of its Sacred Stone. There is no association in this country which makes it its special mission to preserve and perpetuate the history of the Iroquois. By reason of our exceptional advantages of location, that should be the special purpose of the Oneida Historical Society.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL TRYON COUNTY.

In many ways the original Tryon county is peculiarly and exceptionally interesting in a historical point of view. Hither penetrated the earliest of the Jesuit missions. Here lived and labored and died Sir William Johnson—in many respects the most

prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brant, who made the Mohawk valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacre. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their Revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerve of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here also settled one of the earliest and most important Welsh colonies in the United States; and their story is likewise yet to be written. Here were the frontier and defensive forts and castles both of the French, the Indians, the English and the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego, Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed, along the watercourses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the prowess of the latter at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America—an attempt which soon developed into the Erie canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untoward fate of the Castorland Company. Here was the home, and here is the grave and the monument, of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was constructed the most famous turnpike thoroughfare in New York State. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built, and perhaps the first trunk road. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the State of New York. Here the first cheese factory was built. Here were founded the second and third oldest collegiate institutions within the borders of the State, in one of which—Hamilton College—was made the only attempt to educate and christianize the savage Iroquois. Here the Holland Land Company left its impress, and here were located the most princely grants of the royal governors. Here, on the lordly acres of Gerrit Smith, were the headquarters

of the underground railroad. Here another enthusiast, in sympathy with Gerrit Smith, yet unlike him in many ways, undertook the experiment of the industrial education and failed. Here has been the home of more than a due proportion of the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the nation.

How the Public can Assist the Society.

We pass to the nature of the assistance this Society may justly expect to receive from the whole community of Central New York, in its endeavor to gather together the tangled threads of this network of history. A historical society is the proper custodian of everything that bears upon the history of the community around it. Where there is no such custodian, these several threads of local history are apt to be scattered and lost. We have had many instances of the fate of private collections. During the life-time of the collector, they are preserved and augmented. When he dies, a single generation perhaps, will respect his legacy. After that it will be carted to the auction room or the paper mill. Even in communities where historical societies exist, whatever of this character is not committed to their care, is liable to be lost, sooner or later. This statement could be enforced by many instances that have come within the personal observation of the members of this Society. Our corresponding secretary, Mr. Jones, relates that when Abraham M. Walton, who was a descendant of the Walton family of colonial New York, came to Deerfield to practice law, he brought with him a large number of documents, both private and public, of a varied and valuable character. When he died, these papers were carefully removed to the loft of a store on Genesee street. Here they remained, undisturbed and forgotten, until fire came: and most of what the fire left, the water made illegible. When the debris was carried away, several bushel baskets of these old papers were sold to the paper men, where Mr. Jones, by a happy accident, arrived in time to rescue a few remnants of parchment. There was a case in Clinton, where a lady from another town moved into a house and found upon taking possession that the garret was loaded with piles of old manuscripts, old letters, old deeds, old newspapers and old-fashioned books—the accumulation of many years and of other families. They represented nothing that was valuable to her, except the room they occupied; and upon the whole she did the most natural thing when she had the whole assortment carted into the back-yard and treated her children to a

glorious bonfire. The discovery was subsequently made that that garret had been the depository—among other things—of the manuscript sermons of Dr. Azel Backus, the first president of Hamilton College.

THE DESTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

Just before the recent semi-centennial of Whitestown Seminary, a member of this Society interested in the early history of that institution visited Albany to learn from the daughter of a former treasurer what had been done with certain documents and records relating to the school, which had been in his keeping. He found that most of those records had been burned when the family moved —simply because they knew of no other disposition that could conveniently be made of them. I have recently been told of an instance in Utica where an accumulation of carefully assorted pamphlets and files in one of our oldest houses was committed to the flames, because there appeared to be nothing else to do with it. These destroyers of history are not so much to blame. Such piles of "rubbish"—so the thrifty housewife must necessarily regard them—are neither ornamental nor useful in the average American home. They are finally burned or sold, because there is no other known use to which they can be put. If the Oneida Historical Society had been in existence at the time these incendiary fires occured, these accumulations might have been committed to its care; and some of the experienced antiquarians who constitute its membership would gladly have examined them, sorting out what was valuable historically, and leaving the real "rubbish" for the old paper man.

Had this Society been founded twenty-five years earlier, its collections would now be enriched by a mass of valuable documents, vital to a true and full knowledge of our local history, which is not only destroyed, but in the destruction that knowledge has gone also. We know of instances where donations have been made to societies elsewhere because there was no society here—donations valuable anywhere, but especially valuable in a community whose history they would illustrate. Thus Governor Seymour, many years ago, presented the Buffalo Historical Society with the journals and other papers of Judge Adrian Vander Kemp—one of the noblest, and certainly the most learned of the pioneers of Oneida county. Dr. S. Wells Williams presented to the New York Historical Society the files, more or less complete, of the newspapers formerly published by his father in Utica, and known as the *Utica*

Patriot, and *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* This Society is now making an effort to secure these files from New York for its own collections. Here they will be often referred to, for innumerable purposes. There they are of so little comparative value, in the mass of materials accumulated through nearly one hundred years, that a Utica gentleman who went recently to inspect them for a purpose of his own, was unable to find them, and arrived at the conclusion that they were stored away somewhere in the cellar or the garret. Let us be thankful that this Society is at length organized, that it is so fortunately provided with a secure and commodious repository; and that it has already rescued from destruction or from a similar exile, this interesting and invaluable collection that we see about us to-day. Now that it is organized, no housewife or executor or heir in Central New York can say in excuse for applying the match to the garret collection, that they knew not where to deposit the dusty accumulations of their fathers for which they themselves have neither room nor use. In every such case, upon notification from the parties, the Oneida Historical Society will gladly send a skilled and competent agent to inspect such collections, and to bring to a safe keeping here whatever in them possesses a permanent historical value.

The Garret Accumulations.

It would not be safe to insist that all the garret accumulations possess this permanent historical value. There is on the contrary an immense amount of trash in nearly all such collections. But always, when the chaff is thus destroyed, there are some grains of wheat destroyed with it. In many instances it may require experts to separate the wheat from the chaff; and one of the purposes of this Society will be to raise up such experts from among the number of its active members. What this Society claims is, that no such destruction should be permitted until examination has been made, to discover whether something—even though it be a small thing—can not there be found, whose preservation will add to the completeness of these collections. If this suggestion will be borne in mind, instances of destruction which are occurring almost every day, can be somewhat checked. So long as the Oneida Historical Society is not invested with the power to fine and imprison every person who is guilty of such destruction, there ought to be a higher law in wholesome public sentiment that shall give the Society an opportunity to save what is valuable from the rapacious and relentless clutch of the rag man.

What the Society Wants.

For the information of all persons who may feel disposed to aid the Society in this work of preservation, the following list has been prepared at the suggestion of the Society, of the donations solicited. It has been made as comprehensive as a specific and definite statement will permit. The Society has addressed its attention especially to the collection of the following:

I.—BOOKS.

A—All books of whatsoever character, published within the limits of the territory represented by this Society.

B—All books published elsewhere by persons now or formerly resident within this territory.

C—All books relating to the history of the Five Nations, and the Indians generally.

D—All books relating to the history, the biography, the development, the characteristics, the manufactures, the commerce and the agriculture of the counties of Central New York.

E—All the publications of other historical societies.

F—All the publications of the State of New York.

G—All the publications of the United States bearing upon the history or the development of the country.

H—All other publications which relate to American history—with a view to making the local library comprehensive on all questions relating to the history of this country.

II.—PAMPHLETS.

A—All pamphlets which come under any of the above descriptions of books wanted.

B—All published sermons having either a local, historical or personal significance, and all historical and anniversary discourses.

C—Catalogues and reports of all the schools, academies, colleges, and other institutions of education or charity, within the purview of the Society.

D—All published speeches of public men within these limits.

E—All political, religious, commercial and statistical tracts and reports, published within this territory.

III.—NEWSPAPER FILES.

A—Bound files of all the newspapers that are or have been published within this territory.

B—Odd copies of old newspapers which have been preserved for any purpose, and which will be valuable to the Society in completing files.

The Society will be glad to receive unbound files of newspapers, giving in each case a guarantee that they will be properly bound, except when they are duplicates of bound files already in its possession.

IV.—MANUSCRIPTS.

A—Deeds and indentures; B—Autograph letters; C—Journals; D—Surveys and field-books; E—Muster rolls, etc.

V.—MAPS.

All old maps, of a local or general character, are acceptable donations.

VI.—PICTURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

A—Portraits and busts of local and historical personages.

B—Views of historic spots and structures.

C—All pictures and photographs which have a local or historical value.

VII.—INDIAN MEMORIALS.

Prehistoric and Indian remains, of every variety and description, are valuable always.

VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS RELICS.

These are the most difficult of any kind of gifts about which to give definite information. There is much matter collected under this head, with which this Society has nothing to do. But relics or mementoes which are connected in any way with the early history of a locality, or with the personal experiences of its early settlers, rarely fail to have a permanent value in the collections of historical societies.

IX.—SPECIMENS IN GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

All specimens which illustrate the geological formation of the territory of this Society are welcome additions to its collections; the same remark applies to all specimens which illustrate its natural history.

There may be other articles, not classified under either of the above heads, which possess something of historic interest, and such are always welcomed.

As we are making history every day, the Society is especially desirous that the publishers, authors or compilers of the current circular, pamphlet and book literature of the day shall form the habit of depositing copies with its librarian.

It will be observed that the books which the Society seeks, are as a rule, the class of books which are lightly estimated in a general or family library.

It will naturally happen, in receiving donations from a variety of sources, that duplicates will accumulate. As soon as possible, the Society will publish a classified catalogue of its collections and library. In the meanwhile, duplicates are always valuable, especially for purposes of exchange.

The ground covered above presents a wide range. The list of books alone includes a vast number of volumes, only a very small proportion of which are yet in the possession of the Society. It will be seen that the Society is anxious to supplement its library in such a way that the history of the State, the United States and the continent will be accessible on its shelves to the local student, for purposes of comparison, verification and parallel research,

The attention of residents in the Mohawk Valley and in all the sister counties which are segments of the old Tryon county, is respectfully invited to the above suggestions, in hope that they will be prompted to assist in making the Oneida Historical Society what it is intended to be—a comprehensive receptacle for the archives of all Central New York. They may rest assured of three things—first, that whatever they may send, will be cared for; second, that its individual value will be greatly enhanced, for all purposes of historical research, by association with the other collections of the Society; and third, that in the altogether improbable event of the dissolution of the Oneida Historical Society, every donation will be returned to the donor or his heirs.

CUI BONO?

In answer to the question, to what use can these collections be put, it may be said, in a word, that they are the raw material of history—the straw from which the bricks are to be made. They are the sources from which the chronicles of the community will hereafter be written. They are its protection against careless and inaccurate statement. They are the tangible evidences of the honorable achievements of our predecessors. They are the guide, by which we can best measure the achievement that will be honorable in us. This room is a school room for the growing generation, which may here acquire that knowledge neglected elsewhere—a knowledge of our own home history. They have besides a more practical utility that has already been demonstrated, not alone to the historian, but to the real estate owner, the lawyer, the politician, the editor, the man of business generally; for here facts can

be established, causes analyzed, impressions verified, doubts settled. Thus by loyalty to the past, we can serve the present and the future.

In conclusion, it should be said that the Society does not regard itself as in any selfish sense the proprietor of these collections. They belong to the public, to Central New York; and the Oneida Historical Society simply holds them in trust, for the use and the benefit of the public. It is a guardian merely; and therefore it is that the Society feels not the slightest modesty in asking and accepting donations from all who have and are willing to give. Whatever is here deposited, will be at all times accessible to the sincere student and investigator, subject only to such regulations as the safety of the collections may require.

APPENDIX.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 13, 1880.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

In compliance with your constitution, the undersigned would respectfully submit his second annual report. Confined mainly to dry details, he can not expect to present a paper which shall possess much of interest to the public; but to the active members of the Society the facts and details of my department furnish the evidences of the progress you have made, and the favor you have found with the people. During your first years, you could not decide who and how many had been induced to join your ranks and contribute to your library and cabinet, because your Society was a novelty, nor how many would prove merely "sunshine patriots," leaving for newer fields when the novelty of your first "send off" had commenced to wear off. The past year has decided the question of your continued existence. The same fidelity and activity on the part of the number, never large, who regularly attend the meetings and are at all times alive to your interests, insure the perpetuity of the Oneida Historical Society.

At every meeting during the past year many valuable donations have been made to your library and cabinet, and still there are no indications that the stores have been exhausted. The publicity given to these donations has suggested to others that they, too, had treasures—old books, newspapers, records and manuscripts, laid away and forgotten and thought to possess little or no value, but really as valuable as many which have been so thankfully received. In my attempts to arrange and find places for these articles, I have often discovered names, dates and facts which render them of much value to the future historians of your field, a field which a century ago constituted the hunting grounds, intersected by the war-paths of the Oneidas and Mohawks—yet some of the donors of these old torn, soiled, worm-eaten books and papers have almost apologized for the condition and smallness of their gifts. Central New York is yet rich in objects of this character, hidden

away in garrets, old chests and cupboards, and all that is required for their acquisition is an earnest, continued, yet polite advocacy of the claims and objects of this Society. People exhibit but little haste or enthusiasm in exposing or disposing of their old household gods.

The contents of your library and cabinet have been divided into five classes, and the following table shows the number in each, at the close of the year, since you have had a place for your treasures, and the increase during the past year :

		1879.	1880.	*Increase.*
1.	Bound books,	512	829	317
2.	Pamphlets,	346	644	298
3.	Newspapers and periodicals,	222	268	46
4.	Manuscripts, documents, maps,	227	296	69
5.	Relics and works of art,	67	83	16
	Total,	1,374	2,120	746

In the third and fourth classes a number may include a volume of newspapers or a single paper, a lot of an hundred or two of old letters and documents or a single article, and had your librarian been only desirous of high numbers, these could have been easily doubled.

Your librarian would here, now, in this public manner urge upon the members and friends of the Society the necessity of more room for the arrangement and exhibition of your property. To render the books useful and their stores of historical knowledge accessible, there should be room for their classification, which can not now be done. New cases for the many volumes of newspapers, now unprotected, are also a necessity. Proper cases for the preservation and exhibition of the mass of manuscripts, Indian and historic relics and mementoes would be inducements to many others to make us the custodians of their articles. The present cases may be pronounced safe, but they are deficient in room and in proper arrangement. One motive in thus bringing the wants of the Society before the public has been in the hope that public spirited citizens may see and meet those wants.

BOUND BOOKS.

The above statement shows that of these 317 have been received in the past year. Of these the most valuable doubtless are the volumes published by the New York Historical Society. Your wisdom in procuring a share in the publication fund of that Society

can not be questioned. The eight volumes, 1868–1876, (the volume for 1874 not yet published) are from original and mainly unpublished sources, inaccessible to the public. They cover the "Continuation of Chalmer's Political Annals," Governor Colden's letters reviewing and criticising Smith's History of the Colony of New York, documents relating to Governor Leisler's administration, "The Clarendon Papers," documents relating to the "New Hampshire Grants," now Vermont; Old New York and Trinity Church Papers of General Charles Lee, (3 volumes), correspondence of General Pattison, British governor of New York, 1779–80, and the Colden papers, 1760–5. To the general student these volumes are of great value aside from the many curious and strange things they contain relating to our early history. This publication fund share entitles you to all the works published from its income. You have been fortunate in receiving "The Whitney Family of Connecticut and its affiliations, an attempt to trace the descendants of Henry Whitney, of Connecticut, from 1649 to 1878," in three volumes, 4to. This is probably the most splendid and expensive genealogical history ever published in any country. The edition is but 500 copies, all for presentation, and for so generous a gift you are indebted to the author, S. Whitney Phœnix, of New York city.

Among the additions of the past year have been a fair share of useful and rare books, too many, to be even glanced at in this report. As a rule these are of a higher order and better adapted to the wants of a historical society than those received during the previous year. From one source you received over 200 volumes of United States and State public documents which are a mine for the future political student and statistician. The acquisition of a good library is a work of time, even where the books are purchased, and it is no cause for discouragement that your library is no larger or better. You have many reasons for gratification at your success. You still need the Utica directories for 1817, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1841.

PAMPHLETS.

Received during the past year, 298. Many of your rarest gifts have been in this modest, unobtrusive form. Ever since the discovery of printing a much larger proportion of valuable historical, political, scientific and theological matter has been given to the world in pamphlets and hidden, or become very rare, because of their liability to be lost or destroyed, than in bound books. You have many rare pamphlets, and when classified and arranged they will be sought for by students and the curious in the whole range

of literature. Of those received in the past year you are indebted to Charles L. Woodward, of New York, for more than 150, with some valuable books.

Newspapers and Periodicals.

Although the catalogue shows an increase of but 46 numbers in the past year it must not be inferred that the increase has been of but small value. Twenty-two yearly volumes (bound) of the *Tri-weekly National Intelligencer*, by Gales & Seaton, of Washington, are a bonanza of historical and political intelligence. They extend from January 1, 1839, to the close of 1865, (5 vols. missing). What the London *Times* is in England, so was the *National Intelligencer* during the lives of Gales & Seaton in the United States—conservative, careful and never partisan at the expense of truth or justice. You are to be congratulated upon their acquisition, which you owe to E. S. Brayton, of this city.

A few numbers of *The Club*, published by "Henry Goodfellow, Esq., & Company," an anonymous literary paper published in Utica in 1814, have been placed on your shelves. These numbers show that this was a respectable, carefully-printed periodical, filled mainly with original matter, and at least continued for several months. Yet it has seemed to pass entirely from the memory of the "oldest inhabitant."

A single number of the Whitestown *Gazette*, presented by B. Pratt Babcock, Esq., of Cayuga, Ill., a native of New Hartford, settles, forever, the question of the date of the first newspaper established in this State, west of Albany. This is No. 7, Vol. I, dated August 22, 1793, and was published by Richard Vanderburgh, "opposite the meeting-house in Whitestown." The good fortune through which this single paper was preserved and presented to this Society, also settles the question of priority between the Whitestown *Gazette* and the *Western Centinel.*

Manuscripts, Documents, Maps.

Of these, sixty-nine have been added in the past year. The undersigned has made considerable progress in arranging them in scrap-books, where they will be comparatively safe from the inroads of autograph collectors, and may be consulted and read. Some of these, and the largest and most valuable, especially those with the pendant great seals of this State attached, are very difficult of arrangement, and I would ask the best taste and skill of

the members of the Society to aid me in their proper disposition. Among the manuscripts are many of real historic interest, especially to this part of the State, while others are old, and others rank as curiosities. In the opinion of the undersigned, the most valuable original paper you possess, is a letter of two sheets, dated Washington, January 15, 1804, written by Hon. Samuel L. Mitchell, United States Senator from this State, giving, in his language, the "interior and confidential history" of the purchase of Louisiana, from France. In 1803, the United States purchased Louisiana from France, for $15,000,000. Lossing devotes fifteen lines to a history of the transaction, and other historians have been about as liberal. Robert R. Livingston, the distinguished revolutionary patriot, the friend of Robert Fulton, the patron of our culture and science, then United States Minister to France, made the purchase of Napoleon, as first Consul, and James Monroe, (afterwards president,) who arrived in France before the bargain was closed, and Talleyrand appear in the transaction. Most of the negotiations were oral, and few records were made or preserved. Napoleon wanted money and hated Great Britain. After the purchase was completed, he declared: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." As a valuable historical letter. I think it worthy of a place in the next volume of your transactions. This letter was presented by Henry Hurlburt of Utica.

The Vander Kemp, MSS. sermons, whether those in Dutch, delivered even an hundred years ago in Holland, or those in English, will sooner or later attract the attention of scholars and theologians. The large number of printed political addresses, handbills and circulars extending through the pre-partisan and federal and democratic-republican eras of our history, are rich in their exhibitions of the spirit, and spite of partisan politics of that period. The vulgar blackguardism and falsehoods vented upon John Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and many other great and good men, and exhibited in some of these publications, would consign to disgrace and oblivion the utterers and authors of such things, if put forth at this day.

RELICS.

The number in this class received in the past year is small, too small, and yet they are valuable. The mementoes and relics of great men, of great events, of battle-fields and historic localities,

the weapons, implements and ornaments of the Indians, although they may be of little intrinsic value, are really valuable, especially to a historical society. They contain and illustrate much of history, and need but the pens of ready writers to record that history. These things all have charms to attract the public to your association and its objects. These Indian relics are fast being gathered up by societies and individuals, and carried out of your limits, to enrich other cabinets and add interest to other societies. Primarily, they belong to you. We know that many historical documents of great value have been taken from this vicinity to historical societies in other cities, for no other reason than that no historical society existed on our field. The thirteen volumes of the original correspondence and papers of Baron Steuben, and many volumes of newspapers printed in the early days of Utica, and probably other things, were wisely given to the New York Historical Society many years ago, and before any one could have foreseen the existence of a historical society here. In modern times, many valuable papers have been taken from our field to Buffalo, Syracuse and other places. What more fitting than that your Society instead of the Buffalo Historical Society should have the papers of the late Henry R. Storrs, a man whose brilliant talents added so much and for so many years to the reputation of Oneida county, or that this Society and not the Buffalo and Syracuse societies should have the Vander Kemp correspondence and journals?

There is not a neighborhood, and in many sections scarcely a house in which there are not relics of our Indians, saying nothing with regard to those brought from distant tribes. Soon these relics of the "stone age," pre-historic relics, will have been gathered up and carried where money will not buy them. The collectors of these things are most persistent beggars, and, therefore, the members of this Society need have no fear of soiling their reputations by using all honorable means, short of petit larceny, in finding and securing anything and everything covered by the letter and spirit of your charter.

M. M. JONES,
Librarian.

UTICA, January 13, 1880.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 6, 1881.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

The undersigned in compliance with Art. XII, of your constitution, would report that the growth of your library and collections has been uniform and steady during the past year, indicating that the Society has the confidence and respect of the community in which we are placed, and of its patrons throughout the State. Your success in securing from Congress the originally promised sum, with interest, for the erection of a monument to General Herkimer, your several publications and the handsome collection of books, manuscripts, relics, &c., all as donations, have given the Society a status as one of the permanent institutions of the kind in our State. One great draw back in securing valuable donations has been the fear that, like too many similar organizations, we would soon die out and our collections be sold by our creditors and again scattered. Your inability to contract debts beyond the means on hand, and the provision that in case of misfortune, articles donated belong and shall be returned to the donors, should inspire full confidence in all those having objects of interest appropriate to such a society.

The following are the numbers upon your catalogue:

1.	Bound books,	884
2.	Pamphlets,	705
3.	Relics, Works of Art, etc.,	202
4.	Manuscripts, Documents, Maps,	315
5.	Newspapers and Periodicals,	285
	Total,	2,391

The first three heads indicate the number of those articles upon your shelves. As to Nos. 4 and 5, a number may indicate a single manuscript, map, or newspaper, or a volume or a bundle—in some instances covering an hundred letters and valuable documents.

I must have more room as soon as your funds will allow, but in the meantime I promise to make room for the safe keeping of all donations.

Respectfully submitted,

M. M. JONES,

Utica, January 6, 1881. *Librarian.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

1880, Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,	$119 37
	Received for dues,	200 00
		$319 37
	Expenses,	60 00
1881, Jan. 4.	Balance on hand,	$259 37

Herkimer Monument Fund.*

1880, Aug. 14.	Cash from United States Treasurer,	$4,100 00
1881, Jan. 3.	Paid Wm. Ringrose, for Monument Site,	387 00
	Balance on hand,	$3,713 00

R. S. Williams,
Treasurer.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Memorial of the Celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Annual Address before the Society, by Major Douglas Campbell: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Address before the Society, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, with Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida county. Annual Address before the Society, by William Tracy: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, the Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society: 1881.

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* This is exclusive of individual subscriptions not yet paid to the Treasurer.

Papers and Addresses Read Before the Society, Since April, 1879.

9. May 8, 1879, Dr. Franklin B. Hough—"The Castorland Colony."

10. July 29, 1879, Dr. M. M. Bagg—"The Earliest Factories of Oneida and their Projectors."

11. September 23, 1879, Dr. F. H. Roof—"Johannes Rueff, a Pioneer of Oneida county."

12. November 11, 1879, Henry A. Homes—"Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS., on the Removal of the Seneca Indians, in 1838, from New York to the West."

13. "The Pompey (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520."

14. December 23, 1879. Daniel Batchelor—"The Civil, Moral and Social Condition of England and its People at the Commencement of the Reign of George III."

15. January 13, 1880, William Tracy—"Early History of Oneida county." Annual Address.

16. February 17, 1880, William H. Christian—"A Glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the Early Days of the War of the Rebellion."

17. May 11, 1880. Samuel Earl—"The Palatines and their Settlement in the Valley of the Upper Mohawk."

18. July 13, 1880, Daniel E. Wager—"The Syracuse and Utica Railroad."

19. November 9, 1880, Samuel Earl—"Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water-Lime in this Country."

20. December 31, 1880, William J. Bacon—"The Continental Congress: Some of its Actors and their Doings, with the Results thereof." Annual Address.

21. March 2, 1881, Morven M. Jones—Letter of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, 1804, Relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of its Writer.

DONORS SINCE APRIL 8, 1879.

Abbott, Henry G., Utica.
Alsop, George, Baltimore.
Arnold, Isaac N., Chicago.
American Numismatic Society.
Babcock, H. G., Little Falls.
Babcock, Mrs. Dr., New Hartford.
Babcock, B. Pratt, Cayuga, Ill.
Bachelor, Peter, Utica.
Bacon, Wm. J., Utica.
Bagg, M. D., Utica.
Barnard, Chas. E., Utica.
Bates, Comfort, Utica.
Benham, Thos. L., Utica.
Beach, Allen C., Albany.
Boardman, D. L., Troy.
Brayton, E. S., Utica.
Broadwell, Wm., Holland Patent.
Buell, A. B., Utica.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Calverly, Wm., Trenton.
Camp, Mrs. John, Utica.
Caton, John S., Ottawa, Ill.
Cayuga Historical Society, Auburn.
Coleman, Wm. B., Utica.
Cushman, J. B., Utica.
Conover, Geo. J., Geneva.
Cunningham, Wm., Utica.
Childs, J. M., Utica.
Darling, Chas. W., Utica.
Department of Interior, Washington.
Department of State, Washington.
DePeyster, J. Watts, New York.
Doolittle, Wm. S., Utica.
Earl, Samuel, Herkimer.
Earll, J. L., Utica.
England, Wm., Utica.
Evans, David J., Utica.
Farrier, Geo. H., Mem. of Paulus Hook.
French, Wm. M., New Hartford.
Goodwin, A. T., Utica.
Gardner, M. M., Utica.
Hartley, Isaac S., Utica.
Hastings, John C., Clinton.
Henshaw, Mrs. Jane, Utica.
Hodges, E. P., Utica.
Homes, H. A., Albany.
Hurlburt, Henry, Utica.
Hurlburt, F. W., Utica.
Hutchinson, C. W., Utica.
Ingersoll, F. D., Rome.
Jennings, Rev. Isaac, Bennington, Vt.
Jones, M. M., Utica.
Jordan, John, Philadelphia.
Kernan, Francis, Utica.
Kirkland, Wm., Utica.
Mack, R. C., Londonderry, N. H.
Merrill, Mrs. B. S., Utica.
Merwin, M. H., Utica.
Maryland Historical Society.
Middlebury Vt. Historical Society.
Miller, Henry S., Albany.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Monroe, J. D., Utica.
Morrill, W. M., New Hartford.
New York Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
Old Residents Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.
Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Phœnix, S. Whitney, New York.
Prescott, C. D., Rome.
Porter, Dr. H. N., N. Y. Mills.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Richardson, Adams & Mann, Utica.
Richmond, A. G., Canajoharie.
Roof, Dr. F. H., Rhinebeck.
Rouse, Lorenzo, Marshall.
Richards, A. E., Florence, Italy.
Rogers, Henry C., Utica.
Seymour Horatio, Deerfield.
Seymour, Norman, Mt. Morris.
Simms, Jeptha R., Fort Plain.
Silsbee, Rev. Wm., Trenton.
Secretary of State, Albany.
Stafford, S. H., Oneida.
Stanton, Elias, Kirkland.
Shull, Josiah, Ilion.
Stevens, Mr., Lowville.
Searles, Jas. H., Rome.
Thompson, James, Utica.
Trenham, Mrs. Wm., New Hartford.
Telier, F. G., Rome.
Tourtellot, Dr. L. A., Utica.
Underdown, Wm., Philadelphia.
Vermont Historical Society.
Wager, Mrs. David, Utica.
Walker, George, Utica.
Ward, C. W., Rome.
Waterloo Historical Society.
Williams, Warren, Clinton.
Wisconsin Historical Society.
Watson, J. C., Clinton.
Weed, Jas. M., Utica.
Webster, P. G., Fort Plain.
Wright, Miss, Utica.
Wright, B. H., Rome.
Williams, R. G., Utica.
Wood, Leander S., N. Y. Mills.
Wood, Mrs. Delia M., Utica.
White, Philo, Whitesboro.
Williams, S. Wells, New Haven, Ct.
Williams, H. Dwight, Saratoga Springs.
Woodward, Chas. L., New York.
Wilson, James H., Utica.
Young, David S., Lee Centre.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Elected Since April, 1879.

Ballou, Rev. Daniel, Utica.
Barber, A. D., Utica.
Broadwell, William, Trenton.
Broadwell, Henry, Trenton.
Calverly, William, Trenton.
Childs, J. Morris, Utica.
Cooke, Dr. L. Herbert, Utica.
Cooper, G. Edward, Utica.
Currie, Dean F., Clinton.
DeAngelis, Pascal C. J., Utica.
Edmunds, Henry, Utica.
Fort, William F., Utica.
Foster, Henry A., Rome.
Gardner, Rev. Chas. H., Utica.
*Gardner, Dr. M. M., Utica.
Hartley, Rev. I. S., Utica.
Mallory, Henry P., Utica.
McIntosh, A. J., Utica.
Miller, Addison C., Utica.
Mills, Albert M., Utica.
Pomeroy, Theodore, Utica.
Porter, Dr. H. N., N. Y. Mills.
*Rogers, Henry C., Utica.
Rowley, Warren C., Utica.
Sutton, Dr. R. E., Rome.
Sturges, Edward, Utica.
Towne, Chauncey, Utica.
Turnbull, James B., Utica.
Wardwell, F. W., Utica.
Watson, J. T., Clinton.
Wood, Leander S., N. Y. Mills.
Wilson, James H., Utica.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Elected Since April, 1879.

Bagg, Charles S., Deer Lodge, N. Y.
Bennett, Alfred, Hannibal, Mo.
Bigelow, Horace, St. Paul, Minn.
Burt, Bradley B., Oswego, N. Y.
Curtis, George W., Nora, Ill.
Dakin, George W. B., Cherry Valley.
Flandrau, Hon. Charles E., St. Paul, Minn.
Griffith, John, Cleveland, O.
Guiteau, F. W., Irvington, N. Y.
Holden, Dr. A. W., Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hoyt, Joseph B., Cazenovia, N. Y.
Irwin, Theodore, Oswego, N. Y.
Lintner, Prof. J. E., Albany, N. Y.
Roof, Dr. F. H., Rhinebeck, N. Y.
Rogers, Gen. Horatio, Providence, R. I.
Sanborn, Rev. Jno. W., Perry, N. Y.
Seymour, Hon. Norman, Mt. Morris, N. Y.
Spencer, William A., St. Paul, Minn.
Throckmorton, B. W., New York.
Timmerman, Wm. S., St. Paul, Minn.
Taylor, James W., Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Wilcox, E. W., West Winfield, N. Y.
Wright, Hon. W. W., Geneva, N. Y.

HONORARY MEMBER.

T. Whitney Phœnix, New York.

---

*Deceased.

ACT OF NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN RELATION TO HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER 203, LAWS OF 1879.

An Act to authorize historical societies to hold real estate for preservation and monumental purposes, and to receive historical articles in trust. Passed April 19, 1879.

SECTION 1. Any historical society in this State is hereby authorized to have and hold for the purposes of inclosure, preservation and the erection of monuments, but under no circumstances for the purposes of business, the sites of old forts and battles, not to exceed six acres in one locality; and when such sites have been so appropriated and improved and used for such purposes only, they shall be exempt from taxation; and to receive donations of articles of historic interest on the condition that it shall not dispose of the same except with the consent of the donor; and that in case of its dissolution or inability to pay its debts otherwise than from its effects, the said articles shall revert to the donors or their heirs. But nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing the charge of any fee for the exhibition of such inclosure or structure by such historical society, or their agents.

SEC. 2. This Act shall take effect immediately.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA,

1881-1884,

CONTAINING

THE WHITESTOWN CENTENNIAL, WHITESBORO'S GOLDEN AGE,
WAGNER RE-INTERMENT, OLD FORT SCHUYLER
CELEBRATION, AND DEDICATION OF THE
ORISKANY MONUMENT.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOUNDED 1876.

UTICA, N. Y.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
ELLIS H. ROBERTS & CO., PRINTERS.

1885.

The narrative portions of this volume are taken principally from the full and accurate reports published in the UTICA MORNING HERALD *at the respective times of the transactions contained therein.*

The narrative portions of this volume are taken principally from the full and accurate reports published in the Utica Morning Herald of the respective dates of the Conventions contained therein.

CONTENTS.

Officers of the Society, 1885, ... 4

The Whitestown Centennial 5

- Historical Address, by Charles Tracy 11
- Genealogy of the White Family, by Wm. M. White, ... 25
- Address of Dedication, by Rev. Dr. Upson, ... 35
- "The Whitestown Country," (Poem,) by B. F. Taylor, ... 39
- Presentation of Monument, by Samuel Campbell, ... 53
- Address of Acceptance, by Rev. Dr. Dunham, ... 53
- The Collation, ... 56

Whitesboro's Golden Age, by D. E. Wager, ... 65

The Sadequada Patent, 66; Old Montgomery County, 67; Old Herkimer County, 68; Oneida County, 70; Hugh White and Family, 73; George Doolittle, 76; Amos Wetmore, 77; Leavenworth, Wilcox, Pool, Barnard and Brainard, 78; Dr. Elizur Moseley, 80; Jonas Piatt, 83; Elias K. Kane, 90; Thomas R. Gold, 90; William G. Tracy, 95; Arthur Breese, 97; Rev. Bethuel Dodd, 99; Dr. William Kirkpatrick, 100; Theodore Sill, 100; The Guiteau Family, 103; Henry R. Storrs, 111; Samuel A. Talcott, 115; Rev. John Frost, 118; The Manns, 120; The Caprons, 123; S. Newton Dexter, 124; Lewis Berry and Family, 127; The Curtenius Family, 132; The Stryker Family, 134; Gideon and Francis Granger, 136. Appendix: First Census of Whitestown, 1790, 139.

The Wagner Re-interment, ... 145

- Address of J. R. Simms, ... 146
- Address of Rev. Dr. Wortman, ... 148
- Address of C. W. Hutchinson, ... 150

Dedication of Site of Old Fort Schuyler, ... 161

- Address of Vice-President Hutchinson, ... 167
- Fort Schuyler in History, by Rev. Dr. Hartley, ... 168

Dedication of the Oriskany Monument, ... 191

- Address of John F. Seymour, ... 193
- Response of Vice-President Roberts, ... 195
- Dedicatory Address, by William Dorsheimer, ... 204
- Address of O. E. C. Guelich, ... 212
- Extracts from S. G. Visscher, ... 217
- Appendix: Oriskany Roster. Contributors to the Oriskany Monument. Resident Members of Oneida Historical Society, 1885. Standing Committees of do. Addresses before and Publications of do., .. 220

ILLUSTRATIONS:

- Hugh White of Cohoes, N. Y., ... 30
- The Whitestown Monument, ... 34
- Seal of Village of Whitesborough, ... 65
- Peter Schuyler, ... 160
- The Oriskany Monument, ... 190
- Herkimer Directing the Oriskany Battle, ... 195
- Conflict of German-American and Indian, ... 195

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY--1885.

President,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Vice Presidents,

ELLIS H. ROBERTS,
ISAAC S. HARTLEY,
DANIEL E. WAGER.

Recording Secretary,

M. M. BAGG.

Corresponding Secretary,

C. W. DARLING.

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Treasurer,

ROBERT S. WILLIAMS.

Executive Committee,

John F. Seymour,
Alexander Seward,
Simon G. Visscher,
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Charles W. Hutchinson.

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John F. Seymour,
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Daniel Batchelor,
John L. Earll,
Morven M. Jones,
Charles W. Hutchinson,
William M. White,
Simon G. Visscher,
Samuel Campbell,
Richard U. Sherman,
Charlemagne Tower,
Michael Moore.

Deceased Members of the Board of Councilors.

*1877—Gilbert A. Foster.
*1877—Rutger B. Miller.
*1880—Othniel S. Williams.
*1881—Theodore S. Faxton.
*1884—DeWitt C. Grove.
*1877—Storrs Barrows.
*1878—Alexander S. Johnson.
*1881—John H. Edmonds.
*1883—Philo White.
*1884—Pomroy Jones.

"The Whitestown Country."

1784--1884.

Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Whitestown June 5, 1884.

WHITESBORO'S "GOLDEN AGE."

THE WHITESTOWN CENTENNIAL.

PRELIMINARY.

At a meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, held April 10, 1883, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

As the fifth day of June, 1884, will complete a century of years since the arrival at Whitesboro, for the purpose of residence, of Hugh White and family, which was the beginning of the first permanent settlement of Oneida County and "the Whitestown Country," it seems fit and becoming in the people of this region to mark the centennial with appropriate observance; and if deemed advisable that it be observed with public addresses and other ceremony, in honor of the heroic men who, throughout the territory, opened the way for their successors, it seems also fit that the Oneida Historical Society should take the initial steps toward the accomplishment of this purpose, therefore

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to confer upon the advisability of such public celebration, and, in case of approval, upon the proper mode of conducting the same, and that they report thereon at the next regular meeting of the Society, said committee to consist of Hons. Samuel Campbell, D. E. Wager, Amos O. Osborn and William M. White and S. N. D. North, Esq.

At the regular meeting of the society, held May 8, 1883, the above named committee reported favorably of a public celebration of the centennial anniversary, to be held at Whitesboro; recommended that a memorial shaft be erected near the first dwelling of Judge Hugh White, which shall be unveiled on the occasion; that the literary exercises consist of a historical address and a dedicatory address, and also of a poem; that the exercises conclude with a collation for invited guests, to be followed by brief addresses and reminiscences; that the Historical Society appoint a committee,

broader in its embrace than its own membership, and large enough for subdivision, which shall have charge of the arrangements for the celebration, raise the necessary funds and carry out the programme, independent of the Historical Society; and lastly for the accomplishment of these purposes, they recommended the following committee, viz.:

Samuel Campbell, Chairman, of Whitestown.
Wm. D. Walcott, of Whitestown.
L. L. Wight, of Whitestown.
George Williams, of Whitestown.
George Graham, of Oriskany.
Rich. U. Shearman, of New Hartford.
Wm. S. Bartlett, of Clinton.
John L. Dean, of Westmoreland.
A. P. Case, of Vernon.
D. G. Dorrance, of Oneida Castle.
A. O. Osborn, of Waterville.
D. E. Wager, of Rome.
A. C. Kessinger, of Rome.
Luther Guiteau, of Trenton,
Fred. G. Weaver, of Deerfield.
Wm. M. White, of Utica.
A. T. Goodwin, of Utica.
John F. Seymour, of Utica.
C. W. Hutchinson, of Utica.
M. M. Jones, of Utica.
Ellis H. Roberts, of Utica.
D. W. C. Grove, of Utica.
A. L. Woodruff, of Utica.
Thos. Foster, of Utica.
M. M. Bagg, of Utica.
Theo. S. Sayre, of Utica.

The committee's report was approved and adopted.

Without further action on the part of the society, preparation for the celebration was taken in hand by the committee, assisted by local sub-committees of their appointment; every portion of the programme was provided for, and when the day arrived was most successfully carried out.

THE CELEBRATION.

On the 5th of June, 1884, the beautiful village of Whitesboro, the seat of the day's festivities, presented its most attractive appearance. Its long, wide main avenue, lined with commodious residences and spacious grounds, and embowered by noble old trees, rich in midsummer foliage, gave the centennial settlement that peculiar charm which recalls its New England lineage. The day was exceptionally pleasant. The whole village was gay with holiday attire in which its hospitable citizens had decked it, in honor of the Whitestown birthday.

The guests from the surrounding country soon began to arrive. They came on the street cars of the Utica and Whitesboro railroad, by the canal steamers and the trains of the New York Central, while a continuous stream of vehicles occupied the roads leading to the ancient county seat.

The literary exercises of the day were conducted on a large platform, suitably decorated, standing in the center of the public "Green" fronting the old Court House. That noted edifice, now the Town Hall, swarmed with visitors registering their names, and busy directors. At the sides of the park the ladies of several of the churches had erected tasteful booths amply provided with refreshments for the thirsty and hungry.

The monument was the center of observation throughout the day. It stands near the middle of the north side of the park. It is a symmetrical shaft of Quincy granite, rising nearly thirty feet from the base, having on the north face a polished shield in relief, bearing the inscription,

TO COMMEMORATE
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF WHITESTOWN
BY HUGH WHITE AND FAMILY,
JUNE, 1784.

On the base is the lettering,

"ERECTED 1884."

The monument cost about $1,500. The additional expenses of the celebration raised the amount to about $2,100. Of this amount William M. White contributed $500, and members of the White family $500 more. The remainder was raised through the personal solicitation of Thomas Foster and other members of the committee, and was contributed by about a dozen persons.

The space within hearing distance of the platform was occupied by benches, where comfortably seated under the shade of the trees, the assembled throng listened with the closest interest to the addresses and poem. The platform was occupied by Hon. Samuel Campbell, President Dunham, the speakers, members of the committee and many ladies.

About a hundred carriages lined the park, and from three to four thousand persons were present.

The Whitestown band, carrying fourteen pieces, furnished the music of the day, assisted by the Oriskany Cornet Band of fifteen pieces. Both bands were uniformed in blue and buff. The New York Mills band also contributed their share of the music.

At 11.20, Chairman Campbell called the assemblage to order. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. D. G. Corey, of Utica, who for 44 years has been pastor of the Bleecker street Baptist Church.

Hon. Charles Tracy, of New York, was then introduced and delivered the historical address, which was most attentively listened to, the old settlers crowding up the steps of the stand to hear.

THE HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

BY HON. CHARLES TRACY.

A hundred years! How such a period marks the earth and its people with changes. It sweeps away three generations, and hardly does one man who breathed at the beginning of the grand cycle live five score years and watch its ending.

On a bright day in June, 1784, Hugh White, ascending the Mohawk river in a boat, reached the mouth of the Sadaqueda Creek and there landed, at the spot since known as the Point. With some of his sturdy sons he stepped into the vast forest stretching north, west and south to the bounds of the State of New York, unbroken by any civilized settlement, without a natural prairie. and hardly opened to the sun except by a few scattered patches of Indian clearings. But they came to stay, and did stay. The fourth, fifth and sixth generations of his line witness to-day the centennial of that landing and the due honors rendered to those whose dust rests in peace in the fair land they won and reclaimed and beautified.

This hundred of years includes three-eighths of the whole period from the first landing of English emigrants on the American coast down to the present day.

The bold settlement of Manhattan Island by the Hollanders, and the establishment of their colonies along the Hudson and a part of the Mohawk, attracted emigrants from their own country and from Germany, before the British succeeded to the government; but after the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam had become the English province of New York, the difference of language hindered the infusion of British emigrants among the people. At the breaking out of the revolution the Hollanders in the valley of the Mohawk extended not many miles above Schenectady, from whence up to German Flats and Frankfort there were only Germans speaking their native tongue. The two peoples in the valley were similar in character and habits, and were in mutual friendship, but their dialects differed, and were distinguished as low Dutch and high Dutch. They held a region of remarkable fertility and beauty on both sides of the river, and there they cut down the woods, made roads and bridges, built houses and

churches, and cultivated their fruitful fields; and in the winter, when sleighing came, they "rode" their wheat to the town on the Hudson, now the city of Albany. They were in comfort, and were contented.

But the great struggle of the Revolutionary war, and its wonderful success, aroused a spirit of enterprise throughout the union, and as soon as peace was proclaimed thousands of New Englanders were ready to go beyond the existing Mohawk paradise, and attack the primeval forest, which, as they had heard, covered a broad area of rich soil. Hugh White was the man fitted by nature and chosen by providence to take the lead in this great enterprise. He was a substantial farmer of Middletown, Connecticut, fifty-one years old, with good habits, perfect integrity and ample vigor, promptitude, courage and mental force.

Things were prepared for his hands. One Hugh Wallace had held a tract of 6,000 acres by grant from the British provincial government, sometimes known as Wallace's patent. It lay in this valley, extending from the mouth of the Sadaqueda, at the Point, along up the Mohawk river and back from it on each side, including a remarkable combination of interval with higher level plains and gently rising hills. The Indian title to this land had been lawfully acquired by purchase under the sanction of the provincial government, according to the just and honest course of dealing with the Indians which always prevailed from the days of the first Dutch emigration. Wallace was a merchant in the city of New York, and a member of the British governor's council. The Americans once "apprehended" him; but after holding him prisoner in Connecticut for some time Governor Turnbull released him, and he returned to New York and resumed his seat in the council. His being a clear case of treason, the New York State Legislature, in the midst of the war, on the 22d day of October, 1779, passed a special act in which his name was included with some other like offenders. It opens thus: "Whereas, during the present unjust and cruel war, waged by the King of Great Britain, against this State, and the other United States of America, divers persons holding or claiming property within this State, have voluntarily been adherent to the said King, his fleets and armies, enemies to this State and the said other United States, with intent to subvert the government and liberties of this State and the said other United States, and to bring the same in subjection, to the crown of Great Britain; and whereas the public justice and safety of this State absolutely require, that the most

notorious offenders should be immediately hereby convicted and attained of the offense aforesaid, in order to work a forfeiture of their respective estates, and vest the same in the people of this State." It then proceeds to enact that certain persons named, among them being this Hugh Wallace, "be, and each of them are hereby severally declared to be, *ipso facto*, convicted and attainted of the offense aforesaid; and that all and singular the estate, both real and personal, held or claimed by them, the said persons severally and respectively, whether in possession, reversion or remainder, within this State, on the day of the passing of this act, shall be, and hereby is declared to be, forfeited to and invested in the people of this State." It further enacted that all said persons be forever banished from this State, and that if any one of them should ever be found in this State "he should suffer death without benefit of clergy."

Thus Wallace's patent became the property of the State of New York by the best title known to the law.

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, the State, by its Commissioners of Forfeitures, sold this tract of land to Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Melancthon Smith and Hugh White jointly, and the property became better known as Sadaqueda Patent, thus taking the name of the beautiful stream already mentioned.

The Indian name of this creek signifies "the stream of smooth pebbles," and the savages pronounced it Saghdaguaite. The French, who first wrote it, in their usual way shortened the name into Sauquoite, and pronounced it Sow-quait. The English afterwards wrote it and pronounced it Sadaqueda, and so it appears in maps and deeds through a long period. More recently the custom has been to use the French spelling but to apply to it an English pronunciation, and "*Saw-quoit*" prevails.

Platt, L'Hommedieu, Smith and White divided the land between themselves. As Mr. White agreed to be the pioneer and settle on the ground, he was justly favored in the division, both as to choice of location and as to price, and he wisely chose the eastern part, taking in the creek and its valleys and plains on both sides from the Point up to site of New York Mills, and he also purchased other grounds on the west side of his allotment; so that his possessions took in the "Green" where we now stand, and a valuable part of the site of this village and the graceful hills that rise on its borders.

It is now full five score years since Hugh White thus entered

upon his portion of the land. In the following year, 1785, he brought hither all his family and set up his home. The annual spring freshet of 1785 having surrounded the place near the Point, where he landed in 1784, he chose a spot on the plain near where we now are, and put up a temporary dwelling, which afterwards was succeeded by a substantial frame house, sided with boards brought from Schenectady. The soil about the house he cleared of every tree and shrub, except three maple saplings which had grown there from wild seed, and as he afterwards used to say, they were then not bigger than his whip stock. These were left to grow into shade trees. Their irregular positions and unequal distances show they never were planted by the hand of man, but they stand there now in nature's order, three remarkable trees, with an average diameter of three feet. Although a century has made its marks on their trunks and tops, and although they were bored for the sap and yielded sugar in many successive years, and one of them has lost so much timber that it looks now like a crippled giant, trying to stand on his last leg and keep up till the coming of this day's rejoicing, yet they are in full leaf to-day and retain some remnant of the beauty for which thousands have admired them. The old farm house has been transformed, but these three venerable sugar maples stand before us as living witnesses of the olden time. (See note A.)

Hugh White's house on this plain was built on the Connecticut model, which differed widely from that of the Dutch. The Dutch house had a long front, with less depth, a chimney at each end rising above the high gable and a roofed piazza along the front called by them a "stoop"—a word of theirs which has now become American. The Connecticut house had nearly a square form and a large chimney stack in the middle. To this day the former lingers in the lower valley, and some of the latter remain in Whitestown. The two styles distinguishable at a distance, show whether a Dutchman or a Yankee was the builder. The Tory refugees who sailed from New York harbor, in the autumn of 1783, were of both the races; and in the valley of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, where King George gave them lands for their consolation in adversity, the tourist of to-day may see how the two races followed their respective old usages in the style of their dwellings.

Mr. White and his sons proceeded with diligence to cut away the forest and convert their possessions into farms. The soil was absolutely perfect, yielding crops in quantity and quality far beyond their New England experience.

In later days botanists found that the native flora between the Oriskany and Sadaqueda creeks was remarkably extensive and interesting.

News of White's settelement in this goodly region was not slow in spreading through his native land. Farmers who had worn out plows and hoes among rocks and stones, with scant reward, welcomed the thought of a soil freely worked and yielding better crops. One of the original brown bread eaters of the east inquired, among other things, whether those wondrous lands bore good rye? and White answered, "I don't know: wheat is good enough for me." The war had left the country much wasted in regard to its material condition, but rich in active men, and a flow of emigration soon started hitherward. The only accessible place where good wild land could be found in this State, was west of the German settlements on the Mohawk, and hence this patent was the natural point of pursuit. The Mohawk valley, with its navigable river and its roads, formed the only practicable line of approach, and thus White's settlement was the very key of the position. Hither they came, first from Connecticut, next from all New England, with some from Long Island and New Jersey, followed later by people of the Old World. Soon there were farms, houses, mills, and villages, at attractive points for a hundred miles westward. Later came the era of turnpike roads, which helped much in the teaming over a soft deep soil. The river was used only the more for freighting. The movement went on without check or slackening, and the new country became an established and permanent reality.

The Oneida Indians were a friendly people. They came often to see what was going on in the new settlement and to do a little traffic. Mr. White was always kind and wise in his intercourse with them, and prompt to decide and act. One of their chiefs after a few years' acquaintance craftily put his confidence to a hard test. This chief after some palaver with avowals of his great esteem, asked for a loan of Mr. White's baby granddaughter, promising to bring her back in a few days and in the meantime to take good care of her. "Take her," said White, "I know you will do as you say." The mother's tears and bursting heart resisted in vain. The little one was picked up by the squaws, and soon was out of sight in the woods. There were long hours by day and longer by night while the child's place was empty. But at last the chief proudly came again, with a procession of squaws, bringing the child, well and happy, bound in a frame like a pap-

poose and glittering with Indian finery and trinkets. From that hour Hugh White was worshiped by the Oneidas.

Years afterwards, when Whitesboro was an established and beautiful village, and the Oneidas had withdrawn from its vicinity, there still was to be seen occasionally a tall, slender Indian marching down in the middle of the street, followed by his family in single file, he bearing no load but a long, fresh, spear shaft which he held perpendicularly, his form erect, his step high, his air proud; the women in blankets, bearing on their backs large packs held by bands across their foreheads, walking bent and parrot-toed; the younger ones falling into the file behind. It was charming to look upon such a party on its way to the fishing grounds. But when the expedition had become wearisome and the fishing was over, and the visit to the shore had ended in drunkenness and begging, they slank back homeward by twilight or through wood paths, straggling and shabby.

Until 1784, the greater part of the State was included in Tryon and Schenectady counties and the Hudson river counties, and Long Island and Staten Island were the exceptions. But there was no actual government or civil organization by towns anywhere west of German Flats. In that year the Legislature changed the name from Tryon to Montgomery county, by a statute passed April 2, 1784, but set up no township government. Thus on the first landing at the Point in June, 1784, this patent was in the county of Montgomery. Four years afterwards the necessity of a regular government for the many and fast growing settlements became apparent. The Legislature by an act passed March 7, 1788, among other things, created the town of Whitestown in the county of Montgomery. This town was laid out on a magnificent scale. Its eastern boundary was a straight line crossing the river a short distance below Genesee street bridge, at a log house then standing there, and running thence due north to the River St. Lawrence, and also due south to a small stream near Pennsylvania and down that stream to the Pennsylvania line. All parts of the State lying west of that line were constituted the town of Whitestown. It contained more then twelve million acres of land, navigable head waters of the Mohawk, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Ohio, the salt springs of Onondaga, the chain of little lakes and Oswego river, the entire valley of the Genesee with its upper and lower falls, and also the grand cataract of Niagara. Its frontage on great lakes and rivers was not short of four hundred miles in length.

The map now shown is the ordinary map of the State published the present year, 1884. Red ink has been added to show the bounds of the town in 1788. It goes now into the collection of the Oneida Historical Society. Within the original limits of Whitestown there are now a dozen cities, our own Utica being the eldest and by far the most handsome and attractive; and half as many colleges, our own Hamilton being first and leader; and more than a million of inhabitants and untold wealth.

The original town did not long retain its vast dimensions. In 1789 a slice was cut off at the west end to make the county of Ontario. In 1792 the towns of Steuben, Westmoreland, Paris, Mexico and Peru were set off; but the autonomy of Whitestown, with its town meeting, justices, clerk and elections, never ceased. Utica was set off in 1817, and New Hartford in 1827. The residue remains nearly as it was in 1806, when Peleg Gifford made his survey and published his map.

In 1791 Herkimer county was created. It included nearly the whole of Montgomery county west of Little Falls, and Whitestown was its county seat, in which the first court was held.* Ten years afterwards Oneida county was created, taking in the greater part of Herkimer county. In this instance the name for the new county was determined by a little gathering held here. It was a Whitesboro man who proposed to depart from the usual custom and take the name of the Indian tribe, the original people of the region still dwelling around the New England settlements; and thus came the smooth and graceful style of Oneida county. This good example was followed in other cases.

Hugh White, the pioneer, was not a seeker of public position. He once was appointed justice of the peace; and afterwards the governor appointed him one of the judges of the county, and he served several years as such judge, with approbation and honor. Age at length inclined him to retirement and quiet.

The last summons found him at his post. On the 16th day of April, 1812, while those three maple trees were putting forth their buds for the season, Judge White, on his own domain, peacefully yielded up his breath, in the eightieth year of his age. His, venerated widow seventeen years afterwards, at the same season, passed away in the eighty-seventh year of her age.

This village early took the name of Whitesboro. Its broad avenue was made by voluntary cessions, enlarging the width beyond the original four rods of a country road to a full one hundred feet, and was early planted with shade trees on each side.

The first church was reared by "The United Society of Whitestown and Utica," on the site of the present brick church. Although it was a wooden building, it was well designed by a competent amateur architect, divided by columns into nave and aisles, with Roman arches, tall windows, a pulpit with sounding board above, a music loft, a graceful belfry and a bright tinned steeple. The carpenter may have failed in some details, but the result was comely, and for a long period it was an attractive structure. A sweet bell, added in due time, was rung at six o'clock to arouse the sleepers, at noon it called to dinner, and at nine in the evening its tongue spoke to all visiting beaux a hint for parting. The organization was Presbyterian—the settlers thus taking a departure from the Congregationalism of their ancestors.

Some, perhaps many, who in youth heard the gospel in the old church, but afterwards felt the spell of worship in grand cathedrals, still held that handsome wooden church in pleasant memories, and sighed when they learned that it was gone.

The Baptists early had a church, and a strong following and influence for good.

The minister and the schoolmaster early appeared, and exercised benign influences. Yet there came a need for court house and jail. The former displayed the union flag while the court was in session, and the sheriff, wearing a cocked hat and girt with a sword, followed by constables holding aloft their long black rods, marshaled judges, jurors and counsel as they went in procession from their quarters to the temple of justice.

Nor were the lawyers idle. This town furnished to the Court of Errors in 1805, the first chancery case in the State on rights in a stream of water, as affected by occupation and by unwritten agreements between the proprietors of adjacent lands. In 1809 this village gave the Supreme Court its first case in the law of escapes. The jail liberties here, which were free to imprisoned debtors, were so established that a certain sidewalk was within the liberties, but a certain roadway was not. A prisoner, strolling on a winter day, found this sidewalk encumbered with a snow drift, and he stepped out into the roadway and walked there a few rods; and the sheriff being sued for this as an escape, was condemned to pay the creditor the whole amount of the judgment, being over $5,000. Each of these cases was argued ably by Whitestown counsel, was considered by the courts with care and fully reported. Many authorities were cited, but all were from English authors, or decisions of English courts. Not a New York

nor American case or authority was referred to; and probably because there was none in existence, touching such questions.

This village early had its weekly newspaper, and was a place of much traffic. But the Utica settlement having advantages in position, in that the high ground there reached to the shore of the river and always gave a dry landing place, finally outgrew Whitesboro; and yet for a long time this spot was not without its merchants who sold both at wholesale and retail, and made shipments to New York of potash, otter skins, beaver skins, and other products of the country.

When the time came for emigration to regions west of this State, the best and almost the only line of travel was by the valley of the Mohawk and through Whitestown. Then could be seen passing along this street the emigrant wagon, covered with a high canopy of sail-cloth, carrying wife and little ones, and furniture and food for the journey; the father and boys following behind and driving a few cows and sheep; all slowly making their way, the canvas marked in large capitals "Ohio." In later years the label was "Indiana." This was a frequent and interesting sight, and it is still repeated on some of the plains of the far west, near the Rocky mountains, where the white and spectral canvas, seen from afar, is called "the ship of the prairie."

Things have changed here; but still the best line for passing from the eastern coast of the United States to the western world must be through the valley of the Mohawk, and the plains of old Whitestown, which line divides the Allegany range as does no other between Vermont and Florida. (See note B.)

Among the neighbors of Hugh White were many who had served in the Revolutionary war, and some who bore arms in the earlier war between the English and the French. One, at least, was a soldier in a Connecticut regiment of volunteers and fought at Louisburg in 1745,—an extraordinary battle, where the New England troops landed at the shore without artillery, and attacked and carried a strong fort, well supplied with cannon and fully garrisoned; and there was one who helped in the same French wars to make the "Mud bow." Coming up the Mohawk in boats, and finding near Sadequada point a long curve in the river which swept around and made a circle, they stopped an hour or two and dug with their oars across the little neck and let the river tear through the soft earth and make a new channel. Their intention was thus to shorten their voyage a whole mile, for their convenience in case of being driven back by the enemy. This

mile of water was soon separated from the river by the deposits of the stream, and it remained a curved pool with the name of the Mud Bow.

An early emigrant long afterwards narrated how he first arrived here. It was in 1789, and the day of company training; and on this green, where the stumps were then burning, Hugh White was drilling about 27 men simply uniformed and bearing muskets, and his son Daniel C. White, was drilling 17 riflemen, who wore hunting shirts made of tow cloth with a ravelled fringe.

Long afterwards, when an emergency of the war of 1812 required the whole mass of the militia of this region to proceed to the northern frontier, they went forth under a Whitestown general, the strongest company being from this town and mustering nearly 150 men. The campaign was a weary one. There were long marches in the mud, leaky shelter in camp under constant rains, and not much fighting to be done. The bayonets always think. When the men concluded that they had served long enough, and had done their duty, and it would be of no use to stay any longer, there began a dispersion, some going home singly, and then some in small parties, and in one case a captain deliberately marching off his company in a body. The battalions were depleted; but the Whitestown company held on and finally constituted a majority of the regiment to which it belonged.

The war being ended, the court martial began to deal with the alleged deserters, and for some fifteen months went on with trials, when it was suddenly discovered that there was a fatal defect in the constitution or organization of the tribunal, and the court, not having yet pronounced any judgment, gracefully dissolved, and no officer or man was condemned.

Years after, on a general training day of the 134th regiment held here, at the noon resting time, there was a debate as to the chances of a shower in the afternoon, when some one asked the oracular major for his opinion on that point. Without looking at the clouds he promptly responded with ringing voice: "It never rains anything but blessings on the old hundred and thirty-fourth."

Some are here now who remember a day during the war of 1812, when a large body of British troops in red coats were marched as prisoners through this street, on the way to the seaboard for exchange; and also the illumination at the peace of 1815, when the windows of the village glared with lighted candles.

The rule of the road, "Turn out to the right," is as firmly fixed in the popular mind as if it came down with the old common law.

But the regulation in England was, and is, to turn out to the left. In this State there was no old or established law or custom in that regard. The roads were generally narrow and bad, and the behavior of drivers depended mainly on their characters. When the roads along the Mohawk and to the west became much used the trouble of meeting and passing became serious. There arose debates and fights between teamsters. The highway became both a necessity and a terror. Thereupon the legislature in 1801, recognizing that the loads going towards tide water usually were far the heaviest, passed a statute requiring that on the roads leading from Schenectady up the Mohawk and on to Canandaigua, all teams going west should give the road to teams going east. This worked some good, but after a little practice, any teamster who was tugging west with a full lading of imported goods, found it not easy to see the propriety of yielding the whole road when he met a wagon bearing only man, wife and baby, or an empty ox cart. Hence arose collisions, law suits and lasting quarrels. At length the legislature interposed again, and by a general law, passed in 1813, required that on all public roads in every part of the State, when teams met, "each must seasonably turn to the right of the center of the road." Such is the law now, and this sensible rule has spread through the United States. In this instance, the law was actually founded on reason.

In 1802 a clergyman from New England, traveling in this region, sent home his journal. He speaks of passing through this place, and adds: "It would appear to you, my friend, on hearing the relation of events in the western country, that the whole was a fable, and if you were placed in Whitestown," * * * "and saw the progress of improvement, you would believe it enchanted ground." He also wrote: "The original Whitestown appears to be the garden of the world." He also sent home a map of this village, made by himself, on which some buildings now standing may be recognized.

A distinguished emigrant from Long Island, who settled some distance hence, used to say that if ever there was a garden of Eden, it must have been here.

This name of Whitestown clung to the whole region from here to Lake Erie and Ontario for a long time. As late as 1827 a celebrated lecturer on geography used to say that the eastern and southern parts of New York, like his own New England, had a poor soil, except in a few valleys, but that when you came to "the Whitestown country," there was a vast area of greatest fertility.

In sight of the beautiful farms now around us, it is best not to forget the time when the great stumps of the forest held out and were a tiresome disfigurement of the landscape, and it was a rare and pleasing thing to look on a ten acre lot which was perfectly free of them.

They who first broke the forest here were not paupers, but for the most part were men of small means, large courage, industry and hope. The story of many was briefly hinted by one of their natural orators, in the westerly parts of Oneida county, on his addressing a jury of his neighbors, and appealing for their confidence. His defense was opened thus: "Gentlemen of the jury. Twenty-five years ago I came across Fish creek with my axe on my shoulder and forty dollars in my pocket, and went to work in the woods. I have grown with your growth and strengthened with your strength. Now how is it? You know my house and my farm and my stock, and you don't know a man to whom I owe a dollar. I am one of yourselves, and can have no object in deceiving you; and I swear to you, gentlemen, that my client here, Jeemes Smith, is an honest man; and an honest man is the noblest work of God."

Pioneer life did have its hardships, and many a toiling man and woman came to the bent figure and trembling hand of old age before passing threescore years. But their children, born and bred on the spot, were erect and robust.

There were times when meat was lacking. Once, after such a period of want, there came immense numbers of wild pigeons, furnishing both abundance and luxury for several weeks. It was then deemed prudent to preserve pigeons' breasts by packing them in salt, in view to another scarcity. This was done, and when the famine of meat came again, the stock of cured provisions was broached; but it was found that the salt had struck in quite too well; and one who messed with Judge White in those days, afterwards said that in spite of soaking and extra boiling, the article was much more salt than pigeon.

This village on the other hand gave to the country the most beautiful, fragrant and delicious of fall pippins; the widely known Lowell apple. The original seedling tree stood for some seventy years in a garden at this village, and bore fruit in its old age. Its stump remains *in situ* under a beautiful green house, its fitting shelter and monument. The river also contributed an occasional luxury, yielding to fisherman the Mohawk pike, celebrated for its delicious quality.

Among the people here from the first there never was a time when Yale and Harvard were not represented, and every generation has furnished its full quota of professional men as well as farmers, merchants, mechanics, engineers, manufacturers and bankers. DeWitt Clinton, in his "Letters of Hibernicus," said of one of the early settlers from the old world, that he was "the most learned man in America."

In this connection let it not be forgotten that a part of Whitestown, now in New Hartford, was owned jointly by George Washington and George Clinton. One of the deeds, on the sale of part of that property, signed by them both, and acknowledged before James Kent in 1796, is preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to display the names of those who have held public position and won renown by genius or attainments. This has been done well by others, and can be done again, for the theme is not half exhausted. The transformation of the Whitestown country of 1784 into that of 1884 has been wrought mainly by toil and labor. The forest trees fell before the blows of axes wielded by hard hands. The roads were made, the houses, barns and fences were built, and the fruit trees were planted mostly by a host of plain men, abounding in strength and will. It was a long work and more than one generation shared it. The result is a vast cultivated region full of life's comforts, possessing all the material requirements for education, religion, society, refinement and happiness. Without now listing the fortunate few who received the decorations of distinction, it is fair to think deeply of the rank and file who did the work of these hundred years, and standing near the dust of these true toilers, to feel that the world was not made for Cæsar.

It seems not long ago when the Union demanded soldiers, and young men of this region with rifle in hand followed the flag through march and battle, not loving their lives, even unto death, for the good cause. It was a proud day for the sons of Oneida county, when in 1861 its first quota of volunteers passed through the city of New York, and bearing a flag there presented to them by emigrants from this county, marched to the front; and it was a sad but yet proud day when the fourteenth regiment passed the same place again on its return from many battles, bearing the same flag, the ranks thinned by losses, but covered with honor.

The dead of that mortal struggle for national existence, popular government and liberty, piously brought home and laid in the

earth by the side of their fathers, gave to every burying ground in the land a new and holy consecration.

There is no prophet now who can lift up his voice and tell what will be here when another century has passed and we all have turned to dust: no seer whose eyes can pierce through the long vista and descry the scenes beyond.

May the Mighty and Loving Father who made this land of fertility and abundance, and in the fullness of time called our progenitors into its possession, abide with their descendants and successors to all generations.

NOTE A.—The appropriate inscription placed on Judge White's monument about sixty years ago was drawn up by a young man. In his draft there was a glowing passage about "making the desert to blossom as the rose," but his senior, who had been here from the early days, struck out that passage as smacking of fiction, and remarked, "the Judge would not allow so much as a rosebush about his house." The three sugar maple trees were the only exception to the destruction he waged upon all wild growth of tree or bush. Nor was this strange. The necessary fight against forest and thicket inspired a hostile sentiment which made it a joy to wield the axe against the common enemy. Those who tried to save here and there a grand old tree, for its beauty or its useful shadow, usually were disappointed. The shallow roots of a tree full grown in the dense woods proved insufficient to sustain it when standing alone, deprived of the clinging net work of forest roots, and exposed to the winds which swept across the open clearing. Young trees, left or planted in open fields, and there passing their youth, adapted themselves to circumstances, and with grapplings deeper sunk in the earth and forms less lofty and more robust, braved the storm and flourished. Much of the ornamentation of the country was due to rude and unsightly fences, in the corners of which a young tree might escape the plow and the scythe, and on many an old farm we now can trace by a few surviving trees the line of a former log or worm fence, which rotted away long ago, leaving no trace, and better farming gave it no successor, but abandoned the line and united the fields. The landscape is thus beautified by chance, and its beauty not only excites the pride of owners, but improves the taste of the people.

NOTE B.—The Alleganies form a continuous mountain chain, bounding on the west the whole Atlantic slope, except the one opening through by the Hudson and the Mohawk. The valleys of these two streams form a notch or clove reaching from the ocean level to the western slope, always affording a continuous water passage, the usefulness of which led to the great enterprise of building the Erie Canal. Everywhere else the valleys of rivers, when followed up, were found to end beneath high mountain land. All plans and efforts for canalling through to the west, by the river lines of Pennsylvania and of Virginia, and further south, totally failed. Nature had given to New York alone the power to open the west. In later days the railroads have climbed over or pierced through the high divide; but the line of the Hudson and the Mohawk must forever be easier of grade and more available than any other for railroad operations.

GENEALOGY OF THE WHITE FAMILY.

BY WILLIAM M. WHITE.

Chairman Campbell then introduced William M. White, who read a carefully prepared Genealogy of the White family. In introducing it he said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the son of Hugh White I lost my inheritance, my birthright, before I was of sufficient age to enter my protest and know my loss. My name should have been Hugh, and then genealogy would record six Hugh Whites in America, each the son of Hugh, but the first, beginning with 1691 and continuing nearly 200 years.

The family trace their descent from Elder John White, one of the first settlers of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, of Hartford, in Connecticut, and of Hadley, in Massachusetts.

These facts conclusively show that the spirit of the pioneer was strongly developed in the father of the family in America. From his connection with Reverend Thomas Hooker and his church, it is supposed that he was born in Chelmsford, the county seat of Essex county, England, about the year 1595. Our first certain knowledge is that he was a passenger, with Mary, his wife, and two children, on the ship Lyon, Captain Pierce, which sailed from England about the 25th of June, 1632, and arrived in Boston on Sunday, the 16th day of September, 1632.

Mr. Hooker's company or congregation had had assigned to them for settlement by the general court of Massachusetts the town of Cambridge, then called Newtown. Elder John White's "home lot" was on the street called "Cow Yard Row," not far from where Gore Hall, the beautiful library building of Harvard University now stands. His social standing, or position, or condition of life—it is fair to infer—was of the middle class, neither rich nor poor; and that his home life in England had been of reasonable comfort, and that he had not been driven to expatriation by necessity or want. The English people have been likened to their own beer: the top all froth, the bottom dregs,

the middle pure. John White was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, March 4, 1633, and in February, 1635, the town of Cambridge elected a board of seven men "to do the whole business of the town." John White was one of the number chosen. In 1636, he sold "his betterments," and accompanying his pastor, Rev. Mr. Hooker, with about one hundred others, took departure for "the new towne" on the Quin-e-tac-quet river (Connecticut.) In the records of Hartford, John White appears as one of the original proprietors, and he was one of the "selectmen" of the town. On the death of Rev. Mr. Hooker, in 1647, a schism arose which seems to have been of a personal character. It resulted in a new departure under Elder Goodwin; and sixty persons from Hartford and Wethersfield went up the Connecticut river, and laid the foundations of Hadley, in Massachusetts. John White was of the party. He remained there eleven years, when he returned to Hartford and was chosen to the office of elder in the South Church. His life was prolonged to a good old age, and he died early in 1684, just two hundred years ago. He had four sons and two daughters.

SECOND GENERATION.

His oldest son, Captain Nathaniel White, was born in England about 1629. At the age of 21, he removed to Middletown with his father, and was one of the first settlers and proprietors. He acquired great influence and was a leading man in the colony. He was a member of the legislature or general court, and for fifty years in succession was annually chosen deputy from that town. Very few instances exist of so long an official life, dependent on annual popular election. In military life he rose through the successive grades to the rank of Captain, by which title he has been known to his posterity. He died August 11, 1711, at the age of 82 years, and the record is: "He was a man of high religious character and sound judgment." By his will he left one-quarter of his undivided lands "to remain for the use of the public school already agreed upon by the town of Middletown, forever," perhaps the first legacy to the public school system in America. He had five sons and three daughters.

THIRD GENERATION.

Ensign Daniel White was the third son of Captain Nathaniel, and was born at Middletown upper houses, February 23, 1661.

He lived in his native town, held various town offices, and died December 18, 1739. He had eight sons and three daughters.

Fourth Generation.

Hugh White was the fifth son of Ensign Daniel, and the father of the pioneer of western New York. He was born February 15, 1691. He always lived in Middletown, and was a man of substance and respectability. His wife was Mary Stone, of Guilford. They had three sons and four daughters.

Fifth Generation.

Hon. Hugh White, as he is designated in the records of the family, was the youngest son of Hugh White, and was born in Middletown, Connecticut, January 25, 1733. He "settled" in Middletown, and married Mary Clark of the same town. All of his children were born there. His wife died in 1774. He afterwards married Mrs. Lois Davenport, widow of Rev. Ebenezer Davenport. She joined him early in 1785, in the settlement of Whitestown, and died there in 1829. When a resident of Middletown, Hugh White was a "selectman" from 1779 to 1783. He was a commissary in the army during a part of the Revolutionary war, and soon after the close of the war he joined in the purchase of Sadaqueda Patent with Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu and Melancthon Smith. Early in the spring of 1784, he started, with most of his family, for their new home, in what was to be known as "the Whitestown country." They arrived here one hundred years ago to-day, June 5, 1784. He divided his purchase of about 1,500 acres among his sons and his daughters, and he lived like a patriarch of old, surrounded by his children and his grandchildren. He had five sons and three daughters, who accompanied him, or joined him in settling this town. And yet, to-day, there is not in the town of Whitestown, nor yet in the county of Oneida, a male resident of his name and lineage. And so it comes to pass that you, to-day, are celebrating, not the arrival of a family now with you, and of you, but are commemorating the first settlement of western New York, which happened to be made by Hugh White (my ancestor.) You are celebrating the founding of the first colony, outside of New England, by the Puritans, the first swarm of the Puritan hive. And these bowlders of New England granite are to be, for all time, witnesses of the first settlement of Whitestown by Hugh White and family of

Middletown, Connecticut, and in the annals of the future may be looked upon as the second Plymouth Rock.

Of Hugh White, as a man, a Christian, and a citizen, no better conception can be had, than from the inscription on his tablet in your own cemetery on the hill. It reads:

HERE SLEEP THE MORTAL REMAINS
OF
HUGH WHITE,
WHO WAS BORN 5TH FEBRUARY, 1733, AT MIDDLETOWN, IN
CONNECTICUT, AND DIED APRIL 16TH, 1812.
IN THE YEAR 1784, HE REMOVED TO SEDAUQUATE, NOW
WHITESBOROUGH, WHERE HE WAS THE FIRST WHITE INHABITANT IN THE
STATE OF NEW YORK, WEST OF THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS
ON THE MOHAWK.
HE WAS DISTINGUISHED FOR ENERGY, AND DECISION
OF CHARACTER, AND MAY BE JUSTLY REGARDED AS A PATRIARCH,
WHO LED THE CHILDREN OF NEW ENGLAND
INTO THE WILDERNESS.
AS A MAGISTRATE, A CITIZEN AND A MAN, HIS
CHARACTER FOR TRUTH AND INTEGRITY WAS PROVERBIAL.
THIS HUMBLE MONUMENT OF VENERATION FOR HIS
MEMORY IS REARED AND INSCRIBED BY THE
AFFECTIONATE PARTNER OF HIS JOYS AND HIS SORROWS,
MAY 15TH, 1826.

Let me add in simple justice to this noble woman who shared in the labors, trials and hardships, equally with her husband, the monumental tribute to her worth:

IN MEMORY OF
LOIS,
WIDOW OF THE LATE JUDGE WHITE
WITH WHOM SHE EMIGRATED TO THIS PLACE THEN
A WILDERNESS, A. D. 1785.
SHE EXHIBITED IN HER CHARACTER A RARE UNION OF THE
NOBLEST ATTRIBUTES OF HUMANITY WITH THE EXCELLENCIES
OF THE DISCIPLES OF THE LAMB.
EARLY IN LIFE SHE BECAME A PROFESSED
FOLLOWER OF THE CROSS, AND DURING HER PILGRIMAGE BELOW,
BY AN HUMBLE WALK WITH GOD ADORNED THE DOCTRINES
OF HER SAVIOUR.
SHE ENTERED INTO REST
APRIL 13TH, 1829.
ÆT. 86 YEARS.
PRECIOUS IN THE SIGHT OF THE LORD IS THE
DEATH OF HIS SAINTS.

The peculiarity of the settlement of Whitestown was that it was settled by one family, and all the members of that family joined in the enterprise. The family, aside from Judge White and his wife were:

Daniel Clark White and his wife and child, Joseph White and his wife and child, Hugh White, Jr., Ansel White, Philo White, Aurelia (Wetmore,) Mary Stone (Young); these (with the exception of Rachel, the oldest of the family, who was born in 1757, and married John Allen long before the exodus,) constituted the family of Hugh White.

The next year arrived Amos Wetmore and Lemuel Leavenworth, and possibly Nathaniel Loomis and Roswell Goodrich. So that it was literally a settlement "by Hugh White and family."

The energies of the pioneers seem to have been given to making homes in the wilderness, and caring for their families; providing food and raiment and clearing the land for agricultural use. The intense physical exertion necessary left little time for culture, and there were no broad, smooth avenues to knowledge for the children as you have them now. Books were a rarity, newspapers were unknown, and the Bible and the preacher the only sources of mental food. So it happened, that while the father, on the formation of the county, became a judge, the sons followed the vocation, made necessary by the enteprise, and contented themselves with filling the position of the American farmer. Owning the land, and tilling the soil, "making the wilderness to blossom as a rose" and laying the foundation of that productiveness and industry, that thrift and prosperity which charm and astonish the stranger, and make this new world, the attraction to all people, the Mecca, of the civilized world.

Of their descendants, a few may be mentioned as men of mark in their day and generation.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

Hon. Fortune Clark White, LL. D., son of Colonel Daniel Clark, was born in Whitestown, July 10, 1787. He studied law in Judge Platt's office and became first judge of Oneida County about 1837. He was a brigadier general of the State militia, and twice a member of the legislature. He died at Whitestown, August 27, 1866. He had five sons and two daughters.

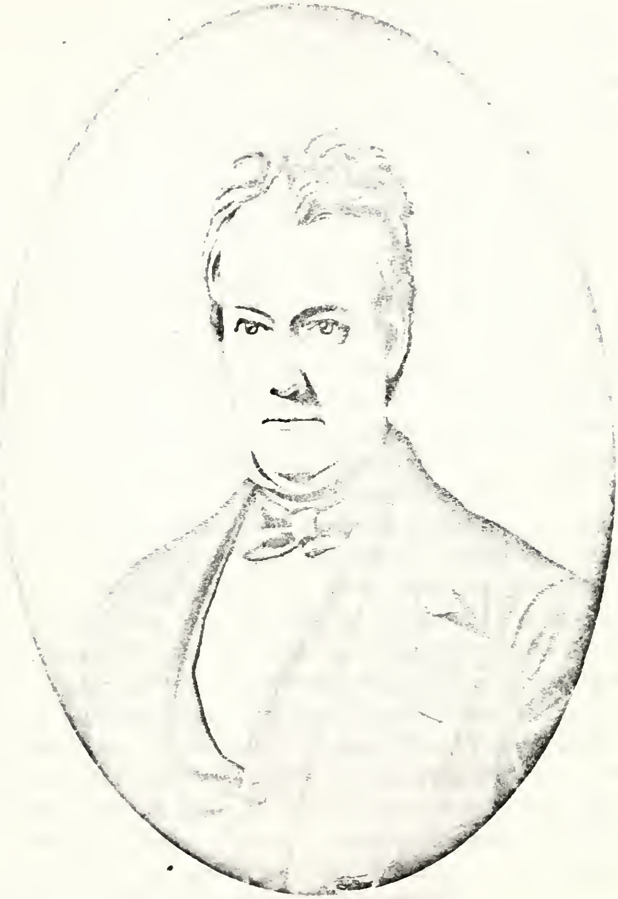
Hon. Philo White, LL. D., son of Philo, was born in Whitestown, June 23, 1796. He graduated in a printing office in Utica, removed to North Carolina and became an editor, and finally

State printer. He removed to Wisconsin while it was yet a territory; was a member of the legislature; United States Consul to the Hanseatic league, and Minister resident to Ecuador, South America. He returned to Whitestown in 1859, and died there February 15, 1883.

Canvass White, son of Hugh, Jr., was born in Whitestown, September 8, 1790. His early life was spent on the farm. At the age of seventeen he was a clerk in the store of Colonel Carpenter. In the Spring of 1811, he went as supercargo on a voyage to Archangel in Russia. In 1814, he was a lieutenant in the regiment of Colonel Dodge, in the company of Captain B. F. Knop, and was on the Niagara frontier, at the sortie of Fort Erie. He was one of the engineers on the Erie canal under Benjamin Wright, and subsequently rose to great eminence in his profession. He was engaged on the Union, Lehigh and on the Delaware and Raritan canals; built the Delaware breakwater. But failing health cut short his career, and he died, December 18, 1834, at the age of 44 years. As an indication of his ability, capacity and standing, it is related that Henry Clay said to a gentleman seeking an engineer for the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, "Get Canvass White. No man is more competent, no man more capable, and while your faith in his ability and fidelity increases, your friendship will grow into affection."

Hon. Hugh White, son of Hugh, junior, was born in Whitestown, December 25, 1798. He graduated at Hamilton college in 1823, and fitted for the bar in the office of Colonel Charles G. Haines, New York city. But he soon turned to business pursuits. In 1825, he was located in Chittenango, engaged in boating on the Erie canal, and in the manufacture of water lime, called "White's water-proof cement," for his brother Canvass White, being the first made in America, and afterwards at Rondout in Ulster County. He established and built up the Rosendale cement works, where he manufactured much of the cement used on the Croton aqueduct. He was also largely interested and engaged in the development of the water power at Cohoes, on the Mohawk. In 1844, he was chosen representative to Congress, where he served three terms. He was then active with the Litchfields, D. B. St. John, Governor Hunt, John Stryker and others in building the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana railroad, and carried it to a successful conclusion. He married, April 10, 1828, Maria Mills Mansfield, of

Mrs. Marion M. White died at her residence at [illegible], N. Y., yesterday. She was the [illegible] of the Hon. Hugh White, who was a [illegible] Congress from



Hugh White

Cohoes, N. Y.

Kent, Connecticut. He died at his home in Waterford, Saratoga County, October 6, 1870, aged 72 years. They had two sons and five daughters, of whom one son and one daughter are living. His widow still occupies the homestead at Waterford.

Colonel William C. Young, son of Mary Stone White, and John Young (the founder of Youngstown, Ohio,) was born at Youngstown, Ohio, (then a territory,) November 25, 1799. His parents returned to Whitestown and occupied their "home farm" in 1802. He attended school, had some knowledge of Latin, geometry and surveying, aside from the ordinary schooling of the period. At sixteen years of age he was assistant surveyor of the islands of Lake Ontario, for the State of New York: the next year a rod-man locating the Erie canal, and participating in the ceremony of "ground breaking" for that work at Rome, July 4, 1817: the next year, a cadet at West Point in a class of 125 members; and graduates No. 12 in his class in 1822. After four years given to army life he resigns June 30, 1826, and engages in superintending the locating and construction of railroads in New York State. Under John B. Jervis the Saratoga and Schenectady road is built, and Mr. Young originates the system of cross-sills or ties as now used. Then as engineer and general manager he gives fifteen years to the Utica and Schenectady railroad, resigning that to be chief engineer and manager of the Hudson River railroad, which he pushed to completion and became its president. A lifetime given to developing the resources of his country, and one of the few minds that have created and developed the railroad system of America, Mr. Young still lives, a splendid specimen of the men of a previous generation. His brother, Charles Clark Young, and his sister, Jane M. Rosevelt, widow of Rev. Washington Rosevelt, Mrs. Catherine Crouse, wife of John Crouse of Syracuse and daughter of Ansel White, and Susan Porter, youngest daughter of Hugh White, jr., are all of the surviving grandchildren of the pioneer. Three generations cover one hundred and fifty years.

With 1595 as the date of the birth of John White, and many of the seventh generation still living, we have the fact that a genertion has averaged over 41 years, and a record of 289 years is made. Twenty-four years ago the known descendants of John White were 5,074. Of these 2,850 bore the name of White, and 2,224 bore other names. There were then 542 families of Whites, and 458 families of which the mothers were Whites.

Of the descendants of Judge White, bearing the name of White, those known to be living are:

Nathaniel Patten, Edgar, James Hillhouse, and Frances Amelia, children of Judge Fortune C. White.

Morris Pratt, Mary, Lewis, Philo, and Charles, children of Jonas White.

Halsey and Mary, children of Halsey White. Maria M., Robert Sayre, Canvass and William M., children of Charles Loomis, and grandchildren of Canvass. Harry, son of Lewis White. Mary Adelia, J. Franklin, Edgar Adelbert and Arthur Shirley, children of Edgar White. Nathaniel C., son of James Hillhouse, Port Huron, Mich., Hugh T., son of Nathaniel C., Port Huron, Mich.

William Mansfield White and Isabel White (Niles,) children of Hon. Hugh, son of Hugh, junior.

NINTH GENERATION.

Hugh, William Pierrepont, Anna Maria, Hubert Lawrence, Florilla Mansfield, Mary Pierrepont, Cornelia Butler, Isabel, De Lancey Pierrepont, Charles Carroll and John Dolbeare, children of William M. White and Anna M. Pierrepont.

In regard to the date of the arrival at Whitestown, the date of the month, the preponderance of proof justifies us in celebrating it to-day (June 5). M. M. Jones says he distinctly remembers that his father, the author of "The Annals of Oneida County," got the date of the same from Philo White, who afterwards dictated the record to his daughter, Julia Ann (Kennedy,) for the "Philo White Bible." It is in her handwriting. The Bible was published in 1849, and as Philo White died April 12, 1849, the dictation must have been made shortly before his death. But he was born June 25, 1767, and he has confounded the date of his birth with the date of the settlement. He was seventeen years old in 1784, and if they had arrived in Whitestown on his birthday, the coincidence would have been noted.

John White sailed from England about the 25th of June, 1632. He died early in the year 1684; just two hundred years ago, making this a second centennial in the family.

Permit me to add, speaking for the family, and the whole family, whether they bear the name of White or have been given in marriage and now bear other names, that this movement of the Oneida Historical Society, and this generous co-operation of the citizens of Oneida county to do honor to our common ancestor, and to mark the spot where the first home was, in the wilderness of western New York, and the time when it was made, and to com-

memorate the actors, and their memory, has gratified our pride: has warmed our hearts; has increased our faith in humanity; has strengthened our love. And we reverently thank God that our fathers and our mothers were of those "whom the people delighted to honor."

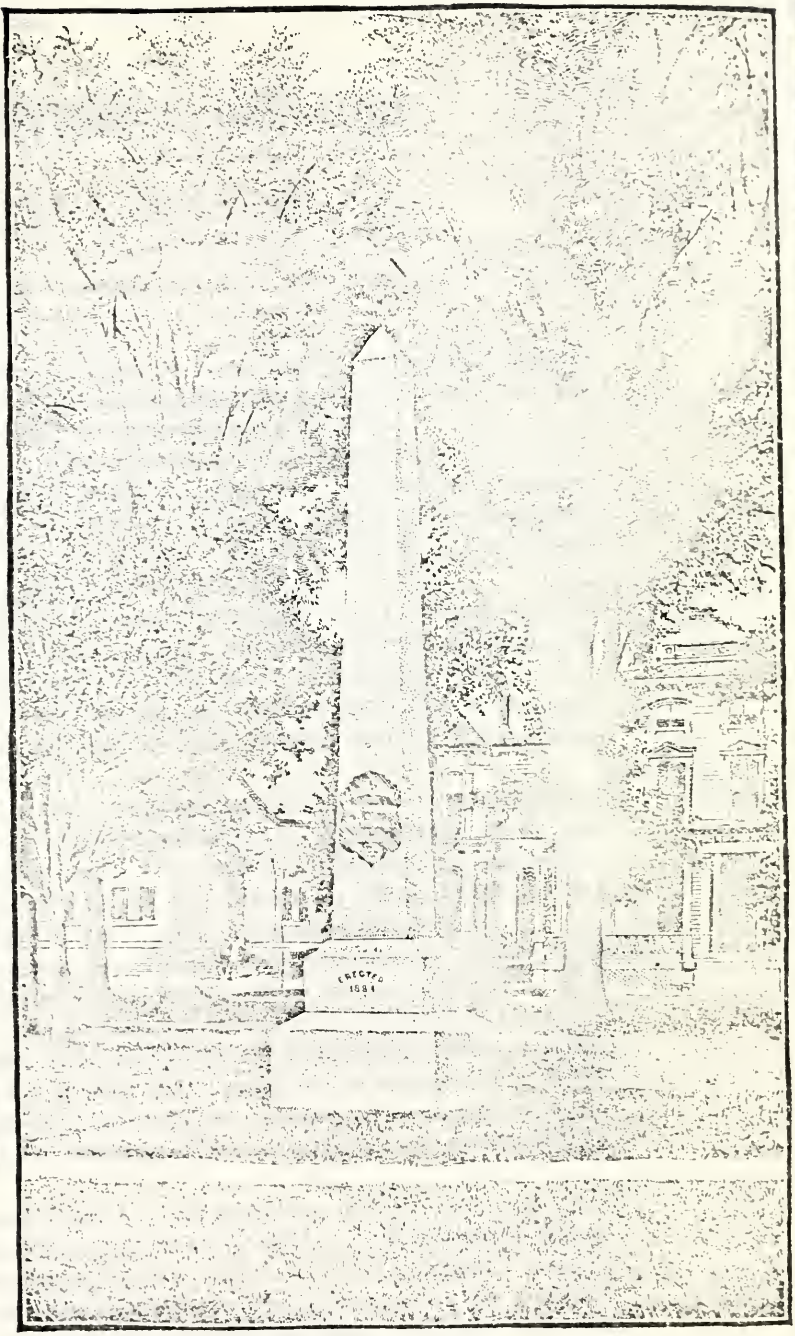
Royal blood is an inheritance. Noble blood if it begets noble deeds is a blessing. But above all and beyond all, is the inheritance of a pious, God-fearing, God-serving ancestry.

Mr. White closed his remaks by saying:

Mr. Chairman: With a due sense of the honor and consideration shown in designating me to unveil this monument to the settlement of Whitestown and to the first settlers, permit me to waive this honor and to designate that it now be done by Hugh White and William White Niles, whose grandfather was Hugh White, son of Hugh the pioneer.

The monument was then unveiled by Hugh White, son of the speaker and William White Niles, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude and approprate music by the Oriskany Cornet band.

Rev. Anson J. Upson, D. D., of Auburn Theolgical Seminary, formerly professor of rhetoric and elocution in Hamilton College, was then introduced and delivered the dedicatory address, which was attentively listened to, and often applauded.


ERECTED
1884

THE WHITESTOWN MONUMENT.

ADDRESS OF DEDICATION.

BY REV. ANSON J. UPSON, D. D.

THE WORLD WILL NOT WILLINGLY LET THE NAMES OF ITS BENEFACTORS DIE.

To preserve the memory of all of them is impossible, yet we grow impatient at the silence that creeps over their graves. We cling to their memory. We will not let them die.

You may tell me that oblivion is inevitable, and the sooner the inevitable is acknowledged, the sooner will the struggle for remembrance be ended, but we reply that for generations at least, the worthiest can be made to survive, and so far as in us lies we will not permit our benefactors to be forgotten.

The great features of nature are comparatively changeless. The rocks and hills around us are everlasting. We would make the memory of character and achievement as enduring as they. The soul that imparts its own character to individual life is immortal. We would make the memory of the character and the life as enduring as the spirit itself.

To such a purpose—to perpetuate character and achievements worthy to be remembered, we dedicate this monument here and now. We would thus, in the words of the inscription "commemorate the first settlement of Whitestown by Hugh White and his family on the 5th of June, 1784"—one hundred years ago!

We commemorate no military achievement. St. Leger, Burgoyne and Sir Henry Clinton might indeed have prevented this settlement forever. The heroism and fortitude of the illustrious Herkimer made it possible. But the British armies had sailed away; and the sturdy German had slept in his grave for seven years when Hugh White entered this township, the pioneer of a conquest as memorable and as far reaching if not as exciting as a great soldier's victory.

By this monument we commemorate the achievements of a pioneer. He cleared the way into this, as yet, unbroken forest. We may justly honor him as a pioneer, for he was a leader, vigorous, ardent, enterprising, intrepid, energetic, devoted to his purpose, persevering. God might have raised up some other man to do the

work he did, but in the honor we pay to his memory, we recognize him as the agent of Providence for this beneficent purpose. And his was the achievement of individual enterprise. He was not supported by governmental authority, nor sustained by the accumulations of wealth. He was a pioneer by the act of his own will. He was not driven out by oppression, as were the pilgrims from England, or the Germans from Palatinate. But with that spirit of unrest so characteristic of the genuine American, he led one great division of that endless procession, that ever since has been fulfilling the prophecy of Bishop Berkeley, when he said "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

And by this monument we commemorate also the character and achievements of one who has been well named "a patriarch"—the head of a family.

Hugh White came into the vast township that afterwards bore his name, not as a solitary adventurer, but with his family, accompanied by his sons and daughters. In his fifty-second year the enthusiasm of youth had been tempered by the experience of advancing age—not altogether unlike the greatest of all the ancient patriarchs "the father of the faithful," he went forth into the wilderness.

He brought with him his family, as an evidence of his faith. He came to stay. He had no other thought. He made the first settlement. As citizens of Oneida county, we honor the memory of James Dean, the patriotic pioneer, not altogether unlike Captain John Smith of Virginia. But we remember that James Dean had no permanent home in this county till 1786. We honor the memory of Samuel Kirkland, the missionary to the Oneidas and the founder of Hamilton College, but Kirkland lived mostly alone with his Indian friends until 1792. He and his family could not become permanent residents till after this new home in Whitestown had been established for eight years.

The word "family" in this inscription is significant. It commemorates the establishment of the first permanent home in the wilderness—father, mother, sons and daughters gathered here together. In that word "family" upon this monument we commemorate the heroism of the mother and the children, as well as that of the patriarch himself. They could appreciate, perhaps better than he, all that Dr. Asahel Norton meant, when in the old meeting house at Clinton, on every Sabbath day, he used to thank the Lord that he had preserved the early settlers in this "howling wilderness!"

But once more; by this monument we reconize Hugh White and his family as our benefactors.

The founders of every community impress their characteristics upon it—characteristics that remain fixed and permanent, so long as the community lasts. The founders gather round them in the early settlement men like themselves. Generations may succeed each other, new comers in great numbers may bring with them new customs and ideas, but the characteristics of the first settlers will be largely controlling. Boston and Albany, Philadelphia and Baltimore differ to-day as much as did their founders.

If Hugh White and his sons had been dissolute men, how the picture of to-day would have been reversed! But they were not dissolute men. They brought with them a New England morality, a New England industry, a neatness and economy, a Yankee thrift, an English vigor and sincerity, a New England intelligence and desire for education, a simplicity of manners, with no affinity either for the dilettanti or the coarse. Above all, they brought with them a reverence for God and a belief in the Bible.

And naturally, the men and women who followed after—the Platts and the Storrs, the Golds and the Sills, the Tracys and the Berrys, the Fosters, the Wetmores, your Benjamin Walcott and your Dexter and your John Frost and your David Ogden and Beriah Green—all these among the honored and revered dead, and many more among the living here, brought with them the same characteristics with which they have enriched and strengthened and adorned your life.

In erecting this memorial to commemorate the first settlement we honor the influence of all these who have contributed to the honorable reputation of this town, that still retains the name of its founder.

And not only so, but we commemorate the founders of that larger township extending from the Mohawk to the great lakes. At this point of departure, where first in this State, the influence of New England began to exercise its beneficent power, we erect this memorial. We give a cordial welcome to every other people. We rejoice in the remarkable commingling of races in this commonwealth that has made New York so cosmopolitan. But we remember that the iron in our blood is drawn from the New England hills. We erect this monument as a token to all comers, that so far as in us lies, the healthful influence of our New England ancestry shall neither be forgotten nor pass away.

Let the children of the coming generations as they pass this monument and read this inscription be taught its significance. Most likely none of them can ever be such pioneers, such patriarchs, such benefactors; yet each in his own life can practice the same simplicity, the same self-reliance, the same integrity, the same faith.

Let this monument teach every passer-by that usefulness; though not always raised to high station, will not be forgotten. Mankind do not forget even their unconscious benefactors. If Hugh White could have foreseen, that when a century should have passed, on an occasion like this, amidst hundreds of an admiring posterity, his name would be repeated with respect and gratitude and veneration, as the great founder of what we behold around us, would he not have felt his heart cheered, under the hardships of the wilderness or amidst the perils of the savage?

"Other men labored and we are entered into their labors."

The great countries of the old world love to trace their long descent from warfare long and fierce between proud Normans and sturdy Saxons, between restless barons and grasping kings—back even to wars between fabled heroes and demigods.

To us it is given to honor conquests more peaceful and not less far-reaching.

To the energy, fortitude, perseverance, of men like him we honor to-day, do we owe the glory of this land we love. They have left us no stately castles crowning our hill-tops with walls and moats and towers, but theirs is a fairer memorial, in the peaceful beauty of a scene like this—in the happy homes which are all about us to-day, because of the bravery and patient toil of that household in the forest here one hundred years ago.

"The Isles of Greece, the hills of Spain, the purple Heavens of Rome,
Yes all are glorious—yet again I bless thee, Land of Home!
For thine the Sabbath peace, my land! and thine the guarded hearth:
And thine the dead, the noble band that make thee holy earth.
Their voices meet me in thy breeze, their steps are on thy plains;
Their names by old, majestic trees are whispered 'round thy fanes.
Their blood is mingled with the tide of the exulting sea;
O! be it still a joy and pride, to live and die for thee!"

Benjamin F. Taylor, of Cleveland, O., the poet of the day, was next introduced, and received with applause. His poem was one of the most enjoyable features of the day, and was read with expression. It was often interrupted with laughter and hearty applause.

"THE WHITESTOWN COUNTRY."

POEM BY BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR.

"One Hundred Years Ago."

"God bless us every one!" So say we all,
Let Hermon's dew like benediction fall!
Time calls a halt and here we stand and turn
To days as dear as ashes in an urn,
When following on the Dutchman's pale "Half Moon,"
The wake of empire kindling in its light,
A "May Flower" out of season came in sight
And graced December with the joy of June.
Miles Standish was aboard, whose sturdy heart
  Played the same blood that throbbed in Kirkland's own;
So, down they come, two centuries apart,
  The mighty Captain and his far-off Son,
Old Sinai's clouds are cleft by Calvary's ray,
Close up, grand comrades, march abreast to-day!

Whitestown Country.

Upon The Whitestown Country's Northern hem
Where breeze was song and brook a running gem,
Wild rubies hid among the meadow grasses,
White-throated deer drank out of looking-glasses,
Sweet-hearted maples stood in sturdy ranks
And packs of dogwoods hung upon their flanks,
While elms in outline arched the graceful air
As if an Ariel meant to chamber there;
And here and there the blue smokes lifted high
As if to tint some spot of faded sky—
Smokes filtering thro' from swallows'-nests of homes
The leafy rafters of the forest domes,
Where whispering twilights haunted cabin doors
And hid the idle noon-mark on the floors.
'Till axe and echo filled the woods with clocks
  Sounding the death-watch for the masted fleet
Of foundered forest that with wrecks and shocks.

Swept swaths of wilderness as cradled wheat,
Matched broad-cast harvest with a broad-cast day,
So axes won the cyclone's right of way,
And let, at last, the golden sunlight fall
Like grand Elijah's mantle over all.

RIVERS AND MEN.

Its rambling rivers flow toward all the world
  From vast St. Lawrence to the Chesapeake—
By Mohawk borne and Susquehanna whirled;
  They brave the shaggy wilderness to seek
Ontario's wave. Blue Erie and gray main
All one to them, these rivers free as rain.
Dear household brooks and children of the hills,
Ye ribbons woven from exultant rills,
With reedy warble, cataract and song,
Oh, rivers float your Indian names along—
Forbid them not 'till Unadilla dies,
On cloudy wings Chenango's waters rise,
No wrens in woods, no blue-bird in the skies;
  Make room, Oh Babel, let their music stand,
  The sweet Ionic of the Whitestown Land,
'Till men forget where Skenandoa lies,
  That nobleman of God to Kirkland given,
  Who held his patent from the court of heaven.
Ah, streams prophetic, had we only known,
  Of them who broke the strong horizons thro',
Bore Yankee Doodle to the dragon throne
  Where far Cathay its Bohea breezes blew,
Where Desolation's grisly bones have worn
Thro' the lean earth stark, naked and forlorn,
Where lie beneath pale Arctic's pennon'd spears
Unquarried winters of a thousand years,
Where palm leaves lap like tongues the golden air,
And Indian Summer from the topmost stair
To Heaven looks down, relents, and never enters there,
Oneida's sons have rent the azure robe
And boxed the quivering compass round the globe.

JOHN WHITE'S WELCOME.

Now full two hundred fifty Junes ago
  The good ship Lyon stole across the sea.

All sails hauled home she welcomed every blow
  That drove her on where faith and Heaven were free.
Beyond the roll-call of the Babel world
The good ship Lyon's tattered sails were furled.
So came JOHN WHITE, an Elder and an oak
No danger daunted and no tempest broke.
Nobody knew that God's salvation went
Beyond the border-line of Continent,
Meant this unchristen'd wilderness, amid
Whose glooms the red and smoky nations bid
Uncounted centuries go idly by,
Left no more trace than eagles in the sky.
One trail no broader that a Bible's page
Crept in a stealthy way age after age
From Hudson's tide to Erie's magic blue.
And this was all, save scatter'd flints that flew
And tomahawks with wings, and heaps of bones,
And blacken'd brands of fires, and frightful tones
The night-owls echoed and the night-hawks caught—
Was all they left that savage Nature taught,
Except heir-looms of rare melodious names
Bound for the future, and forever fame's.

Yet Shakespere walked what little world he knew;
Like holy fire crusaders' standards flew,
  All Europe looked and wondered and was grum;
Yet Pocahontas by one act of her's
Whose very thought the dullest bosom stirs,
  Had saved the Smiths to people Christendom;
Spenser had led his Fairie Queene along,
Herbert had sung the perfect Sabbath song
Whose pure and plaintive accents will survive
While one dear English word is left alive.

Behold them there, the pilgrim of the Lyon
And this wild realm beyond the range of Zion,
And what Elijah's son could dream the twain
Would e'er be bound in name and blood and brain?
As soon believe the breeze that wakes the rose
Of Ispahan should whirl Alaska's snows.

HUGH WHITE'S WELCOME.

And yet, this day, one hundred years ago,
Near where we stand there swung a rude bateau.

Five generations down, HUGH WHITE had come
To find a wilderness and found a home.
No flag saluted but the tulip trees,
No song of welcome but the wild-rose breeze,
No martial music but the partridge drum
And jay-bird fife and old Homeric thrum.
No torchlight honors and no welcome words
Of dear old English but the "phœbe"-bird's;
The tall elms built the sole triumphal arch
That graced the landing, glorified the march
Both God and valor brought triumphant through.
  It mattered not to him and his platoon
Of manly sons. I wonder if he knew
That from the basswood walls and elm-bark roof
That neighbor'd wolves and kept the winds aloof,
  His cabin fire would lend a light to June
That would not perish in its hundredth year—
This man who marched beyond the dim frontier
And picket line. I wonder if he heard
The primal throb when empire lived and stirred.
I wonder if he dreamed the drowsy drone
  Of meadow bees a few poor spindles made,
Would ever sound, two hundred thousand grown,
  Like sea born winds that sweep the everglade,—
The rattling harness of the fireside loom
Jar like the chariots of the grander Rome,
And weave their forty million yards, and more
  Than clothe the nation Patrick Henry knew,
  Give all the flags our navy ever flew
And dress Rhode Island in a pinafore.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

The bell strikes "one"—The Whitestown Country Chime,
Now put new chevrons on the sleeves of Time!
Stand forth, my Sergeant! Ah, how passing grand
When God's centurions take supreme command.
The gypsy Junes close up along the line,
A hundred Aprils in their snow-drops shine,
A hundred Summers shouldering their sheaves,
A hundred Autumns glorified with leaves,
In rank and file the red Octobers glow,
And white Decembers trail their skirts of snow.

There is no yonder, every there is here,
The sun stands still, the stars themselves are near,
The jewell'd Dipper's holy dews baptize,
The halted Age before our reverent eyes.

Hugh White's old cradlers rock the field of wheat,
His mowers swing the scythe in naked feet,
And sometimes blundering on a grassy nest
They whirl a whisk and wish all bees "be—blest!"
The green and golden surf around them rolls,
They shed their jackets but they keep their souls.
Arrayed in tow the brawny threshers come
And eat for three and drink New England rum;
The oaken floor their flails alternate beat,
And kernels dance a rattling tune of sleet;
Now comes his sempstress—bless her smiling face!
In tall back-comb and linsey gown and grace
And not a bang—she long ago gave place
To shapes of iron feet and cabinet-ware
And left forlorn the bantam sewing-chair.
Swung to a pillion on her wedding day,
Her arm around his waist, she rode away
And made a log-heap turn a lover's nest—
Of all the patents earliest and best.
Great trees that kept the treaty made with Time
An age ago—it seems almost a crime—
Broke the long twilight as her husband knocked,
And sweeping headlong down to ruin, mocked
With crash of column, coronal and branch
The frozen thunder of the avalanche.

They trained a sunflower near the cabin door,
They walked on sunshine round the puncheon floor.
Brigades of corn deployed in green parade
And rounding gold among their ranks betrayed
A pious war, a pumpkin cannonade.
Old fashioned flowers drew up in double line,
The four-o'clock, the pink, the columbine.
The flax a-field was hardly sown before
Unhetcheled tow-heads danced upon the floor,
Swarmed up the ladder on their way to bed,
Swarmed down before the morning sky was red,
Swarmed out three miles to meeting and to school,

Set traps for wolves and learned the Golden Rule.
No man could doubt the Children in the Shoe,
Ten pewter spoons and still the number grew.
And these are they who made this wilderness
Turn fair enough for angels to caress,
Who set this heart of empire throbbing forth
Its sterling manhood round the belted earth.

Their fires were half Promethean—came from Heaven,
No sign of matches had King Pluto given,
And yet how easy, had he only known,
To dip his tooth-picks in the Acheron!
They covered embers though no curfew tolled,
They borrowed embers when their own were cold,
They kept a box with flint and steel and punk,
Boys had the grit and women had the spunk.
Think of Oneida's maid, ye graceful girls to-day,
Who cleared the door-yard of a bear at bay,
And swept him out with just an oaken broom!
Salute, ye heroes, give the maiden room!
Think of the Whitestown Country girls that drove
Their tandem teams where deer scarce dared to rove!
Drove lumbering turn-outs of the classic breed
Of dear Priscilla's puritanic steed,
Whose Juno-eyes old Homer sang in Greece,
And full of spirit with two horns apiece.

The Old Kitchen.

Reverse the lever of the world to-day
  And bid the flying Age dismount and walk;
Before the lightnings left their garret play
  To cheer a kitchen and to learn to talk;
  Before with slender shafts they pumped the rock
And flashed the torches on the startled air;
Before they fished for flame and found it where
The blundering Jonah found an oil depot—
  Now light the candles with a glowing coal,
No other gleam like theirs in all the world to show
  The "living room," the homestead's genial soul,
That warmed their hearts one hundred years ago:
The iron fire-dogs, crooked legs apart,
Knee-deep in rubies from the maple's heart,

A bowl of apples flushing by the fire,
A russet boy that heaps the cord-wood higher,
Festoons of apples swing along the line,
The grumbling clock betrays the hour of nine,
—Pass round, my girl, the orchard's amber wine!—
A full grown clock stands sentry over all,
Upon its solemn shape the firelights fall,
A tall, slim coffin, whence with face serene
And sadly sallow, Time regards the scene
Between his bloodless fingers, long and lean;
With muffled pulse, a shrill and tolling bell,
'Tis all the same, a bridal or a knell;
A bellows' foxy nose, a turkey's wing,
White cotton curtains on an apron-string,
The hammered tongs with poor magnetic legs,
A rusty scabbard swung from wooden pegs,
The starving crane with Ethiopian arm
Holds out its hooks with pot-and-kettle charm,
Their nervous covers playing tambourine
To serenade the golden samp within;
The Prussian-blue pagoda-painted wares,
The pewter platters and the kitchen chairs
Whose woven seats once waved in summer airs
Where rushes drew their sabers to salute,
And bright Bob-Lincolns swung with bell and flute;
There dwelt of old, apart from pomp and pride,
The living circles that have never died
But live as rainbows live, that fade away
In broader glory and a brighter day.

The Early Day.

Five miles to meeting, forty miles to mill,
They backed the grists and traveled with a will;
By bridle path and trail and bark canoe
Dim as the twilight, noiseless as the dew;
Then back they came, the bright day turning brown,
And met the swarthy Mohawk coming down,
The forests roaring like the surf of seas,
The starlight tangled in the tops of trees,
Two fox-fire eyes betray the whiskered cat,
A flying blot—Saint Crispin's bird, the bat,
The tossing fire-fly's mockery of lamp,

And thought of home and Johnnycake and samp.
A royal breed of tramps the fathers made,
We knight them now with loving accolade!
Right-handed men whichever hand you shook,
Square-stepping men whatever way they took,
Stout-hearted men whatever might betide,
For duty ready 'till the day they died.
Truth-loving men, their lettered tablets bore
The first grave charge that ever mortal made,
"Here lies," the marbles say, but might have said,
"Here lies" the man who never lied before!

Then and Now.

When Faxton drove his shining six-in-hand
Of dappled grays along the Whitestown way
With La Fayette the guest of all the land,
He never dreamed the world would hail the day
And drive the lightnings with a single line,
Abolish time and space and everything
But death, put all the planet in a wedding-ring,
While East and West the concert tidings shine.
When Parker's coach by swamp and corduroy
That made its one score miles since early morn,
Came lurching in amid the general joy
And angry treble of the driver's horn,
And brought six foolscap letters three weeks old
Sealed with a moon and crackling in the fold
Like thorns and hemlock in a log-heap fire,
What would you have? What more could man desire?
Did Parker think that creeping coach of his
Might be a kind of drowsy chrysalis,
That taking wing and clouding up with power
Would make his day's long pull in half an hour?
Shoulder its wake as if it meant to fly,
And leave its smoky track along the sky?

The Whitestown Country Forts.

Lo, Old Fort Schuyler in a grand disguise,
The classic walls of "Hamilton" arise,
The stately mother, of whose royal sons
Six hundred manned the battlements of God.

Some bravely trained the Union's roaring guns
  And won their morning stars and went abroad.
Some wore the ermine with unspotted fame,
Some startled senates into loud acclaim,
Three score turned chieftains of the Fourth Estate,
And some unchalleng'd sit in glory's gate:
And some lived lives of patience and of pain
Serene and pure, but did not live in vain,
As when still moonlight parts the leafy spray
Along the dew-drops dawns a little day;
For these, we know, there waits a rare renown
And earth's acanthus turns Corinthian crown.
I owe thee duty as my father's son,
God make it noon until thy work is done!
Saint Peter kept the keys of Paradise—
Thy Peter bids us look with mild surprise
Upon the broods of callow worlds that blaze,
Hatched out beneath his incubating gaze!
These are the strong redoubts whence Science trains
  Her dumb artillery against the skies
Where far Auriga drives his starry wains
  And brings down worlds to brighten dying eyes.
Tho' Stanwix guns are rusted out and dumb—
Oneida's hives with sons and daughters hum;
These are the forts whose armaments command
The dim blue range where waiting ages stand.
Oh, strong redans, oh, garrisons of youth,
Strike where you will, but always strike to truth.

THE OLD MEETING HOUSE.

Unfold the wardrobe in the cedar chest,
The weary week is done. The Sabbath rest
Begins to-night and lasts all day to-morrow.
Grant perfect peace without a dream of sorrow!
From Indian Summer to the ides of May
The house of God was one long winter's day,
With nothing warmer than an April smile
And small square foot-stoves tinkling up the aisle.
The Elder preached in mittens and in cloak;
While clouds of frosty breath around him broke,
He told of fire, but no one ever thought
How blest indeed to have some embers brought.

Celestial love and holy zeal alone
Kept saints alive in that intemperate zone.
There were the men that from their hemlock tents
Defied the devil and the elements;
And when their time for better homesteads came,
Still nothing warmer than a candle's flame
Relieved the rigor of the chambers, where
The nail heads silvered in the Arctic air.
Sometimes the brazen warming-pan would sweep
The linen parallelograms of sleep,
Feel here and there the frosty corners out,
  But boys and girls went bouncing to their beds,
Their cast-off garments flying all about
  Like wind-blown down from dandelion heads.
Gone the old church and gone the reverent feet
That made the threshold beautiful and sweet,
And charmed the Sunday noontimes round the place
With Christian comfort, carraway and grace.
Across the road the fallow field of God,
  Unsown, untilled, unmourned and overgrown
With tangled thistle, thorn and golden rod;
  Gone are the graves and inarticulate the stone.

Gone is the preacher with the braided queue,
The velvet small clothes and the buckled shoe,
The broad flapped coat, the continental hat,
The broad bandanna and the broad cravat—
Broad as "the road" of which he used to read,
"And thousands walk together there." Indeed
He wore the colors of the Flag all thro',
Bandanna gave the red defiant hue,
Cravat the white, Connecticut—the blue!

Ah, dead lips whisper like a field of wheat,
  Old China mourns "departing friends" once more,
Slow clouds the crape along the mourners' seat,
  Front-face to God and sadly borne before,
The solemn bell slow booming overhead,
In rigid slumber come the shrouded dead.

THE OLD CHOIR.

The singing master's wooden pitch pipe blew
A curlew note and all the singers flew.

Oh, fly again, sweet girls of Israel's choir
And warble larklike up the tuneful stair.
The fugues fled with fragments of the words,
The meeting house was filled with singing birds
Each with a note to make the nest complete,
And named it Windham, Mear or Silver Street:
Or else he "flushed" them with a two-tined fork,
Picked up the key and grimly said, "Sing York!"
Old Neptune's royal trident had not then
Done baser duty for the sons of men,
And two tined forks "pitched" melody and meat,
Tossed the new hay and swung the bundled wheat.

No girls in seraph white and heavenly blue
So sweetly sang as if they thought it true,
"I want to be an Angel." If they might
Turn birds of Paradise and take their flight,
Each pair of wings a maiden should unfurl
Would rob the world and not improve the girl.
No gentle souls in penitential mood
Before the congregation rose and stood,
And sang confession, how "I love to steal,"
No alto owned it with a joyous peal,
No tenor told in music clear and strong.
No grumbling bass to pass the crime along.
No fair soprano bore the guilty story
In sky-note carol to the gates of Glory.
In those old days no line of real girls,
Fun in their eyes and frolic in their curls,
Stood forth and sang "I would not live alway."
Bless their dear hearts, we know they "care to stay."
They sing it all with such delightful grace
It brings a smile to Meditation's face;
The three-score grief is not akin to youth's,
The words are Rachel's but the lips are Ruth's.

Grief to the world, those crumbling wasp gray walls
Were built too near the pure and perfect halls
Of Paradise, the Canaan of the Blest.
The pulpit stood, that sacred swallow's-nest,
On border-land and boundary between
That world and this, whence angels could be seen
That beckoned mortals to the other side

With grace so rare they could not be denied,
No other gate but Death's and so they died.

STANWIX AND ORISKANY.

Plow, press and primer, pulpit, post and pen
Proclaimed abroad "good will and peace to men."
Sling up for once the axe beside the sword,
With helve and hilt in beautiful accord,
Halt, if you may, with talismanic word
The pioneers who marched in Freedom's van
One hundred years ago, and bid them, if you can,
Look back upon the realm thro' which they "blaze"
Their way to glory—regiments of maize
And high-tide gracious seas that never drown,
Where answered prayer for all the world is strown,
And countless flocks of homes that climb and crown
The vantage hills with all their towers and spires
That loom like castles, mount like sacred fires.
Fort Stanwix guns are dumb: no longer Death
Grins from embrasures blackened with their breath.
Appear, once more, immortal August day,
Let muskets rattle, busy batteries play—
Ye rifles blent with old Queen's arms fire true!
Fire low! fire fast! fire all! 'till woods turn blue
With bullet blasts, and the green mosses red
With such bad blood as Brants and Butlers shed—
See there, St. Leger's scalp-locked scarlet hordes,
Satanic bond of tomahawks and swords,
Scalps at their belts—such peltry quoted high,
A woman's hair ten dollars if she die!—
Gunpowder in their rum! —Sling off the drum!
Beat the long roll with cannon! Let them come!
Run up the flag above the parapet!
Those Stanwix colors strangest that had yet
Saluted, shrouded, rallied or defied,
Grew costlier far than coronation pride:
A soldier's shirt all scalloped into stars
  Was stitched—"fixed" stars—upon a martial cloak
Of blue, and stripes of scarlet rags made Mars
  Blush dingy red and bless the battle smoke.
Up with the garments! Valor's cast-off clothes
Can have no ending more sublime than those!

A sultry day, Oriskany, was thine,
Of wild red revelry and wasted wine.
In shivering woods the waltz of death began,
From tree to tree the dreadful circles ran,
'T was white to red, 't was death to man or man.
Death lurked behind each beech and maple shaft
Heroic soldiers took to woodman's craft,
The bullets whistled thick as driving rain,
The bayonets bristled like a hedge of cane,
The forest columns dotted dense with shot
Like bird's-eye maple when the wood is wrought.

Amid this hell rode Herkimer, as calm
As if he heard an old long-meter psalm—
Rode his "White Surry" with a swinging rein,
As if he loitered in a farm-yard lane;
Then tumbling headlong died the stricken steed,
Then fell the rider like a shattered reed.
They bore him bleeding to a fallen beech,
But sword and soul were both within his reach,
And there reclined he fought the battle thro'
With orders cool as if he never knew
That, every breath he drew, around him whirled
An instant summons to the other world.
And there he sat, and struck with arrow-head and knife
A spark; the tinder crinkled into life,
And then he calmly smoked as if he heard
The storks come home, old Holland's household bird!
I think this leads the Appomatox chief
Who made Havana roll historic leaf.
This was the Beulah Land to which men came
Who saw on Bunker's day the Charlestown flame
That flung its last red gleam along the seas
When British scarlet caught the homeward breeze;
Those men whose garments brought the powder smoke
Of Bennington; whom Yorktown cannon woke;
Charged six abreast through Sodom's dreadful rain
And swept like surf down Lundy's fiery Lane;
Dared the red lion, scorched him in his lair;
Crossed in the gloom historic Delaware.
This is the stock express and thoroughbred
That made the ribb'd earth tremble with its tread.

That answered "here!" when Freedom called the roll,
Went through the mills of God where death took toll,
A widow's thirds, a pension or a soul,
And dotted all the Whitestown Country through
Like spotted cambric with the Federal blue!

The Doge of Venice deemed it very grand
  To wed the Adriatic with a ring.
  The Whitestown Country saw a grander thing
When spades were trumps and Clinton played the hand
And played it through though Thomases decried,
And made the western wave Atlantic's bride.
Along that narrow water silent went
The Western glory of the continent;
Great States passed by, like shadows one by one,
That flaunt their sheaves against the setting sun.

Here dwelt the man who led the roll that signed
The Magna Charta Letter to mankind,
Here died the last of pensioners who drew,
Because their muskets made that Message true.
From first to last, from wilderness to prime,
The splendid lineage runs like perfect rhyme.
Weave them a wreath of palm and immortelle,
Ring them a chime on Time's centennial bell,
The Age strikes "one." God save us all. Farewell!

PRESENTATION OF THE MONUMENT.

Hon. Samuel Campbell then presented the monument to the village of Whitesboro, saying:

President Dunham:

A pleasing duty devolves on me that will occupy but a few moments of our time. We are now enjoying the fruition of our endeavors in making preparations for the event that brings us together to-day. That enduring monument will stand as a witness to tell the story of its origin to future generations, possibly for centuries. I hope it will be looked upon, not only as an ornament, but in some measure as relatively associated with your beautiful village that owes its beginning to the historic name on the tablet. Hugh White and family left their New England homes in May, 1784, to brave the dangers and vicissitudes of frontier life. Their new home took the appropriate name of the Whitestown country. We are now reaping the fruits of their hazardous enterprise.

I have now the honor, as chairman of the executive committee, with power, to transfer the care and keeping of the monument to the trustees of this village of which you are now the worthy president, and thereafter to your successors in office, which I trust will be cheerfully accepted.

Rev. Dr. M. E. Dunham, president of the village, accepted the monument in the following words:

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE.

BY REV. M. E. DUNHAM, D. D.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Historical Committee:

In behalf of the citizens of Whitesboro, as represented by their Board of Trustees, I have the honor to accept the custodianship of the monument which your generosity has erected, dedicated and this day given into our care. It is natural that we should take pride in protecting it from injury, as it is to us, and will be to coming generations, a memento of the early settlement of this,

our beautiful village. It stands there a granite shaft, on a granite base, an imperishable epitome of history engraven on stone. We read that when the children of Israel made their wonderful passage through Jordan that their leader, Joshua, commanded twelve men, one from each tribe, to take each man a stone and deposit them in a heap, that these might be a sign among them, so that when their children should ask: What mean ye by these stones? they could recount to them the history of their passage through Jordan, dry shod, while the turbid waters stood waiting on either side, and thus perpetuate the record of this remarkable event. We have no record that the early settler of this place met with any such divine interposition on his journey hither—though he had two rivers to cross; but tradition says that he arrived here and pitched his tent on Saturday evening, spending the next day in the quietude of a New England Sabbath observance, amid the trees of the forest; and if this be true, then civilization entered upon the inheritance of this goodly land through the gateway of the Sabbath day, and thus hallowed the future that lay before it. And surely as it spread from this point westward, it went, not only to possess a land full of promise, but to bear the seeds of promise in itself which have borne wonderful fruitage in the temporal prosperity, Christian refinement and intellectual culture which rests as a crown of glory upon western New York to-day. You have, therefore, gentlemen, done an appropriate act in the erection of this granite monument, that when the children of coming generations look upon it and ask what it meaneth, there may be recounted to them what we have heard in the historical address to-day. Thus shall the events which transpired here one hundred years ago be kept fresh in memory and handed down through the coming centuries.

We congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the successful completion of this work you have undertaken. In reverence for the past you have erected a land-mark of its history for the contemplation of the future. Your work has been well done. Coming generations will thank you for it as we thank you to-day. On it is recorded the name of Hugh White, the first white settler in this then wilderness, who led the way of civilization to this fertile region and gave to it the name of Whitestown. To-day we honor the name he bequeathed. Once it covered a broad extent of territory, extending to the St. Lawrence on the north, to the lakes on the west, and to Pennsylvania on the south—as we

have been told; but as the population increased and spread, new colonies sought, like new married couples, to set up for themselves; and Whitestown, out of the generosity of her motherly heart, gave them a goodly territory, and let them set up for themselves under new names. Thus her own territory has been narrowed down into comparatively small limits. Still, gentlemen, she is Whitestown—proud of her name and content with her territory. She has been an indulgent mother, suffering her children to grow up into cities, while she has remained a modest township with modest villages. Nor does she envy them their thrift and prosperity. She will be content to remain with smiling farms and beautiful villages—unless some day the village that bears her name shall be seized with ambition and shall reach out her arms to take in the cities on her borders. But we trust that time may be far distant. Better in modest content to "bear the ills we suffer than fly to those we know not of."

By your generous act, gentlemen, we have something that will be abiding. Once we had the distinction of being the center of business, of justice and of legal talent. But ambitious daughters, on either hand, became desirous of this distinction and we yielded to their demands by turning our jail into a peaceful dwelling and our court house into a town hall, because we believed that these ambitious daughters had more need of court houses and jails than we. With the yielding up of these we lost something of our prestige, but still retain the honor of our name. You have to-day given us something that our ambitious neighbors can not take from us—this granite monument. So in modest content we rest; with a name prominent on the page of history; with a manufactory of world-wide reputation and without a superior in its special field; and with a monument standing as a land mark for the ages to come. In behalf of the citizens of Whitestown I thank you for what you have done for us this day; and now after an intellectual feast of history, of rhetoric and of poetry, I invite you to a humbler but no less essential collation for the refreshment of the physical man. Please follow to yon neighboring tent.

THE COLLATION.

The speakers of the day, members of the committee and the invited guests, headed by President Dunham and Hon. Samuel Campbell, with their wives, then marched in procession to the tents where the collation was spread.

South of the park on the Whitcher lot the large tents were spread, under which the invited guests were to feast. Thirteen long tables filled the space, at which plates were laid for seven hundred guests. The tent poles were handsomely twined with bunting, and their bases hidden in groups of house plants. Comfortable benches surrounded the tables. Baskets and vases of flowers decorated the board. The good taste shown in their selection and arrangement is due to the efforts of the floral committee, under the direction of Miss H. Gold Frost. Among the profusion of lilies, pansies, white and purple fleur de lis, many-colored tulips, and roses, was a basket crowned with a superb white lily, having the date, 1884, in black on a center of white pyrethrum, sent by Mrs. Merritt, from Rome. There were also a pretty basket of flowers from Mrs. A. R. MacKenzie, a vase of white callas, bunches of single and double peonies, and baskets of wild flowers, in which the white mandrake blossom was prominent. Mr. Benedict, of Yorkville, and Mr. Tunbridge, of Whitesboro, robbed their green-houses recklessly to make the tables bloom.

The collation comprised the usual menu of coffee and sandwiches with the addition of delicious pies and cakes, biscuit, pickles, coffee, fruits and cream. Rarely is a public collation so elaborately prepared and so attentively served. Fifty maidens in pink and white, assisted by some of the Whitestown lads and marshaled by Mrs. White, attended to the wants of the guests. By each plate was a favor of pansies and forget-me-nots, enveloped in a Japanese napkin. Across the south end of the tent over a line of bunting hung a green shield, on which was inscribed in white flowers, "1784—White—1884." This was afterwards presented to Hugh White.

The table committee, headed by Mrs. E. J. Mack, had provided ample accommodations for the nine hundred guests who partook of the collation. Among the ladies and gentlemen in the tent was a liberal sprinkling of gray heads, most of whom were closely con-

nected by family ties with the events of one hundred years ago. When the company were seated, President Dunham called upon Rev. R. L. Bachman, of Utica, to ask a blessing upon the feast. About an hour was then spent in doing justice to the collation.

The local committee of Whitestown promised to feed six hundred people. It performed far more than it promised, and fed about nine hundred people, including the bands and many of the older residents of Whitestown and surrounding towns. The village made a record for hospitality of which it may well be proud.

AFTER DINNER REMARKS.

At 3 P. M., Rev. M. E. Dunham, president of the village and toastmaster of the occasion, called the assemblage to order, and asked John F. Seymour to act for him.

Mr. Seymour said Henry A. Foster, of Rome, and others could not be present. He called on, as the first speaker, Judge Wetmore, of Pennsylvania.

Judge Wetmore said he was present because a descendant, a great grandson of Hugh White, the pioneer. His ancestors had left this locality and had gone to the wilderness of northern Pennsylvania. It was a good thing for children to go back to the hearthstones of their ancestors. It was a pleasure for him to look into the faces of the descendants of the Whites and Wetmores here. He complimented the people on their enterprise and thrift.

Rev. Thomas R. Gold Peck, of Waterville, was next called on. He said a little egotism on an occasion like this was pardonable. "It was in this dear old village of Whitesboro I first saw the light of the world, and was baptized by Rev. John Frost. Here I first attended school, and here I would come year after year when a resident of New York, to renew the wasted energies of city life." Mr. Peck spoke in a very pleasing manner of the old associations of the village. His grandfather, Thomas R. Gold, came here from Connecticut and established a law school. He sat in Congress and afterwards became government agent for the Indians. Rev. John Frost came here and married the eldest daughter of Thomas R. Gold, and the only direct descendant is Miss H. Gold Frost, who graces this occasion with her presence.

A large number of letters of regret had been received in response to invitations, sent to those having associations with this locality, but as there was not time then to read them all, or space now to print them, and as selections might be invidious; they are omitted. The following is a list of persons from whom regrets were received and their residences, the State being given, except New York:

H. G. Abbott, Utica.
C. D. Adams, Utica.
Miss E. J. Alexander, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Rosamond Barbour, Saratoga Spa.
Charles W. Barnes, Buffalo.
Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, Auburn.
Hon. H. R. Bigelow, St. Paul, Minn.
J. L. Bissell, Waterville.
Charles A. Butler, Utica.
Dr. A. N. Brockway, New York city.
Lewis A. Brigham, New York city.
W. B. Camp, Sacketts Harbor.
Hon. Horace Capron, Washington, D. C.
Hon. John D. Caton, Ottawa, Ill.
T. D. Catlin, Ottawa, Ill.
Hovey K. Clarke, Detroit, Mich.
His Exc. Grover Cleveland, Albany.
Ezra Chapman, Oneida.
Mrs. Clifton, Washington, D. C.
John Constable, New York city.
Rt. Rev. A. C. Coxe, Buffalo.
Hon. Alfred C. Coxe, Utica.
John J. Crouse, Syracuse.
Mrs. John Crouse, Syracuse.
H. W. Dawley, Guelph, Canada.
Rev. James Deane, Crown Point.
George Doolittle, Washington, D. C.
L. M. Drury, Canandaigua.
Hon. C. E. Flandrau, St. Paul, Minn.
William Floyd, Westernville.
Joseph Foreman, Lima.
John E. Frost, Topeka, Kan.
Hon. H. A. Foster, Rome.
John P. Garrett, South Trenton.
E. A. Graham, Utica.
Hon. S. Hastings Grant, New York city.
T. F. Hand, Oneida.
T. P. Handy, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. P. M. Hastings, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. J. W. Hitchcock, Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Wm. F. Hovey, Chicago, Ill.
John C. Hoyt, Utica.
Robt. J. Hubbard, Cazenovia.
Rev. T. B. Hudson, Clinton.
Thos. G. Hull, Brookland, Pa.
Mrs. K. W. Hutchinson, Albion.
E. R. Johnes, New York city.
D. M. K. Johnson, Rome.
J. F. Kirkland, Washington, D. C.
H. F. Locke, Waterville.
Jas. H. Loomis, Attica.
Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop, Boston, Mass.
Chas. J. Lowery, Brooklyn.
Rt. Rev. Theo. Lyman, Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. E. North, Ham. College, Clinton.
A. D. Neal, Paris.
Chas. A. Olmstead, Lockport.
Frank W. Owen, Boonville.
Dr. J. E. Peck, St. Augustine, Fla.
H. D. Peck, Staunton, Va.
Merritt Peckham, Utica.
Mrs. H. M. Peckham, Toledo, Ohio.
Hon. F. D. Penniman, Honesdale, Pa.
Rev. G. F. Plummer, Portland, Oregon.
Hon. W. C. Pierrepont, Pierrepont Manor.
Dr. W. A. Pierrepont, Brooklyn.
Mrs. Susan Porter, Cohoes.
Dr. H. C. Potter, East Saginaw, Mich.
Geo. Putnam, Waterville.
Hon. Chas. Rhodes, Oswego.
C. H. Roosevelt, New Rochelle.
Hon. John Sayles, Brenham, Tex.
Norman Seymour, Mt. Morris.
Com. M. Sicard, Washington, D. C.
Geo. J. Sicard, Buffalo.
Aaron Stafford, Waterville.
S. H. Stafford, Oneida.
Wm. K. Tibbits, Galesburg, Ill.
Charlemagne Tower, Philadelphia, Pa.

John C. Van Rensselaer, Rensselaer, Ind.
H. C. Van Schaack, Manlius.
Cornelius Van Santvoord, New York city.
B. S. Walcott, New York city.
S. E. Warner, New York city.
H. P. Willard, Boonville.
James C. Wetmore, Elizabeth, N. J.
Rev. W. W. Wetmore, Plymouth, Mich.
L. G. Wetmore, Ontario, Ill.
Mrs. Myra A. Wheeler, Kent, Conn.
Louis Wilhelmi, Ft. Grant, Arizona.
Erskine N. White, New York city.
Alexander M. White, Brooklyn.
Jas. H. White, Port Huron, Mich.
Edgar White, Port Huron, Mich.
Philo White, San Francisco, Cal.
Robt. S. White, San Francisco, Cal.
Canvass White, Perth Amboy, N. J.
Mrs. Hugh White, Cohoes.
Hon. Peter White, Marquette, Mich.
E. B. Wood, San Jose, Cal.
Rev. Albert S. Wood, Rensselaer Falls.
Wm. C. Young, New York city.
Wm. S. Young, Buffalo.
W. Edward Young, Buffalo.
Mr. and Mrs. Caryl Young, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Bagg read an old poem entitled "The Whitestown Rove," furnished by Mrs. D. B. Peck, of Marshall, with the following explanation:

"Reading about the Whitestown celebration I am led to send you an old time song which has been recited to me, from memory, by Mrs. Almira Barton, of Waterville, aged 81, widow of the late David Barton, one of the earliest settlers of this town, and sister of Mr. George B. Peck, of Marshall. Mrs. Barton says she memorized the words when a child, over 70 years ago, from hearing her blind aunt, Miss Roxanna Peck, sing them. It was called the 'Whitestown Rove,' and was composed in 1780, by those who, during the Revolutionary war, had been impressed with the fertility and beauty of the upper Mohawk region, as an invitation or exhortation to settlers to make their home in White's Town. Mrs. Barton is not aware that the lines were ever printed, and thinks the last line of each stanza was spoken. As a product of memory, and as a description of the physical and animal Whitestown of a hundred years ago, rather than as poetry, the song is as interesting as quaint."

"THE WHITESTOWN ROVE," 1780.

"Come all ye laboring hands
  That toil below
Among the rocks and sands,
  To plow and sow.
Come, and quit your hired lands
  Let out by cruel hands;
You'll make large amends—
  (If you'll to Whitestown go.)

"There's many a pleasant farm
Lies on that vale;
Where you can settle down,
You need not fail—
You'll make a large estate—
(So don't come too late.)

"Our cows they give us milk,
By nature fed;
Our fields afford us wheat
And corn for bread.
Oh! the sugar trees do stand
And sweeten all the land,
We have them at our hand—
(So do not fear.)

"The pigeon, goose and duck,
To fill our beds;
The beaver, coon and fox,
To crown our heads.
Oh! the harmless moose and deer
Make food and clothes to wear;
(Nature could do no more for any land.)

"There stand the lofty pines—
They make a show!
As straight as any lines
Their bodies grow,
And their lofty limbs do rear
Up to the atmosphere
Where winged tribes repair;
(And most sweetly sing.)

William Kirkpatrick of Syracuse, grandson of William Kirkpatrick, who came to Whitestown eleven years after Hugh White, was next called on. He said the Onondagas sent greeting to the Oneidas. They still kept the fires burning brightly at their councils. In a few years the Onondagas would celebrate their centennial, and the Oneidas would then find the old long house open at both ends. His ancestor had lived here eleven years, and had represented this district in Congress. The speaker gave an interesting sketch of his ancestor, which was closely listened to.

Mr. Seymour spoke of Captain Avery, who formerly lived in Whitestown, and whose daughter, Mrs. Hannah Avery Clark, lives at Utica with her son, George A. Clark. Captain Avery was a clergyman, who raised a company to fight in the Revolution.

Horace P. Bigelow of Waterville, spoke pleasantly of the great progress made by the country during the past one hundred years.

Professor A. G. Hopkins of Hamilton College, was next called on and spoke of the value of preserving the history of towns. The history of Kirkland had been well written, and it was appropriate that the history of Whitestown should also be.

Hon. David Gray of Marcy, was called on and said he was no more prepared to make a speech than he was to make a balloon ascension. He had known the people of Whitestown for sixty-five years, and had great respect for them. In the old days it was a custom for any one called on at a dinner, to make a speech, tell a story, or sing a song. He would conform to the custom by telling a story. This he did in most interesting style.

Hon. Samuel Earl of Herkimer, spoke interestingly of the relations of Herkimer and Oneida counties. The first county clerk of Herkimer county lived in Whitestown, which was the county seat. Although Herkimer was sixty years older than Whitestown, Whitestown within six or seven years took the lead in public spirit and enterprise. He read extracts from the diary of a lawyer who visited Whitestown in 1792, which showed that at that time Whitestown was quite gay.

Rev. Dr. D. G. Corey said he never heard so many good things said about a people as he had heard about the Whitestown people to-day. If they were not proud, it was because they possessed an extra amount of humility. Soon after the settlement of the town, a young lady came here from Connecticut. After remaining for a time she returned to Connecticut and gave most glowing accounts of the new western country. The only objection which she had to the place was that the people were all democrats. The chairman (Mr. Seymour) labored under the same difficulty.

He moved a vote of thanks to the ladies whose ministrations had been so faithful and who had done so much to make the visitors happy to-day.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Professor A. J. Upson spoke of the old elms of the village. He said his step-father was James Dean, who told him that when he was fourteen years old, just eighty years ago, he saw the elms planted in front of the residence of J. C. Smith, formerly the Judge Platt and S. Newton Dexter house.

Mr. Seymour read a poem entitled "Twenty Years Ago," written by Thomas Gold, Jr., son of Thomas R. Gold.

TWENTY YEARS AGO.

I've wandered by the village, Tom, I've sat beneath the tree
Upon the school-house playing ground, that sheltered you and me;
But none were there to greet me, Tom, and few were left to know
Who played with us upon the green, some twenty years ago.

The grass is just as green, dear Tom, barefooted boys at play,
Were sporting just as we did then, with spirits just as gay,
The "master" sleeps upon the hill, which, coated o'er with snow,
Afforded us a sliding place, some twenty years ago.

The old school-house is altered some; the benches are replaced
By new ones, very like the same our pen-knives had defaced.
But the same old bricks are in the wall, the bell swings to and fro,
Its music's just the same, dear Tom, as twenty years ago.

The boys were playing some old game, beneath the same old tree;
I do forget the name just now—you've played it oft with me
On that same spot; 'twas played with knives by throwing so and so.
The loser had a task to do then—twenty years ago.

The river's running just as still, the willows by its side
Are larger than they were, dear Tom, the stream appears less wide,
But the grape vine swing is ruined now, where once we played the beau
And swung our sweethearts—"pretty girls"—full twenty years ago.

The spring that bubbled 'neath the hill, close by the spreading beech.
Is very low—'t was once so high, that we could almost reach,
And, kneeling down to get a drink, dear Tom, I started so,
To see how much that I am changed since twenty years ago.

Near by the spring upon an elm, you know I cut your name,
Your sweetheart's just below it, Tom, and you did mine the same,
Some heartless wretch had peeled the bark, 'twas dying sure but slow,
Just as that one whose name you cut died twenty years ago.

My lids have long been dry, dear Tom, but tears came to my eyes,
I thought of her I loved so well—those early broken ties,
I visited the old churchyard and took some flowers to strew
Upon the graves of those we loved some twenty years ago.

Some now are in the churchyard laid—some sleep beneath the sea,
But few are left of our old class excepting you and me;
And when our time has come, dear Tom, and we are called to go,
I hope they 'll lay us where we played some twenty years ago.

Rev. E. H. Payson of Oneida, said it was his privilege to be the pastor of the first Presbyterian church of Whitestown, which was not then Whitesboro. He was acquainted with all the pastors of the town from the time of John Frost to the present day. He wished to say a word for Judge Jedediah Sanger, one of the most prominent and best men of New Hartford, then Whitestown, who held court in a barn.

Mr. Seymour. Didn't they pass whisky around after court adjourned?

Rev. Mr. Payson. Undoubtedly they did, especially if Mr. Sanger was a democrat. [Laughter.]

Amos O. Osborn of Waterville, said his town (Sangerfield) was named after Judge Sanger, and in recognition of the honor, Judge Sanger gave the people a barrel of whisky or rather a cask of rum. Benjamin White first settled the town of Sangerfield, but he was not a relative of the Whites of Whitestown.

Hon. S. S. Lowery spoke briefly and pleasantly.

Rev. Mr. Conkling of Rochester, followed with a few remarks.

Hon. William J. Bacon spoke pleasantly of Whitestown. He remembered it when he was but eight years old, as a very pretty little village. He remembered its old court house, where the lawyers of the county engaged in legal struggles, and at the end of the day's work gathered around the large open fire place of the tavern and told stories. He tried his first case in that court house, and gave a very interesting account of it.

William W. Niles of New York, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the children of Oneida, in centennial celebration assembled, be extended to Hon. Charles Tracy, for his delightful, exhaustive and eloquent address; and that a copy be requested for publication and preservation.

Resolved, That we have listened with great interest to the dedicatory address, by Rev. Anson J. Upson, D. D. That it has renewed in us our reverence for our ancestors, and our love for our "kith and kin," and awakens us to a fuller realization of our duties, our responsibilities, our influence and our position.

Resolved, That a copy be requested for publication.

Resolved, That the æsthetic, historic and poetic verses by Benjamin F. Taylor have added largely to the pleasure and completeness of this occasion, and that a copy be requested for publication.

William M. White offered the following, which were also adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman, Hon. Samuel Campbell, for the active, energetic and earnest interest he has manifested in making the centennial of Whitestown a success, and securing this monument as a memorial of the settlement of the town.

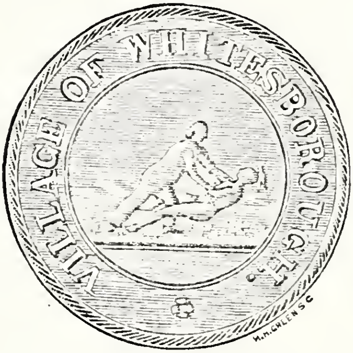
Resolved, That our thanks are also due to Dr. M. M. Bagg for his personal zeal and devotion in the arrangements for our celebration, and in summoning the children of Oneida county to commemorate their ancestors and their origin. And also to Thomas Foster for his efficient and successful labors as chairman of the finance committee. And last, but not least,

Resolved, That we cordially thank the people of Whitestown and their representatives, and especially the ladies of Whitesboro, for the cordial, hearty, substantial welcome given us, their guests, on this reunion of old friends and renewal of old memories.

The afternoon's exercises closed at 4.30 P. M., all present having enjoyed themselves heartily.

WHITESBORO'S GOLDEN AGE.

BY D. E. WAGER.



[The following series of papers were prepared for, and most of them read before the Oneida Historical Society in 1881 and 1882. The first paper was read December 7, 1881.]

In 1705 the colonial authorities of New York, with the approval of the sovereign of Great Britain, granted to five persons some 30,000 acres of land, now known as the "Oriskany patent." The boundaries of that patent commence at the junction of Oriskany creek with Mohawk river, (where the present village of Oriskany is), and extend up the creek four miles, for a distance of two miles on each side of that stream; also, for a distance of two miles on each side of Mohawk river and up that stream far enough to include the present city of Rome. That was the first patent granted of lands in what is now Oneida county.

The second grant of lands in this county, by the same authorities, was made in 1734, and known as "Cosby's manor,"

The Village of Whitesborough was incorporated under that name by an Act of the Legislature passed March 26, 1813. The official name of its Post Office is still Whitestown. Whitesboro has long been the popular name of both. By an Act of the Legislature passed June 14, 1884, the corporate name of the village was changed to Whitesboro. For the above engraving of its seal (representing the wrestling match between the pioneer settler and an Oneida chief,) we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. B. W. Whitcher, the authoress of "A Few Stray Leaves in the History of Whitesboro," published May 31, 1884.

the western boundary of which was at the point where Sauquoit creek empties into the Mohawk river, at or near what is now the village of Whitesboro.

A glance at the map of Oneida county will show, that between the above two tracts of land, is a strip about two miles wide and six miles in length, and on both sides of Sauquoit creek and Mohawk river. There are about 6,000 acres of land in that strip of territory, and in 1736, the above authorities granted that parcel to Frederick Morris and twelve others, under the name of the "Sadachqaeda patent;" it has been sometimes called and known as the "Morris tract." At the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Hugh Wallace was the owner of that patent. He had been from 1769 to 1775 a member of the New York Legislative Council, and by reason of his adherence to the crown, the New York Legislature in October, 1779, passed an act confiscating his property, forfeiting it to the State, and ordering the Sadequada patent to be sold. In January, 1784, that tract was so sold, and John Taylor, Zephaniah Platt, Hugh White and others became the purchasers.

By an arrangement between the owners, they were to meet on the patent in the summer of 1784, survey it out, make a partition and divide the lands among themselves.

In pursuance of this plan, and for the further purpose of becoming a permanent settler in the then remote wilderness, Hugh White, in May, 1784, left his old home in Middletown, Connecticut, accompanied by three sons, a daughter and a daughter-in-law, and proceeded by water to Albany, where they were joined by another son who had gone overland with two yokes of oxen. From Albany the party went by land to Schenectady, and there a batteau was purchased, and while the family and their goods went up the Mohawk by boat, the oxen were driven along the road and Indian trail, and kept even pace by land.

Not far from May 20th, 1784, the party reached a place on the south side of Mohawk river, a few miles east of what is now Utica, known as "Shoemaker's." The charred remains of burned buildings and the desolated and deserted, but once cultivated fields, told a sad, but eloquent tale of the ravages which the war of the Revolution had made. With a commendable foresight the party stopped there long enough to plant one of the unoccupied fields, to corn. They then resumed their journey and reached their place of destination on Sauquoit creek, and at what is now the village of Whitesboro, on the 5th day of June, 1784. A temporary bark

shanty was erected for that summer's use, and until a more substantial structure could be built. Soon after a log house was erected about quarter to half of a mile westerly of Sauquoit creek, on a rise of ground which formed the west bank of the valley of that stream, and about half a dozen rods southerly of what is now Main street in that village. It was at that house that Lafayette stopped and shared the hospitalities of Hugh White in the fall of that year, during his attendance at the treaty with the Indians held at Fort Stanwix. In the partition of that patent Mr. White acquired title to about 1,500 acres, and his possessions embraced the site of Whitesboro and extended southerly to the south bounds of the tract.

During the season of 1784, Mr. White and his sons cleared off about four acres of land by chopping down the trees, but not by piling and burning them as now, but by rolling the logs off the embankment east of his house, and upon the low lands between it and Sauquoit creek. That clearing included the present "village green," the sites which were subsequently those of the court house and jail, and adjacent lands. In due time the male members of that family hoed and harvested the field of corn, which they had planted at "Shoemaker's" the May before, and that crop did good service for the next winter's supply of food and fodder.

In January, 1785, Hugh White returned to Connecticut for the rest of his family, and at once brought them to his new settlement on the banks of the Sauquoit. The family then consisted in all of fifteen persons, viz.: five sons, (two of them married,) three daughters, two daughters-in-law, and three grand children. Those were the pioneer settlers subsequent to the revolution, and then the only white settlement in the State west of what is now the village of Herkimer, formerly "Fort Dayton."

Old Montgomery County.

At that period of time, that settlement was in Montgomery county, which county then included all of the State west of the county of Albany. That county was divided into "districts," not into towns as now. The "German Flatts district" then included part of what is now Herkimer county, and thence to the northern, southern, and western boundaries of the State.

On the 7th of March, 1788, Montgomery county was organized into towns, and all that part of the State west of a north and south line drawn across the State, passing through Genesee street in Utica, was formed into the "Town of Whites Town." The territory

embraced in this town included about half the State, with a population, perhaps, of less than 200. The first town meeting was held at the tavern of D. C. White, in Whitesboro, son of Hugh White, April 6, 1789. The first general election held in the town in 1791, commenced at Cayuga bridge, then adjourned to Manlius, thence to Fort Stanwix, and closed up at Whitesboro.

OLD HERKIMER COUNTY.

In February, 1791, Herkimer was carved out of Montgomery county, and extended west to Ontario county, which had been taken off in 1789. By this act of 1791 it was provided that the courts of common pleas and of general sessions for Herkimer county, "should be held at the church in the town of Herkimer." The church thus alluded to then occupied the present site of the Dutch Reformed church in that village, on the corner diagonally across the street from the present court house. But two terms in each year were provided for by said act, and those terms to commence on Tuesday and end the Saturday following. The judges and justices of these courts and the supervisors of the several towns in Herkimer county were authorized to select the site, and the latter to raise money to erect a court house and jail. The site selected is the present one in Herkimer village, and the jail was placed in the story underneath the court house. Henry Staring, a plain Dutch farmer, but of much native ability and good strong sense, and who had rendered valuable service, and endured great suffering for his country, was appointed first judge. Jedediah Sanger, of New Hartford, Hugh White and Amos Wetmore, of Whitesboro, were made side judges. William Colbrath, of Fort Stanwix, was appointed sheriff, and Jonas Platt, of Whitesboro, county clerk. Work was soon commenced on the court house and jail, and an act was passed in January, 1793, authorizing the supervisors to raise £1,000 to defray the expenses already incurred in the erection of those buildings; by the same act the courts above mentioned were authorized to alternate "between the court house in the town of Herkimer, and such place in the town of Whitestown as said courts should order to be entered in their minutes;" and the sheriff was ordered to remove all the Herkimer county prisoners to the jail in that county from Montgomery county, on or before March, 1793. In pursuance of above act the January term of the court was held in 1794 in an unfinished "meeting

house," in what is now New Hartford, at which Judge Staring presided. That was the first court of record held within the limits of Oneida county, and was the same court where Sheriff Colbrath passed up to the judge a jug of gin as the court was about to adjourn for the day, in consequence of the absence of fire and the intense cold in the building. As that story has been so often told and so many times published, it need not be repeated here. In March, 1795, a law was passed authorizing the supervisors of Herkimer county to raise $720 to complete the court house and jail, and in March, 1797, they were further empowered to raise all funds necessary for that purpose.

While Jonas Platt was county clerk of Herkimer county, he kept the county clerk's office at Whitesboro, but when Oneida county was taken off in 1798, the Herkimer county clerk's office was ordered to be located at Herkimer. In 1804, that clerk's office was destroyed by fire, and with it, about all of the valuable books, records and papers.

Not long since I examined the clerk's office at Herkimer to gather material for this sketch; but that fire of 1804 had made sad havoc with the early records. In a dry goods box, promiscuously stowed away, were "declarations," "*Narr*," and other pleadings and legal proceedings, with the names of E. Clark, T. R. Gold, Jonas Platt and J. Kirkland, early members of the bar in this locality when it was part of Herkimer county, endorsed on such papers, but so bedimmed by time and damaged by fire as to make it extremely difficult to gather much information therefrom. I was able, however, to ascertain from scraps and fragments of scorched and half burned court calendars, minutes of the courts and other legal documents, that prior to 1794, the Herkimer courts were held in what is now the village of Herkimer; and that from and after the January term of the Common Pleas in 1794 (which term was held at New Hartford) until Oneida county was taken off in 1798, the county courts of Herkimer alternated between Herkimer village and "the school house near Hugh White's in Whitestown." That school house stood on the north-easterly side of what is now Main street in Whitesboro, and was the site subsequently occupied by the Academy, and now by the residence of Hon. C. M. Dennison.

In January, 1795, at a term of the Common Pleas held at the court house in Herkimer, a vote was taken by the judges and justices present, as to the place in Whitestown the next June term should be held, and the votes, as entered on the minutes of the

court, stood eleven for "the school house near Hugh White's," and two votes for "the meeting house near Jedediah Sanger." Those two votes were James Dean and James Steele. I did not find any other vote entered in detail upon the minutes, as to where the courts should be held. The June term of 1795, and the September and October terms of 1796 and 1797 and the January term of 1798 were held at said school house. The fact that the county clerk's office of Herkimer county, for the first seven years after that county was organized, was kept at Whitesboro, and was so kept for eighteen years after Oneida county was formed, and that the county courts were held there half the time, had much to do in attracting thither, at that early period, leading lawyers and prominent citizens and in giving to that village a start and prominence in the early history of the county.

ONEIDA COUNTY.

In March, 1798, Oneida county was formed, and its boundaries then extended to the north and south bounds of the State, and as far west as Onondaga county. By that act courts were directed to be held "at the school house near Fort Stanwix," which school house then stood in the southeast corner of the west park in Rome. A court house when built, was ordered by said act organizing the county, to be located within one mile of the fort. Jedediah Sanger was appointed first judge, Hugh White and three others, side judges. William Colbrath, who had been the first sheriff of Herkimer county, was made the first sheriff of Oneida, and Jonas Platt, who had been first county clerk of Herkimer county, was made the first county clerk of Oneida. Dominick Lynch, a large land-holder in Rome, donated to the county, May 21, 1800, for the purposes of court house and jail, the present site occupied by those edifices. In March, 1801, an act was passed providing for the keeping of Oneida county prisoners in the Herkimer county jail, but to be removed therefrom to Oneida county, as soon as the sheriff of the latter county should deem the jail directed to be built in Oneida county sufficiently finished for the safe keeping of prisoners. In April, 1801, Thomas Jenkins and H. L. Hosmer, of Hudson, and John Thompson, of Stillwater, and Derick Lane of Troy, were appointed commissioners to locate the court house and jail in Oneida County, and they selected the site which Mr. Lynch had deeded to the county. The Whitesboro people then made an effort to make that locality a half shire town of the county; for at that time Utica was quite an

insignificant place and the leading men of the county were located at Whitesboro. In September, 1801, Hugh White deeded to the county over an acre of ground in Whitesboro to belong to the county, so long as it was used for purposes of court house and jail, but to revert to him or his heirs, when not so used. At a term of the Common Pleas held at the school house in Rome, in December, 1801, Sheriff Brodhead reported that the jail at Whitesboro was sufficiently completed for the safe-keeping of prisoners, and the court ordered the Oneida county prisoners in jail at Herkimer to be removed to the jail at Whitesboro in January, 1802. In February, 1802, the supervisors of Oneida County were authorized to raise the further sum of $539 to complete the jail (without mentioning which jail), and in February, 1803, they were further empowered to raise $500 to complete the jail at Whitesboro, and in April of the same year courts were authorized to be held alternately at Rome and Whitesboro, and the commissioners who had been authorized to erect the Rome jail were empowered by that act to go on and "cause the doors of the jail lately built at Rome to be made and completed." In April, 1806, the legislature authorized the supervisors of Oneida County to raise $4,000 to erect two court houses, the one near the jail at Rome and the other near the jail at Whitesboro, and those two court houses, both made of brick, were soon after built on the sites which had been donated to the county. The Rome court house was burned in 1847, but the Whitesboro building yet stands, probably the oldest one in the State yet standing, erected for a court house.

In delving among the session laws of the last century, to find laws relative to the holding of courts, I found the following law, passed in February, 1788, the same session Whitestown was formed, which may be curious and of interest at the present day, as showing how carefully the bench was then guarded, right after the Revolution, lest some wealthy and influential outsider should sit thereon, and by his presence overawe judges and perhaps thwart or prevent justice. The act reads: "No person, little or great, shall sit upon the bench with the judges during their session, upon pain of fine and imprisonment; and said judges are charged that they do not suffer any person to sit with them on the bench in their session contrary to the intent of this act."

This preliminary sketch relative to the patents, to the organization of counties and towns, to the designation of county seats, and the erection of court houses and jails, and the holding of courts, seemed to be necessary for a better understanding of

some of the causes which gave to Whitesboro its start and importance in the early history of the county, and contributed to make it the abode of so many influential persons, so many learned and able lawyers, and so many prominent politicians and citizens. I have named the pioneer settler. He was a person of resolute will, great force of character, full of energy and enterprise, and with a clear and discerning mind. The fact that Hugh White, at the age of fifty-one years, with a large family, should break away from early associations and pleasant surroundings, and become a pioneer in such a remote wilderness as this part of the State then was, indicates pretty clearly the character of the man, and that he was a person of far-reaching sagacity to be able to discern what this section was destined to become. He at once set to work to improve and build up the neighborhood, to cause it to be the place for holding courts, and in various ways to make it attractive, so as to induce its settlement by the best class of citizens from his own State, as well as from other localities. The lawyers who early located in Whitesboro, were college bred and learned in the law, and the other citizens were generally persons of mark, and of more than ordinary prominence and ability. The ladies, too, who composed the families of those early settlers, were as a rule, educated and refined, and, of course, gave grace, culture and dignity to the circle in which they moved. In many respects the villages of Whitesboro and Canandaigua seem much alike. Both were small places. While Whitesboro had her Whites, Gold, Sill, Platt, Storrs and Breese, Canandaigua had her Grangers, Wadsworth, Spencer, Porter, Sibley, Phelps and Gregg, men of distinction and large influence in the State.

In March, 1790, Congress passed a law for taking a census of the inhabitants of the United States. Under that law the first enumeration of the people was made after the revolution, and from it, it appeared that there were in what is now Rome, in that year, some three or four families, and in what is now Utica, about fifteen families and one hundred persons. Whitesboro had twenty families and some one hundred and thirty inhabitants. Of this number sixty-one were males over sixteen years of age, twenty-five males under sixteen, and forty-four females. That census showed there were six hundred and eighty-nine families in the town of Whitestown and a total population of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

These papers are entitled "Whitesboro's Golden Age," and to show that Whitesboro had a golden age, and is justly entitled

to that name, and to all that may be said in praise of her prominent and worthy citizens, it will be essential to give a brief account of some of the persons who resided there, and who contributed to give it prominence and celebrity.

HUGH WHITE AND FAMILY.

Hugh White and family occupy so large a place in the history of this State, that a full sketch of the various members would fill quite a volume. Even the merest outline will be quite too lengthy for a paper of this kind. Hugh White was one of the selectmen of Middletown from 1779 to 1783; he was commissary in the army during a portion of the Revolutionary war, and he was a man of means and of position, or he would not have been associated with such men as joined him in the purchase of Sadaqueda patent. At the time of his location in Whitesboro, this part of the State was a wilderness, the woods peopled with hostile Indians, the nearest white settlement twenty miles distant, and the nearest mill forty miles, (at Fort Plain). Mr. White, like Sir William Johnson and Rev. Samuel Kirkland and Judge James Dean, had the prudence and sagacity to conciliate and make friends with the Indians. The Oneidas adopted him into their tribe and he was a general favorite with all. He was one of the judges of the Herkimer Common Pleas when that county was organized in 1791, and held that office until Oneida county was formed seven years later, when he was appointed judge of that court for the latter county and held the office until 1804—fourteen years judge. During his life he placed his sons in comfortable circumstances about him by giving each a farm, locating them in relation to his own residence according to the priority of their ages—the eldest being the nearest, the youngest the farthest removed.

Judge White was the first settler after the Revolution, who dared to overleap the German settlements lower down on the Mohawk, and brave the dangers and the hardships of the western wilds. He lived to see the territory in which he settled, named after him as a town, and the vast wilderness, then inhabited only by savages, turned into cultivated fields and prosperous villages and become the abode of 300,000 persons, the forests and the red men replaced by seminaries of learning and temples of worship, the place where he settled and passed the remaining twenty-eight years of his life, become the leading village west of Albany, and the center of as refined and cultured a society, and

the home of as influential and intelligent a class of men as any in the state or nation. He died on the 17th of April, 1812, at the age of 79 years. His funeral was attended by his numerous descendants and connections, and by an unusual concourse of the most aged and respectable inhabitants of the county. The remains of this pioneer settler repose in a commanding position in the Whitesboro cemetery, and so long as history shall retain a memorial of the first settlement of this country, the name of Hugh White will be remembered with veneration and respect.

Mr. White had ten children, eight of whom grew to man or womanhood. Daniel C. White, the eldest of his sons, came (with his wife and a son then two years old) with his father in 1784 to settle on the Sadaqueda patent. He kept tavern directly across the road from his father's residence, on the brow of the hill, or rise of ground, east of and near the site now occupied by the residence of Mr. Babbitt, formerly of William Robbins. It was there his daughter, Esther White, was born in 1785; the first white child born in the State after the Revolution, west of the German Flats. She became in 1810 the wife of Henry R. Storrs. It was at that tavern the first town meeting was held in town, in April, 1789. Daniel C., died in 1800, and his widow kept the tavern after his death. Fortune C. White was another child of Daniel C. White. He was born at Whitesboro three years after the removal of his father there, and graduated at Hamilton College, which conferred on him in 1826, the honorary degree of master of arts. He read law with his brother-in-law, Henry R. Storrs, and the two subsequently became partners. In 1828, Mr. White was member of assembly from this county, and again in 1837. From 1840 to 1845, he was first judge of the Oneida Common Pleas, and was brigadier general of the New York State Militia. Except a residence of a few years at Yonkers, he was a resident all of his life, of the place where he was born. He died at Whitesboro in 1866, at the same age his grandfather, Judge Hugh White, was at his death.

Joseph White was another son of Judge Hugh White. He and his wife and his daughter Susan, then three months old, accompanied the pioneer settler to Whitesboro, in May, 1784. He was a farmer and settled on the flats, between his father's residence and Sauquoit creek, and died in 1827 at the age of sixty-six years. The daughter Susan, above mentioned, was the one taken to the house of the Indian Han Yerry, at Oriskany, to be kept over night, as related in Jones' Annals of Oneida County. Another

daughter of Joseph White was Abigail, the wife, but now the widow of Samuel Wilcox. She is yet living at Whitesboro, past ninety-two years of age, but with a good mind and memory for one of her years. She is the only one of those early born who has, up to this time, been a continuous resident of that village.* Henry White, a son of Joseph White, was born in Whitesboro, the same year Whitestown was organized; he was ambitious in his youth for the army or navy, and for the services he rendered his party in the political campaign of 1804, when he was but sixteen years old, in carrying political documents and dispatches, he was promised a cadetship; but as that promise was not fulfilled, he became a farmer. When the Utica and Schenectady Packet Boat Company was organized in 1822, after the completion of the Erie canal, he was appointed superintendent, and held that position for sixteen years, exhibiting great executive ability. He died in Utica in 1860, at the age of seventy-two. Joseph White had eleven children, five of them sons, and two of the latter died in infancy.

Hugh White, Jr., was another son of Judge Hugh White. For three years Hugh, Jr., was in the Revolutionary army, and for a time on board a privateer during that war. He was twenty-one years old when he accompanied his father to Whitesboro in 1784. He was a farmer, and lived near his father's residence, and had seven children. One of his sons was Canvass White, who served in the war of 1812, was one of the early engineers on the Erie canal, and was sent to England by the canal authorities to procure mathematical instruments and to make observations relative to canals. To him has been generally ascribed the credit of being the first discoverer of water lime cement, until that claim was so ably combatted in a paper prepared and read before this society in November last year by Hon. Samuel Earl. He died in Florida in 1834. Hugh White, brother of Canvass White, graduated at Hamilton College in 1823, at the age of twenty-five, read law with his relatives, Storrs & White, and afterwards in New York city, but soon turned his attention to other pursuits. From 1825 to 1830, he was a resident of Chittenango, and after that removed to Waterford, Saratoga County, and in 1844 was elected to Congress from that county, and was subsequently twice re-elected, serving three terms in that body.

Ansel White, was another son of Judge Hugh White. He accompanied the latter to Whitesboro in 1784. He was a farmer and had ten children. He died in that village in 1858, at the age

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* Since deceased.

of ninety-three, having been a resident of that locality seventy-four years.

Philo White, another and the youngest son of Judge Hugh, was seventeen years old when he came with his father to Whitesboro. He was a farmer and also engaged more or less in merchandising; and he had nine children, four of them sons. One of the sons, (Hon. Philo White, LL. D.,) was born in Whitesboro, and acquired an academical education at the seminary in that village. His early inclinations were for the press, and before of age, he contributed much to the columns of the *Columbian Gazette*, a paper started in Rome in 1799, but removed to Utica in 1803. In 1820 he went to Washington, and while there and through the influence or acquaintance of his relative, Henry R. Storrs, then in Congress from this county, Mr. White went to North Carolina and became editor and proprietor of the *Western Carolinian*, and so continued until 1830, when he was appointed United States navy agent for the Pacific station. In 1834 he established the North Carolina *Standard* at Raleigh, and was elected State printer and his paper became the State paper. From 1837 to 1844 he was paymaster and purser in the United States Navy. Subsequently he removed to Wisconsin, was editor of several newspapers there, and in 1847 was member of the Territorial Legislature, and subsequently of the State Senate. He held other positions of influence in that State. In 1849 he was appointed United States Consul at Hamburg. In 1853 he was appointed *charge d' affaires* to the Republic of Ecuador, and the next year was raised to the grade of minister resident in that country, and there remained until 1858. Many years ago he returned to the village where he was born, where he now resides at the age of eighty-two, with a vigorous mind, respected by his neighbors and a very large and extensive circle of acquaintance. (Died February 15, 1883.)

General George Doolittle.

Within two years after Judge White left Middletown in 1784, there came from that same place to Whitesboro a young man, then less than twenty-six years old. Although a young man in years he had rendered good service to his country, for during the struggle which resulted in our independence, George Doolittle had served in the continental army. He was a shoemaker by trade, and carried his "kit of tools" with him while in the war, and with these he "cobbled" and mended the shoes of the soldiers,

and the money thus earned was carefully saved. With his little capital he commenced at Whitesboro the shoe-making business, which expanded into that of a tanner and currier.

He was highly prosperous in business, accumulated a handsome property, and was greatly respected. He was for nearly thirty years supervisor of Whitestown, and such was the confidence of the taxpayers and his fellow-citizens, in his ability and integrity, that there was little or no opposition, to his repeated re-elections. His residence at the time of his death was just east of Sauquoit creek, in the brick house yet standing there, a few rods southerly from Main street. He was the first brigadier general of militia commissioned in the county, and a Roman who remembers General Doolittle sixty years ago, says he was a large handsome man and occupied a high position in the community where he lived. He died quite suddenly in 1825 at the age of sixty-five years leaving ten children and twenty-eight grandchildren. Two of his sons, Jessie W. and Charles R., were prosperous merchants in Utica, the former as early as 1805. One of his daughters became the wife of Benjmin S. Walcott; another married Herbert B. Mann, a son of Newton Mann, then of Whitesboro, but who subsequently moved to Jefferson county, and after whom Mannsville was named; another was the wife of William K. Tibbitts; another married Joseph Foster, and the youngest one married Charles Hammond, who was prominently connected with various railroad enterprises in the west. His wife was the survivor of all General Doolittle's ten children, and a few years ago she and her husband were residents of Chicago.

AMOS WETMORE.

In 1786 Amos Wetmore, with a large family, came from Middletown, Conn., and settled on lands adjoining Mr. White's, but east of Sauquoit creek. He was the owner of two hundred and fifty acres of land and was a prominent and enterprising citizen. In 1788, the first grist mill in the State west of the German Flats, was erected on his lands by John Beardsley, builder, at the joint expense of Mr. Wetmore, Hugh White and Mr. Beardsley—the latter being owner of half, and each of the others of one-quarter of the mill. The mill was but a short distance from Mr. Wetmore's residence, and a number of rods east of the Sauquoit, and the machinery of the mill was propelled by water taken in a canal from the creek. In the course of a few years the mill burned down, and Mr. Wetmore, in 1797, built a new one, he having in the

mean time become sole owner. There had been no actual purchase or deed of the water, or the right to use it, to Mr. Wetmore. and soon after the new mill was rebuilt, Mr. White insisted that unless Mr. Wetmore would build a dam and turn half of the water on a meadow contiguous to Sauquoit creek (owned by Hugh White, Jr.,) and become a Presbyterian and join the congregation in Whitesboro under the charge of Rev. Bethuel Dodd, he (the elder Hugh White) would cut the old dam and deprive Mr. Wetmore of the use of the water. Mr. Wetmore did not consent and the dam was cut accordingly, and Mr. Wetmore filed a bill in chancery against Hugh White, Sen. and Jr., claiming that a parol agreement or understanding between Wetmore and the elder White existed as to the water. Jonas Platt, a young man of less than thirty years of age, then located at Whitesboro, was solicitor for Mr. Wetmore, assisted by Abraham Van Vechten of Albany, one of the best real estate lawyers in the State. Thomas R. Gold, assisted by John V. Henry of Albany, also a bright legal luminary, was counsel for Mr. White. At the hearing in chancery, before Chancellor Lansing, the latter decided in favor of Mr. White, but on appeal to the Court of Errors, the latter court unanimously reversed the chancellor's decision and gave to Mr. Wetmore the permanent use of a portion of the water. The case after being in the courts seven years was decided in 1805, and the mill was for years known far and wide as "Wetmore's Mills." Mr. Wetmore was appointed one of the side judges of the Herkimer Common Pleas when that court was organized, and in 1798 when Oneida county was formed he was appointed one of the justices for the county. He died in 1808 at the age of sixty-seven years, leaving eight children and numerous descendants. Among his sons were Amos, Jehiel, Ezra, Asher and Parsons Wetmore; the latter married a daughter of Judge Hugh White.

LEAVENWORTH, WILCOX, POOL, BARNARD AND BRAINARD.

Soon after Amos Wetmore's removal to the "White-town country," there came, (and prior to 1790), a number of other families from the New England States, who located at or near Whitesboro; but the order or the precise year of their coming can not now be ascertained. There were the families of Lemuel Leavenworth, Reuben and Ozias Wilcox, Simeon Pool, Moses Barnard Jeptha Brainard; all of the foregoing appear on the United States census of the town of Whitestown, taken in 1790; all, except Mr. Pool, I believe, came from Connecticut; Pool came from Massa-

chusetts. It would seem from recorded deeds in the county, that most, if not all of the above, located on farms outside of the village of Whitesboro, and hence, strictly speaking, out of the line of these sketches. A brief reference, however, to each will not be, perhaps, uninteresting. Mr. Leavenworth located east of Sauquoit creek and at his death, in 1825, was the owner of quite a farm. He held town offices, and was coroner of the county in 1798, 1799 and 1800; he left a number of children. Jeptha Brainard located west of the village, but after a few years he moved to Western in this county, and died in 1829, at the age of 83 years. He was the grandfather of the somewhat celebrated Dr. Daniel Brainard, of Rush Medical college. The Wilcox family became permanent residents of the town. Reuben was a soldier of the Revolution, and when he came to Whitesboro, bought a farm a mile west of the village, for which he gave two shillings per acre, and had to cut a road through the woods to get to it. He married a daughter of Joseph White, (and sister of Mrs. Abigail Wilcox,) and died in 1853 at the age of ninety years. He was father of Morris and Reuben Wilcox, whom present residents of Whitesboro will remember as being old residents of that place. Moses Barnard purchased considerable land in that locality and was one of the substantial citizens of the town; he died in 1811, at the age of sixty-one. Simeon Pool in 1793, owned some two hundred acres of land adjoining the Oriskany patent, west of Whitesboro. In that same year he had the contract for carrying the United States mails between Canajoharie and Whitesboro, which was evidence of the establishment of a post-office at the latter place, at least as early as that year. In the *Western Centinel* of 1794, then published at Whitesboro, is an advertisement of a store at "Pool's landing," (wherever that may be) in that town. It further appears from recorded deeds, that Simeon Pool was a resident of Whitestown in January, 1795, but that in December of the same year, he is described as being of German Flats. All that I can learn further of him is from Jesse R. Pool, who was a resident of Whitestown since his birth in 1806, on the farm where he resided until his death in September last; which farm was about a mile south of Oriskany. He informed me that his father (John H. Pool) was a cousin of Simeon; that he remembered hearing his father read or tell of letters he had received from Simeon Pool, then at Washington, or further south; giving an account of the arrest of Aaron Burr, in which arrest Simeon had a part, and of Burr's trial for treason in 1807. The Pools cordially disliked Burr, and hence those letters were full and interesting.

The grandfather of Jesse R. Pool came to Whitestown with another son between 1790 and 1800, and the two soon afterwards moved into what is now Jefferson county. Jesse R. stated they moved to Watertown. Hough's history of that county records the fact that Timothy Pool was one of the assessors and one of the overseers of highways of the town of Champion, the first year that town was organized in 1800; but what relationship that Timothy was to Simeon Pool, I can not state. The John Pool who was republican United States senator from North Carolina from 1867 to 1873, and who made a sensation in political circles by coming out for General Hancock in the presidential campaign of 1880, is supposed to be a descendant of the Simeon Pool above mentioned.

Dr. Elizur Moseley.

As early as 1790, there was living in Whitesboro, one who was the first physician, the first merchant, and the first postmaster of the place. How much sooner than 1790, Dr. Elizur Moseley came to that village I can not ascertain. The United States census of August of that year, shows he was there then. He came from Massachusetts, and his wife was a sister of Mrs. Captain Ebenezer Wright, who came to Wright's settlement in Rome, in 1789, father of the present E. W. Wright of that town. Dr. Moseley erected a dwelling on the corner of what is now Main and Clinton streets, in Whitesboro, and in due time erected a more substantial dwelling, quite a nice one for the times and place. He also erected a store near his dwelling, and later a tavern stand. My information is, that he had considerable of a ride as a physician when he first located in the place and the country was new and the population scattered, but years before 1820 he gave up about all of his practice, and up to about 1830 attended mainly to the duties of his store. He kept a varied assortment of goods and articles for sale, so much so, that his store was noted the country through as the place where everything was kept on hand and for sale. A bet was once made in the village bar-room of "the drinks for the crowd," that no one could go to Dr. Moseley's store and inquire for any article that he did not have for sale. The taker of the bet went over to the store and wanted to purchase a "goose yoke." The doctor, who knew nothing of the bet nor the object of the inquiry, very innocently asked which kind of a goose yoke was wanted, "the forked stick" or "the single goose yoke." The inquirer was non-plused at first, yet on second thought said he would take *both*. The doctor went or sent up into the garret and

brought down one of each kind, to the utter discomfiture of the loser of the bet, but to the great amusement of the winner, and the evident satisfaction of the crowd, which lingered at the bar-room until they got their share of the stakes. It has been heretofore stated that Simeon Pool carried the mails in 1793 between Canajoharie and Whitesboro; that is good evidence that there was a post-office there as early as the latter year; but tradition has it that a post-office was established in Whitesboro in 1790, and that Elizur Moseley was the first postmaster of the place. A recent letter of inquiry to the post-office department brought back the answer that a fire had destroyed earlier records, but that it appeared from records then in the office that in January, 1795, Elizur Moseley was postmaster of Whitesboro, and was such until he was succeeded in 1825 by William G. Tracy. When he ceased to be postmaster of that village, it was stated in the newspapers of the day, that he had been longer in that service than any other postmaster in the United States. When Oneida county was formed Dr. Moseley was appointed one of the justices of the new county, and in 1799 he was made the second sheriff. He practiced medicine and carried on the mercantile business, as before stated, until about 1830. His wife died about ten years before. About 1832 he sold his residence in Whitesboro to Dr. F. B. Henderson, and also sold his store, and about that time went to reside with his daughter, Mrs. Morrison, in Penn Yan, where he died about 1835. He was about five feet ten inches high, and is represented as being polite and affable in his manners, courteous in his conduct and bearing and careful not to say anything to hurt the feelings of others; he was much liked and respected by all. He reared a family of five children, all daughters but one. In the Whitesboro cemetery is a lot, surrounded by a substantial iron fence, and within the enclosure are a number of mounds, all thickly overgrown with briars and brambles; there are no monuments nor headstones to tell whose remains rest beneath the soil, nor anything to indicate whose lot that fence encloses, save the single word of "Moseley" upon the iron gate.

William A. Moseley was the only son of Dr. Moseley; he graduated at Yale college in 1816, read law with Gold & Sill, and soon after his admission to the bar, and about 1819, he located in Buffalo, and there became a prominent lawyer and citizen. In 1835, he was elected to the Assembly from Erie county, and ten years later he was elected to Congress. Late in life he

married the widow of Bela Coe, of Buffalo; she was a daughter of the late P. C. J. DeAngelis, formerly of Trenton, in this county. William A. Moseley died in New York city in 1877, leaving no descendants. Those who remember him well forty years ago, inform me that he was tall and of commanding figure, (six feet in height,) of graceful and polished manners, and of fine literary tastes and acquirements, and a fair lawyer. I am told that his portrait adorns the walls of the court room of the General Term at Buffalo. The eldest daughter of Dr. Moseley, (Mary Ann,) became the wife of Julius Guiteau. Another daughter became the wife of Roderick N. Morrison, who was a lawyer in Utica, and at one time law partner in that city of the late Thomas H. Flandrau, and later of Benjamin F. Cooper; on the death of his first wife, Mr. Morrison married another daughter of Dr. Moseley, and not far from 1835 lived in Penn Yan, and later in New York city. In 1850 he was living in San Francisco, and was probate judge of that city, where he died in 1856. One of Mr. Morrison's sons was named after Dr. Moseley; he was lieutenant in the army, as a volunteer, during the Mexican war. As a romance of his life, a relative of his informs me that it became the lieutenant's duty to attend to the execution of a soldier sentenced to be shot for desertion. A brother of the soldier thus executed swore vengeance against Lieutenant Morrison for his part in the affair, and some years after, that brother and the lieutenant met in the streets of San Francisco, and with little or no warning, the brother drew his pistol and shot Lieutenant Moseley Morrison dead in the streets of that city. Another daughter of Dr. Moseley married Valentine Morris, son of Judge Morris, of Butternuts, Otsego county; he was a midshipman in the United States Navy when young, and later in life had charge of the property of the United States at Sacketts Harbor, where his wife died not many years ago. The daughter who married Julius Guiteau outlived her husband and died some twenty years ago, and her remains are in the Whitesboro cemetery.

As I shall have considerable to say in relation to those lawyers located in Whitesboro prior to 1800, and to make reference to the Circuit Courts, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer held in that village up to 1820, it may add interest to give a brief statement of the condition of the judiciary and the mode of obtaining admission to the bar, at the time the pioneer lawyers made Whitesboro their home.

In 1790 there were but three Supreme Court judges in the State,

and they held all the general terms in the State, all of the Circuit Courts, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer in the respective counties. The salary of the chief justice was $750 per annum, that of the two associate judges $500 each. There was not then, nor for many years thereafter, a single text book on law, by an American author—not any work on the practice in the courts—not a volume of reported decisions, nor any "rules" of the courts to govern the judges or to guide the practitioners. There were no degrees among lawyers as in later years, such as attorneys, counselors and solicitors. Before persons could be admitted to the bar, they were required to serve seven years' clerkship with a practicing attorney, or else, three years of such clerkship and pursue classical studies for four years—making seven years, either way. They were then admitted, not as now by courts after an examination, but licensed by the governor of the State, on the recommendation of the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and on signing the "roll for attorneys," then kept in the Supreme Court clerk's office in the city of New York, and on taking the following oath:

> "I, ————, do solemnly, without any mental reservation or equivocation whichsoever, swear and declare that I renounce and abjure all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and state, in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, and that I will bear faith and true allegiance to the State of New York, as a free and independent State.
>
> I ———— do swear that I will truly and honestly demean myself in the practice of an attorney according to the best of my ability.

On that "roll," and underneath above oath, are the signatures of some thirty or forty attorneys, with the date of subscription opposite, or underneath each signature. The earliest date on that "roll" is January 12, 1790. Over the date of April 24, of same year, is the autograph of DeWitt Clinton; opposite the date of May 1, 1790, is the autograph of John V. Henry, who became one of the legal luminaries of the State; opposite the date of August 5, 1790, is the autograph of Francis Bloodgood, who became afterwards a prominent citizen of Utica, State senator, county clerk of this county from 1802 to 1813, and again from 1815 to 1821; opposite the date of October 20, 1790, is the name of Henry W. Livingston, who also was a resident of Utica from 1808 to 1814.

JONAS PLATT.

On the roll and opposite the date of July 27, 1790, is the autograph of one who, at that date, was but a month and a few days past his twenty-first birthday, and who in a few months thereafter, took up

his residence in Whitesboro, and thereby became the pioneer lawyer in the State west of Johnstown, and who also in due time made his impress upon the little hamlet where he settled and subsequently rose to eminence in the county and State. That pioneer young lawyer was Jonas Platt. He was born at Poughkeepsie, and read law with Richard Varick, attorney general of the State. His father was Zephaniah Platt, a prominent, wealthy and influential citizen of that locality, who became, in 1784, one of the owners of a tract of land in Clinton county, in this State, bounded east by Lake Champlain and extending westerly on both sides of the Saranac river, so as to make seven miles square; Plattsburgh was named after him. Besides the partnership which Zephaniah Platt had in the Clinton county lands, and in the Sadaqueda patent, as heretofore mentioned, he was also interested in lands in the "Military tract," in the western part of the State. For three years he was delegate to the Continental Congress, a member of the committee of safety, twice a deputy to the Provincial Congress of New York, State senator from 1778 to 1784, member of the council of appointment in 1778 and again in 1781, and first judge of Dutchess county from 1781 to 1795. Jonas Platt had not only the wealth and influence of his father to back him, but the same year that he located in Whitesboro, he married into the wealthy and aristocratic Livingston family of Poughkeepsie; his wife was a sister of the Henry W. Livingston, above mentioned, and aunt of the second wife of Judge Smith Thompson, of the Supreme Court of this State, and later of the United States Supreme Court. It was between August 1, 1790, and November 12, of that year, that Jonas Platt became a resident of Whitesboro, as evinced by the facts, that the United States census taken August, 1790, does not contain his name, while a deed to him of lands in Whitestown, recorded in the county clerk's office, bearing date November 12, 1790, describes him "of Montgomery county,' as Whitesboro was at that date. It is quite likely, that the large interest which the father of Jonas Platt then had in the Sadaqueda patent, and the fact that the tide of emigration was then setting in strongly to the "Whitestown country," and that in all human probability a new county would be soon organized in this part of the State, with new county offices to be filled, had much to do with the son's making Whitesboro his future home. Mr. Jonas Platt became the owner of quite a parcel of land in that patent, by a deed from his father, and he and his wife went to housekeeping in a log cabin on the corner of what is now Main and Mohawk streets in that village.

In less than six months thereafter Herkimer county was organized, and the next day after such organization Jonas Platt was appointed its first county clerk, and held that office for seven years, and kept it and its records at Whitesboro. In 1795 he was elected to the assembly from the district then composed of the counties of Herkimer and Onondaga. On the 15th of March, 1798, Oneida county was taken off from Herkimer, and four days thereafter Mr. Platt was appointed clerk of this new county, holding and keeping the office and the records at Whitesboro until 1802—making a clerkship of eleven years for the two counties. The same year that he was appointed county clerk of Oneida, and within a few weeks thereafter, he was nominated by the federalists for Congress, for the district then composed of the counties of Montgomery, Herkimer, Oneida and Chenango, and in April was elected. Up to this time he was the first lawyer, the first county clerk and the first congressman who resided within what is now Oneida county. Hence it is apparent that within the first decade after Jonas Platt's removal to Whitesboro, he rose rapidly to prominence, and became an important factor in the affairs of the county and in the politics of the State. In the mean while his law business increased, and he must have attained considerable distinction at the bar, for I find that in 1807 he and William W. Van Ness of Albany, both federalists, were brought forward as candidates for the vacant judgeship of the Supreme Court, occasioned by the resignation of Brockholst Livingston to accept the appointment of judge of the United States Supreme Court. The federal members of the appointing power were at first equally divided between Platt and Van Ness, but after consultation and comparison of views, Mr. Van Ness was appointed, and Mr. Platt had to bide his time. It was not long, however, he had to wait. An election of State senators was to take place in April, 1809, and the federal party made great efforts that year to carry the legislature, by nominating their best and most popular men. It was the next year after President Madison's election, an "off year" to the national administration, and at a time when the people, especially in the country districts, were much excited and dissatisfied with the "embargo act" and other measures of that administration. Mr. Platt and two other federalists were nominated by their party for State senators in the "western district," then composed of all of the State west of Montgomery county. Elections were then held in April, and a property qualification required. That "western district" had not elected a Federal Senator since 1799, and there was but little faith that Mr.

Platt and his associates could be elected. Election came, and all three federalists were elected by three hundred and ninety-one majority. This was indeed a great surprise all through the State, and seemed at once to bring Jonas Platt prominently to the front as the federal candidate for Governor in 1810. The town of Whitestown, always strongly federal as long as that party existed, gave Jonas Platt for senator and one of his associates three hundred and fifty-four votes and his other associate three hundred and fifty-three votes, while it gave the opposition ticket one hundred and fifty votes; the towns which now constitute Oneida county gave that federal ticket over eight hundred majority. The first session of the Senate after Mr. Platt's election did not begin until January 30, 1810, yet twenty-five days before that time a federalist meeting was held at Albany, presided over by Abraham Van Vechten, at which Jonas Platt was nominated for governor. It was pretty well understood at that time that Governor Daniel D. Tompkins would be renominated as Mr. Platt's competitor, and he was so renominated in just one month from that time, and in April thereafter, was a second time elected, his majority over Mr. Platt in the State being about six thousand five hundred. At that election the "western district" returned to its old love and gave Mr. Tompkins a goodly majority. The town of Whitestown, which gave in 1807 Mr. Tompkins one hundred and forty-four votes and Morgan Lewis, his opponent, three hundred and twenty-two, at this election in 1810 gave Mr. Tompkins one hundred and sixty-one votes and Mr. Platt three hundred and seventy-two; and right here is a good place to mention the votes given for Governor in Whitestown from 1807 to 1818, as showing how slight the increase, and how little they varied, during that decade. In 1813 Governor Tompkins ran the third time and received in that town one hundred and sixty-one votes, (the exact number he received when he ran against Jonas Platt,) while Rufus King, his opponent, received three hundred and sixty-four votes, or eight less than Mr. Platt received. In 1816, when Tompkins ran the fourth time, he received one hundred and forty votes, or four votes less than he received 1807, when he ran the first time, while Stephen Van Rensselaer, his opponent, received three hundred and fifty-five.

Mr. Platt was a prominent member of the Senate and took an active part in the project for the construction of the Erie canal. His term expired in April, 1813, and the next February there was a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court by reason of the

promotion of Judge Smith Thompson to the Chief Judgeship. A majority of the federalists favored Jonas Platt for that vacancy. His competitor was Richard Riker, of New York city, therefore, a strong "Clintonian." The federalists were in the minority in the appointing Board, but a "Clintonian" member of that Board cast his vote for Jonas Platt and the latter was thereby appointed judge, February 23, 1814. It was charged at that time that DeWitt Clinton's secret influence was exerted in favor of Mr. Platt and against Mr. Riker; at any rate, Mr. Riker seemed so to think, for after that appointment he ceased to be a friend of DeWitt Clinton. Although Mr. Platt was appointed judge in February, 1814, it was nearly four years thereafter before he held a Circuit Court in this county. The first term he held in the county was at Whitesboro, commencing December 17, 1817, and lasting ten days; there were over two hundred and fifty causes on the calendar, and one hundred and one jury trials. He held court almost every night until midnight and commenced early each morning. He "pushed things" somewhat after the manner of the late Judge Gridley. The next term he held in the county was at Rome, in June, 1818, lasting four days, and thirty-four jury trials disposed of. In November of same year, he held a Circuit at Utica, and disposed of seventy-two jury trials. The nature of those jury trials the records of the court do not show. In June, 1821, he held another term at Rome, and the next November at Utica, and those five terms were all he held in this county while on the bench. He held courts, however, in other counties of the State, and did his share of the general term business. The newspapers of that period speak of him as an indefatigable worker. When he went upon the bench in 1814, there were about a dozen volumes, all told, of reported decisions, and when he left it about ten more volumes were added to the list. In 1821, and while yet judge, he was elected from this county to the constitutional convention. He was a strong federalist, and was not imbued with the progressive views then taking hold of the people. While a member of that convention he not only spoke and voted against some of the liberal features of the constitution, but did not sign the instrument after its adoption by the convention. That constitution went into effect January 1, 1823, and put an end to the term of the old judges. Governor Joseph C. Yates sent the names of the judges of the old Supreme Court to the Senate for confirmation as the judges of the new Supreme Court, but that body rejected them, and thereupon Judge Platt was retired to private life.

When Judge Platt left the bench he had lost most of his property by reason of his large expenses and the smallness of his salary. He at once resumed the practice of law with all the industry, ardor and energy of his younger years. He removed to Utica about 1824, and in company with his son opened a law office in that then village. Not far from 1828, he removed to New York city to practice law, and did there a fair share of business. He was one of the three arbitrators (the other two being merchants, I believe) in the Greek frigates litigation, out of which arose great excitement at the time, and discussion in the newspapers, by reason of the decision in the case and the fees charged. Time and "the sober second thought of the people" entirely vindicated the character, integrity and fair fame of Judge Platt. Failing health compelled him to relinquish his law business, and soon after 1830 he removed to a farm in the town of Peru, near Lake Champlain, in Clinton county, and there he engaged in agricultural pursuits. He died very suddenly February 22, 1834, at the age of 65, of disease of the heart. The Clinton county bar held a meeting on the occasion of his decease and passed suitable resolutions. A meeting of the Oneida county bar was held March 10, 1834, at Whitesboro, the Common Pleas being then in session. General Joseph Kirkland was chairman and Chester Hayden secretary. A committee on resolutions, composed of Nathan Williams, J. A. Spencer, Theodore Sill, J. H. Ostrom, F. C. White and Hiram Denio, reported a series of resolutions, expressive of their high opinion and regard for deceased and regret at his death, and resolving to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days. Nathan Williams, in a speech, paid high tribute to the worth of the departed, and gave a brief sketch of some of the incidents in his life. In the meridian of life, Judge Platt embraced the doctrines of the gospel, and was a meek and devoted Christian, making open profession of the faith that was in him. He died as he had lived, in peace and charity with all, leaving not an enemy behind him, but rather a multitude of ardent friends who lamented his death and mourned that he was gone. Those now living, who remember Judge Platt as he was on the bench and after he left it, describe him as about five feet eight inches high, medium size, dark eyes, of quiet demeanor, courteous in his manners, dignified, yet affable in his bearing, social in his intercourse with others, a close student and a diligent worker. The reports of the Supreme Court, after he left the bench, showed that he had a fair share of business as counsel from

all parts of the State. His life had been one of incessant activity, and during the forty years that he had been among the most prominent of the actors on life's busy stage, he had witnessed important changes in the country at large, but more especially in the locality where he commenced his professional career. The log cabin where he and his wife commenced housekeeping, gave place in a few years to the fine mansion yet occupying the site, and the young saplings which his thrifty and industrious hands planted near a century ago, are now the stately and magnificent trees which shade and beautify the grounds and ornament the village. He was the first president of the Oneida Bible society, in 1810, and was such for four years, and again from 1824 to 1828.

Judge Platt had eight children—two sons and six daughters, all born in Whitesboro. The eldest son was Zephaniah; he graduated in 1815 from Hamilton college, read law, was admitted to practice, and became his father's law partner in Utica, after the latter left the bench. When Judge Platt removed to New York, the son located in Michigan, and was Attorney-General of that State. In 1868 he removed to South Carolina, was appointed a judge of one of the courts in that State, and died at Aiken in 1871, at the age of seventy-five years. Henry Platt, the other son, attended the school of Mr. Rawson, in Whitesboro, where he was a classmate of John Stryker, of Rome and Charles Tracy of New York; he engaged in mercantile pursuits, removed to New York city, and died many years ago. In the Whitesboro cemetery are three little mounds, side by side, but with no enclosure surrounding them. The time-worn and faded headstones tell us they are the graves of three of the daughters of Jonas and Helen Platt—the one their first, and another their last born, all three dying before 1811. The other three daughters of Judge Platt reached maturity. One became the wife of Truman Parmele, for many years a resident of Utica and among its respected and worthy citizens. Her name was Helen, after her mother. Susan was another; she became the first wife of Richard R. Lansing, after whom the capital of Michigan is named. He was a prominent citizen of Utica, and a nephew of Chancellor Lansing. After the death of his first wife, which occurred not far from 1835, R. R. Lansing married her cousin, the widow of Judge Smith Thompson. Cornelia, another daughter, was engaged to be married to Rev. Theodore Spencer, son of Chief-Justice Ambrose Spencer. She was east on a visit, but reaching Albany on her way home, sickened and died but a short time before the day fixed for the

wedding. She died May 27, 1821, at the age of twenty-two years. Those now living who remember her inform me she was a beautiful, highly educated and accomplished young lady. Theodore Spencer died nearly fifty years after his first love, yet the remains of both repose near each other, in the rural cemetery of the village where she was born.

ELIAS K. KANE.

John, Charles, Elisha and Elias Kane were brothers. They were as enterprising business men, and their family connections as influential and as highly respected as any in the State. They were cousins to Chancellor Kent, and one of their sisters married into the wealthy and aristocratic Van Rensselaer family, while another sister was the wife of Joseph C. Yates, who was judge of the Supreme Court of this State from 1808 to 1823, and the first governor of the State under the constitution of 1821. One of the above Kanes was grandfather of Dr. Kane, the celebrated Arctic explorer. In August 1791, Moses Barnard of Whitesboro conveyed to the above named Kane brothers five acres of land in Whitesboro, east of but next to Sauquoit creek, and there Elias Kane carried on business as merchant at the period above named. He was father of Elias Kent Kane, who was born in Whitesboro about 1795. The son was a graduate of college and then read law. When he was 20 years of age he settled in Illinois, and, in 1818, was a member of the convention which formed the first constitution for that State; when the State government was organized, he was appointed the first Secretary of State, although but twenty-three years of age. He was subsequently elected to the State legislature and, in 1825, elected to the United States Senate, and, at the end of his term, re-elected. When Congress assembled in December, 1835, Mr. Kane had hardly recovered from a severe attack of fever contracted at his home in Illinois; the ride over rough and muddy roads to Washington, in an inclement season of the year, brought on another fit of sickness, and he died at his father's residence in Washington, December 12, 1835, at the early age of forty, and within five days after Congress had assembled. His loss was greatly deplored.

THOMAS R. GOLD.

Less than two years after Jonas Platt became the pioneer lawyer of Whitesboro, there came to the same place another lawyer. He

was an older and an abler lawyer than Mr. Platt, and was the second one who settled in that little hamlet. At the time of his coming he was twenty-eight years old and had a wife, and a daughter. When twenty-two years old he had graduated at Yale College, soon after read law and was admitted to practice in the State of Connecticut. One of the grantees named in the Charter Oak charter of Connecticut was Nathan Gold, who had not long before emigrated to Connecticut from Edmundsburg, England. A descendant of that Nathan Gold was Rev. Hezekiah Gold, for thirty years Presbyterian clergyman at Cornwall, Connecticut. A son of that clergyman was Thomas Ruggles Gold, the second lawyer who located at Whitesboro. His residence and law office were on the northerly side of Main street west of the Presbyterian church. It is the place where Mrs. Alden now or lately resided. Mr. Gold seems to have taken at once front rank in his profession, and to have had all the business he could attend to. The earliest Court records in the county clerk's office at Herkimer, show his name oftener than any other attorney, and the reports of the Court prior to the time when Storrs, Talcott and Maynard came to the bar, show, I think, that he had more business before the higher Courts than any other lawyer in central New York. The fact that in 1796, Mr. Gold was elected State senator, and three years later appointed assistant attorney general for the district then composed of the counties of Herkimer and Otsego, show the estimation in which he was held. He was a good scholar, a close law student and a hard worker. His mind was clear and analytical, and his mode of presenting facts to the jury, or questions of law to the Court in banc, was earnest, forcible and somewhat vehement. He was well read in the fundamental principles both of legal and equitable jurisprudence, and hence was able to cope with the best lawyers in the land, not only in the discussion of legal questions and those relating to chancery practice and equity principles, but in the trial of jury causes. Mr. Gold was about six feet high, well proportioned and of large frame, and weighed about 200 pounds, He was wonderfully near sighted, and the unusually large gold spectacles, which he procured from London, are yet preserved as a relic by his grand daughter, Miss Frost. In the first murder trial in the county after it was organized, Mr. Gold was the prosecuting attorney. A woman of the town of Augusta had on election day, April 29, 1798, shot her husband and he died the next day. She was indicted in May and tried June 5, 1798, before Judge James Kent at a court held at Rome, and convicted and sentenced to be

hung the 29th of the same month, and her body to be given to Dr. Hull, of Augusta, for dissection. She hung herself the night before the day fixed for her execution, in her cell in the Herkimer county jail, where the Oneida county prisoners were then kept. The above case, and the others which are cited, will show how swiftly punishment followed after crime in these days. In 1801, at a court held at Rome in June by Judge Kent, Mr. Gold was the prosecuting officer in another murder trial. This was the case of a man killing his wife with a poker in Rome. The murder was committed February 24, 1801, the man was tried June 16, 1801, convicted and sentenced to be hung August 28, 1801. He was so executed on a gallows erected on the hill just back of Whitesboro. In 1807, Mr. Gold defended a man for poisoning his wife in Madison county. It was the next year after that county was organized, and the first murder trial in the county. The late Judge Nathan Williams was the prosecuting officer. The man was a singing master and had poisoned his wife, that he might marry one of his pupils with whom he had fallen in love. The offense was committed April 6, 1807, and at the first term of the court thereafter, commencing July 3, 1807, the prisoner was indicted, and the trial was set down for 6 A. M. the next day, July 4th. Judge William W. Van Ness presided, and it was his first court after his appointment a month before, when he had Jonas Platt for a competitor. The trial took place in a barn in the town of Sullivan, as Madison county then had no court house. Dr. Francis Guiteau, then of Utica, was one of the witnesses for the people. The prisoner was convicted and hung in August thereafter. In December, 1817, at a court held at Whitesboro, presided over by Judge Platt, the first he held in this county, there were five murder trials, in which Gold and F. C. White defended the prisoners. Those were remarkable and noted cases. A number of prisoners (the defendants among the number) were confined in the Rome jail, then constructed of hewn timbers, dovetailed and fastened together with thick planks. The prisoners set the jail on fire in August, 1817, in hopes of escaping in the confusion that would follow. They waited too long, however, before giving the alarm, and the result was, one of the prisoners was suffocated to death. There was a crack in the door, where a breath of fresh air could be obtained, and to that all the prisoners crowded, pushing and fighting for the place, and trampling each other under foot in the struggle for life. Help came at last, but not until most of the prisoners were nearly dead. They were

taken out of the cells like so many corpses, and placed upon the grass in the open air to recover, if possible. Old residents of Rome speak of the scene as the most ghastly they ever witnessed. Five of the prisoners were convicted of murder, and sentenced to be hung in February thereafter. The coffins were made and the gallows erected in Rome. The prospect of witnessing the novel spectacle of five persons being hung at one time was the means of bringing to Rome a large concourse of persons to witness the executions. But a few hours before the time for the executions, a commutation to imprisonment for life, came from Governor DeWitt Clinton. There was another trial which took place before Judge Platt, the next year, and in which Mr. Gold was engaged. Although not a criminal one it was a case of much importance and excited much interest. It was an action brought by Alvin Bronson against Melancthon T. Woolsey, to recover the value of a schooner lost in the war with Great Britain, at the time the British captured Oswego, May 6, 1814. The vessel was owned by the plaintiff, but was employed by the defendant, then an officer in the United States navy, for the transportation of ordinance and military stores from Oswego to Sackett's Harbor. The defendant had ordered those in charge of the schooner in case the British succeeded in carrying Oswego, to sink the vessel and her cargo. The vessel was sunk in about eight feet of water, the deck remaining above water. The vessel was not sunk so deep but that the British troops captured and raised it, and carried the vessel away and made Mr. Bronson a prisoner. Judge Platt charged the jury that the plaintiff was entitled to recover, although the defendant was acting for the government, and the jury found a verdict of $3,830; but the general term set this verdict aside. Pepple & Beach of Oswego, were attorneys, and Mr. Gold counsel, for plaintiff, and F. C. White and Nathan Williams for defendant. Mr. Bronson was afterwards State Senator and one of the "immortal seventeen;" he died at Oswego about a year ago at the age of ninety-nine years. Mr. Woolsey was afterwards commodore in the United States navy.

In 1800, Mr. Gold formed a law partnership with Theodore Sill, whose accomplished sister he married, and the law firm of Gold & Sill for the quarter of a century of its existence was as widely and favorably known as any in the State. Persons desiring to pursue legal studies, sought that office from every part of the State. A descendant of Mr. Gold writes me, that at one time there were thirty law students in that office. Among those who read law there

were Henry R. Storrs, S. A. Talcott, H. K. Jerome, Francis Granger, Vincent Mathews, Halsey Townsend, William A. Moseley, Richard R. Lansing, Ichabod C. Baker and John Stryker. As deeply as Mr. Gold was engaged in law business, he devoted time to politics and to holding offices. Besides being State Senator and assistant attorney general he was in 1800 member of the council of appointment. In 1804 he ran for Congress in the district then composed of Oneida, Lewis, Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties, but was beaten by Nathan Williams. In 1807 he was elected to the assembly.

In 1808 Mr. Gold was elected to Congress over Joshua Hathaway of Rome. In 1810, he ran again for Congress and was elected over Thomas Skinner of Utica, a brother-in-law of Judge Nathan Williams. In April, 1812, the last two named again ran for Congress, and Mr. Gold was elected, but the next June, Congress changed the congressional districts, making Oneida county and what is now Otsego, a district, and ordering another election to take place in December, 1812. At that election Morris S. Miller of Utica and George Brayton of Western, were competitors, and it resulted in the election of Mr. Miller. In 1814, Mr. Gold was again elected to Congress by about 700 majority, over Nathan Williams, and that seemed to end Mr. Gold's political career, so far as holding office was concerned. I have heretofore mentioned Mr. Gold's near-sightedness. I am informed that late one night, he was returning home on horseback from the country, and during his absence the heavy rains and swollen waters of Sauquoit creek had carried off the planks of the bridge which he had to cross. He did not see what had occurred, but his sure-footed and faithful pony did, and carried the rider safely over by walking on one of the stringers. It was not until the next day that Mr. Gold learned of his narrow escape. Another informant says it was Dr. Moseley who had that adventure; he had it from the doctor's own lips. I give both the benefit of a hearing.

Mr. Gold died of paralysis quite suddenly October 25, 1827, at the age of sixty-three years. A meeting of the Utica bar was held presided over by General Joseph Kirkland, at which appropriate resolutions were adopted. The widow of Mr. Gold died at Whitesboro, July 18, 1852, at the age of eighty-seven years. There were five children, two sons and three daughters. Theodore S. Gold was a pupil in Mr. Halsey's school at Whitesboro, graduated from Hamilton College in 1816, followed mercantile pursuits and was for a while a partner in Utica of Jesse W. Doolittle, a son

of another of Whitesboro's early settlers. For several years he was editor of the *Oneida Whig*, and in 1837 was mayor of Utica. In 1849, he like his father had a stroke of paralysis, from which he never fully recovered. He died in Utica in 1867, at the age of sixty-seven. His wife was a daughter of James S. Kip, three times sheriff of this county—in 1804, again in 1808, and again in 1811. A daughter of Theodore S. Gold became the wife of Andrew Dexter, a son of S. Newton Dexter. The other son of Thomas R. Gold was named after him. He too was a merchant, and did business as such in Whitesboro in company with B. W. Raymond, whose sister T. R. Gold, Jr., married. He died in October, 1846, at the age of thirty-seven. The eldest of Thomas R. Gold's children was Harriet L.; she was two years old when her parents moved to Whitesboro; she became the wife of Rev. John Frost; she died in Whitesboro in August, 1873, at the age of eighty-three years, having been a resident of that village for eighty-one years. The other daughters became Mrs. Walton of Schenectady and Mrs. Peck of Brooklyn.

William G. Tracy.

In December, 1793, there came to Whitesboro, from Norwich, Connecticut, to engage in mercantile pursuits, a person who by his integrity and fair dealing in all transactions with his fellow-men, won a reputation as a citizen and merchant second to no other in central New York, and I may add in the State. William G. Tracy is the person alluded to. He was then but twenty-five years of age, and I believe he was the next merchant in the place after Mr. Kane. His wife was a sister of the late Henry and George Huntington of Rome, and the youngest daughter of Hon. Benjamin Huntington of Connecticut, judge of the Supreme Court of that State, one of the committee of safety during the war of the Revolution, member of the Continental and of the first Congress under the United States Constitution. Mr. Tracy's residence in Whitesboro was a little westerly of that of Judge Platt, and his store was nearly opposite on the other side of the street; and there for over thirty-five years he carried on his business; and no store in central New York had a larger or better class of customers or was more exact, fair and correct in all its dealings. Mr. Tracy was also connected with the industrial interests of the county and a public spirited citizen. His politics were of the federal school, and although firm and decided, he was not offensive in the expression of his views.

He had the entire confidence of both political parties, as evidenced

by the fact that he was for twenty years treasurer of this county, placed there many times by the political party to which he was opposed. He was first appointed to that office in 1810, again in 1811, the third time in 1813, and each year thereafter until his death. In August 1825, he was appointed postmaster of the village to succeed Dr. Elizur Moseley, the second postmaster of of the place, and he held that office until he died. From 1811 to 1830, he was treasurer of the Oneida Bible Society, and held other positions of trust, benevolence and usefulness. After a brief illness he died April 15, 1830, at the age of sixty-two years. At the time of his death he was the oldest merchant in continuous service west of Schenectady. His funeral was largely attended from all parts of the county, and by many of those other early settlers who honored and respected him while living and mourned his death. The widow of Mr. Tracy died in April, 1852, at the age of seventy-three years, and a fitting monument in the Whitesboro cemetery marks their resting place. Mr. Tracy left four sons and five daughters, all dead but one son and the youngest daughter. William and Charles Tracy, two of the sons, are too well known in this community and to the bar of the State, to need any reference to their honored careers. William Tracy was two years in Hamilton College, then a year at Union, where he graduated in 1824; for two years he read law with Storrs & White, later with Judge Denio, and a short time with J. H. Ostrom, and in 1828 was admitted to the bar. He practiced law in Utica with his brother Charles, and about 1855 he removed to New York city, where he continued in a large and lucrative practice until his death in the fall of 1881, at the age of seventy-six. Charles Tracy graduated at Yale College about 1830, read law one year in New York city with Henry R. Storrs, completed his legal studies with Judge Foster of Rome, was admitted to the bar about 1835, and became a member of the law firm of Foster, Noyes & Tracy at Rome. He moved to New York about 1848, and is now one of the leading lawyers in that city. Henry and Edward Tracy were the two other sons, and both prominent civil engineers. Henry was for a year and a half civil engineer for the government of New Granada. He died in Santa Fe De Bogota in 1851, at the age of thirty-six. Edward was engineer on the Chenango Canal, later assistant under Hon. John B. Jervis of Rome, on the Croton Aqueduct, and after the resignation of the latter, chief engineer on that work until the work was completed and the water distributed in the city. He was subsequently engineer on the Des Moines navigation

improvement, and after that was again called to the position of chief engineer of the Croton Water Works, and there remained until his death in 1875, at the age of fifty-eight. Susan, the eldest of the family, became the second wife of Moses Bagg, one of Utica's honored citizens and early residents. She died in 1859. Margaret, another daughter, and the second of the children, married Rev. Chauncey E. Goodrich, a faithful divine, and for many years a worthy resident of Utica. She died in 1862. Annie, the fourth of the family, was the first wife of William Curtis Noyes, one of the ablest lawyers in this county, and later of the city of New York. She died in 1836, at the early age of twenty-nine years. Until within a few years past the plain and unpretending house in Rome yet remained, where Mr. and Mrs. Noyes first went to housekeeping. Catharine became the wife of Milton D. Parker, a worthy citizen of Utica. She was drowned with a number of others in April, 1845, at the time the steamboat Swallow ran aground opposite Hudson. Frances, the youngest of the daughters, and the only one of them alive, is the wife of William Henry Welles, a resident of New York city. All of Mr. Tracy's family were cultured, and valuable acquisitions to the society of Whitesboro.

Arthur Breese.

The year before E. K. Kane was born, in 1794, there settled in Whitesboro another lawyer, who subsequently became prominent in the politics of the county. That lawyer was a native of New Jersey, graduated at Princeton College, read law in Philadelphia with the celebrated Elias Boudinot, was admitted to the bar in 1792, and when he located in Whitesboro was but twenty-five years old. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Jonas Platt, and as Mr. Platt was county clerk of Herkimer county in 1794, he made Arthur Breese, the lawyer alluded to, deputy county clerk. In 1796 Mr. Breese was elected to the Assembly, as successor to Jonas Platt in that body, and when Oneida county was formed, in 1798, Mr. Breese was appointed the first surrogate, and held that office for ten years thereafter; surely those brothers-in-law had their share of offices. A law partnership between Messrs. Platt and Breese was formed, and their marriage, business, social and political ties were strong indeed. The first homestead of Mr. Breese in Whitesboro was opposite the "Green," was known later as the "Storrs House," where the late Thomas H. Flandrau lived many years, and which dwelling tradition says Mr. Breese erected. Later, Mr. Breese built a fine residence on the hill near the cemetery, where

Gideon Granger resided a number of years subsequent to 1814. As Mr. Breese was a federalist, the council of appointment in 1808 turned him out of the office of surrogate, and about that time he moved to Utica. On Mr. Breese's removal to Utica, he was made one of the clerks of the old Supreme Court, and he was also master in chancery. He was clerk of that court from 1808 until his death. He died in 1825, in the city of New York, where he had gone for his health. His age was fifty-five years. Mr. Breese was not a prominent member of the bar, nor do the court proceedings show that he ever had much to do as an attorney or counsel; but he was among the most worthy of the citizens of the county, and very highly respected and esteemed. While he and his family were residents of Whitesboro, they were valuable additions to the society of the place. He had quite a large family of children, all of whom were cultivated and refined. Samuel L., one of his sons, was rear admiral of the navy, and sixty years in the service. One of his daughters became the wife of B. B. Lansing, and after his death she married James Platt of Oswego, brother of Judge Platt; B. B. and R. R. Lansing were brothers. Another daughter was the wife of William M. Sands, purser in the United States navy. Another was the wife of Captain S. B. Griswold, of the United States army, (afterwards the father-in-law of Professor S. F. B. Morse, of telegraph fame.) Another daughter was the wife of the late Thomas R. Walker of Utica. Sidney Breese, one of his sons, was born within half a mile of the place where E. K. Kane first saw the light, and about five years after Mr. Kane's birth. Sidney Breese attended Hamilton College, but graduated at Union, and soon after followed E. K. Kane to Illinois, and was admitted to the bar in that State before he was of age. When he was twenty-two years old he was appointed State attorney and held that office for five years, and then, in 1827, was appointed United States district attorney, and later postmaster of Kaskaskia, where he and Mr. Kane resided—all through the influence doubtless of Mr. Kane, who was then in the United States Senate. In 1829 Mr. Breese published in octavo form a volume of Supreme Court decisions for Illinois, which volume bears his name, and was the first book of that form published in that State. In 1835 he was elected circuit judge and in 1843 elected United States Senator from Illinois. No other instance of the kind can be found of two persons so near an age—born within half a mile of each other, moving in early life to a distant territory, and both becoming United States Senators from the

same State. In 1855 Mr. Breese was again elected circuit judge, and subsequently was made chief justice of Illinois.

Rev. Bethuel Dodd.

As I have named the first lawyers, the first merchants, and the first physician who located in Whitesboro, the next in order will be the first clergyman. An inscription upon a monument in Whitesboro cemetery tells us that the remains of Rev. Bethuel Dodd repose beneath, that he came in 1794 to Whitesboro from Orange, N. J., assisted in forming the first Presbyterian Church in the State west of Albany, that he lived at Whitesboro the remainder of his life, and died there April 12, 1804, at the age of thirty-seven years. Mr. Dodd was born at Bloomfield, N. J., graduated from Rutgers College in 1792, and the next year was licensed to preach. On the first day of April, 1793, a meeting was held in the barn of Hugh White, at which he presided, to take measures to form a religious society. Jonas Platt, Thomas R. Gold, George Doolittle and others were a committee on resolutions. An organization was finally effected under the name of "The United Presbyterian Societies of Whitestown and Old Fort Schuyler." Among the first thirteen trustees were Jonas Platt, Elizur Moseley, Thomas R. Gold, Amos Wetmore and Arthur Breese. In 1794, Rev. Bethuel Dodd, then twenty-seven years old, was called to be the first pastor of that church, then numbering fourteen members, and his first sermon to them was preached August 20th, of that year, in the tavern then kept by Daniel C. White. The installation services were held in an arbor improvised for the occasion, on or near what is now the "Public Green" in Whitesboro. At first, Mr. Dodd preached at Utica only once a month, and the remaining Sabbaths at Whitesboro, where he had much the largest congregations; later, he alternated between the two places. Until a church edifice was erected, he preached in Mr. White's tavern, or in barns. In 1803, the Presbyterian Church edifice, 45 by 60 feet, was erected on Main street, at a cost of $4,500, and in March, 1804, it was dedicated. In a very short time thereafter, Mr. Dodd sickened and died, and his was the first funeral held in that edifice. He died April 12, 1804. The wife of Mr. Dodd was Sarah Pierson, of Orange, N. J., a sister of the mother of Hon. John Stryker, of Rome, and of Rev. Isaac P. Stryker, of Whitesboro. She subsequently married Mr. Ballard, and died in Whitesboro in 1828. Mr. and Mrs. Dodd were childless. When they moved to Whitesboro, they took up their residence in the log house along with

Jonas Platt and wife, but subsequently he erected a dwelling westerly of Thomas R. Gold's premises.

President Dwight, in his "travels" through this section in 1799 and later, speaks of Mr. Dodd as a very worthy and excellent person, who left behind him a name which is as the odor of sweet incense. Rev. John Taylor, in his missionary tour in 1802 through this part of the State, speaks of Mr. Dodd as a pious and valuable man, very intelligent, a sound Calvinist and very judicious. He makes this entry in his journal: "Preached for Mr. Dodd at Whitesboro; about 250 persons present; communion day; about forty members; appearances good; in the afternoon preached at Utica; about 300 present; most of the persons are at the Borough. At Utica may be found ten or twelve different nations, and of almost all religions and sects, but the greater part are of no religion. The world is the great object with the body of the people." The late Judge Seth B. Roberts, of Rome, who lived when a lad with Mr. Dodd, speaks of him as of fine personal appearance, of polite and polished manners and an able preacher.

DR. WILLIAM KIRKPATRICK.

In 1795, there came from New Jersey to Whitesboro, the second physician of the place, who with his natural ability and skill, would have ranked among the best physicians in the State, had he closely followed his profession. It was Dr. William Kirkpatrick. He was born in New Jersey in 1768, was a son of a Presbyterian clergyman, graduated at Princeton College, studied medicine with the celebrated Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, and located in Whitesboro as above mentioned, boarding, while there, at the tavern kept by Colonel Daniel C. White. He was skillful as a physician, but his sympathies were so strong with the suffering and his horror of death so great, that he endeavored to avoid the duties of his calling, and graduated into other pursuits. In 1806, he was elected to Congress, over John Nicholson, of Herkimer, and while in Washington acquitted himself creditably, and became a great friend of William H. Crawford. About 1809 Mr. Kirkpatrick removed to Salina, was appointed in 1811 superintendent of the salt springs, and held that position until a year before his death. He died rather suddenly of cholera, in September, 1832, highly respected by the citizens of Onondaga county.

THEODORE SILL.

In Goshen, Lynn and New Fairfield, Connecticut, were in the last century, numerous families by the name of Sill. One of those

families at Goshen was Dr. Elisha Sill. He was a graduate of Yale, a surgeon in the American army in 1777, at the surrender of Burgoyne, and for nearly fifty years was engaged in the practice of medicine. Theodore Sill was the second son of Dr. Elisha Sill. He graduated in 1797 from Yale College, when twenty years of age, and very soon after took up his residence in Whitesboro and became a law student in the office of Thomas R. Gold, who had married his sister. Mr. Sill was admitted to the Oneida Common Pleas in December, 1800, having been previously admitted to the Supreme Court, and at once the law firm of Gold & Sill was formed. In 1802, Mr. Sill was appointed county treasurer, the second one appointed in the county, and was continued in that office until 1810 when he was succeeded by William G. Tracy. In 1814 he was elected to the Assembly, and again in 1826 and again in 1827. He was appointed brigadier general of the State Militia, was an old friend of General Winfield Scott, and old residents relate visits made to General Sill at Whitesboro by General Scott and staff, and the sumptuous and elegant entertainments furnished on those occasions by General Sill to the hero of Lundy's Lane. Mr. Sill was rather tall in person, of stately figure, of polished and courtly manners, dignified bearing and of rather commanding presence. He was a good lawyer, a graceful and persuasive speaker, and as an advocate before a jury, he was the superior of Mr. Gold. Ex-Judge Foster tells me of a case tried at the Rome court house which he heard Mr. Sill sum up for the plaintiff over sixty years ago. It was an action for assault and battery and false imprisonment, brought by one Barney Hoy (once a notable character of Rome), against Captain Welch, an United States officer at the Rome arsenal. The offense consisting in putting Hoy in irons and keeping him severely confined several days, for an alleged disobedience of orders. Judge Foster says the summing up by General Sill was remarkable for its force, eloquence and teuching pathos, and had great effect upon all, and particularly upon the jury, as they rendered a verdict of $1,000 for plaintiff—an unusually large verdict for those times, in such cases. Mr. Sill was not only an able lawyer, a persuasive jury advocate, and a successful politician, but he was largely interested in, and closely identified with the manufacturing interests in the county. He was an active co-operator in the establishment there of the first cotton mills in the State, and promoted similar enterprises in other localities. In 1810, he married Miss Eliza Mann, an educated and highly cultured woman whose family will hereafter be noticed.

Mr. Sill died at Whitesboro March 27, 1836, at the age of fifty-nine years; just eight days after the death of Samuel A. Talcott, who had been a law student in the office of Mr. Sill a quarter of a century before. Mr. Sill had nine children; five of them died before reaching nine years of age. The only son of his who survived him died in 1842, at the age of twenty-four. His eldest daughter became the wife of Hon. Calvert Comstock, of Rome, too well and favorably known to need further mention. Sarah Gold Sill became the wife of Rev. Gurdon Huntington, of Sag Harbor, and after her death in 1858, Mr. Huntington married her sister Charlotte. All of the children of Mr. Sill are dead. The daughters were educated, intelligent and refined, and were among the most cultured of Whitesboro's society, when it was at its best. Of all of Whitesboro's intelligent ladies, none were better informed, possessed greater conversational powers, had finer literary tastes and acquirements than Sarah Gold Sill. The widow of Theodore Sill died in Rome in April, 1847, and the remains of both, with those of five of their children, sleep side by side in the Whitesboro cemetery.

As this paper closes all I have to say of Whitesboro, prior to 1800, a brief sketch of the condition and growth of that hamlet during the last decade of the last century may be of interest. Between 1790 and 1800, the population of the "Whitestown Country," increased by reason of immigration, more rapidly than at any former or subsequent period in its history. Elkanah Watson, who was an extensive traveler through Europe as well as through the United States, passed through the Mohawk valley several times between 1784 and 1800. On his visit in September, 1788, he makes this entry in his journal.

"The road from old Fort Schuyler to Whitesboro is as bad as possible, obstructed by broken bridges, logs and stumps, and my horse at every step sinking knee deep in the mud. I remained one day recruiting at Judge White's log house, and slept in his log barn with horses and other animals. Whitesboro is a promising new settlement, in the heart of a fine tract of country, and is just in its transition from a state of nature into civilization. The settlement commenced only three years since. It is astonishing what efforts are making to subdue the dense and murky forests. Log houses are already scattered in the midst of stumps, half burnt logs and girdled trees. I observed their log barns were well filled. At present, lots bordering on the river have advanced to $3 per acre—those lying a few miles back at $1 per acre. Settlers are continually pouring in from the Connecticut hive, which throws off its annual swarms of intelligent, industrious and enterprising emigrants. They already estimate 300 brother Yankees on their muster list. At Oriskany I passed 200 Indians, and after leaving the consecrated spot of

the Oriskany battle ground, which I thoroughly visited, I found myself soon after alone in the woods in the midst of a band of Indians '*as drunk as lords.*' "

In September, 1791, Mr. Watson passed over the same route. He makes this entry in his journal: "Emigrants are swarming into these fertile regions in shoals, like the ancient Israelites, seeking the land of promise." Another writer states that in the winter "of 1795, 1,200 sleighs loaded with furniture and with men, women and children passed through Albany for the Whitestown Country" in three days; and that 500 were counted between sunrise and sunset of February 28th of that year. I have heretofore mentioned the terms of court, Judge Platt held in Whitesboro, and as a matter of interest and of future reference, I give the names of the judges who held the circuits, and the time of holding them in Whitesboro, up to the time the constitution of 1821 went into effect. The June term of 1802 was held by Judge Smith Thompson, in the school house. In September, 1803, by Jacob Radcliff. In June, 1805, by James Kent. In June, 1806, by Ambrose Spencer. In June, 1808, by Judge Kent; June, 1810, by Judge Spencer; September, 1812, by Judge Thompson. In June, 1814 and 1816 by W. W. Van Ness. At the term in 1816, Martin Van Buren, then attorney general of the State, attended, and was engaged in the trial of a couple of jury causes. In June, 1820, Judge John Woodworth held the court, and in May, 1823, Judge Spencer. Prior to June, 1808, the courts were held in the school house in Whitesboro. The first court held in the court house in that village was by Judge Kent, June, 1808.

THE GUITEAU FAMILY.

It has been already stated that Dr. Elizur Moseley, of Whitesboro, was the first physician who located in this part of the State. The second one who came was Dr. Norton Porter, who located in 1791, at the age of twenty or twenty-one years, in what is now the town of Westmoreland, and for forty years followed his profession; he was father of Dr. H. N. Porter, now of New York Mills. In 1792, or a little earlier, there came another physician, the third one of this "Whitestown country," who pitched his tent a little to the east of what is now Deerfield Corners in this county. He was from Massachusetts; and at the time of his coming was twenty-seven years old, had a wife and two small children. On his way here he stopped for a while and either

studied or practiced his profession in Rensselaer county, but it would seem, concluded to push his way still further to the westward. This new comer was Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., a name not now unfamiliar to the American public, nor one likely to be soon forgotten. He was grandfather of him, who within the past year, has acquired such unenviable notoriety throughout the world. The Guiteau family were of Huguenot origin and were descendants of those exiles, whom the cruel religious persecutions of Louis XIV compelled to leave their homes to seek asylums in other quarters of the globe. This audience need hardly be reminded of the historical fact that the Huguenots were noted for their intense religious zeal and fervor; for their severe and rigid notions of morality; for their skill in the mechanical arts; for their thrift and habits of industry, and for their enterprise and public spirit. Those who fled to America for homes, number among their descendants, men who are noted for their exemplary habits, rare intelligence, stern virtues, and who have contributed in a remarkable degree to the growth, prosperity, intelligence and piety of the country. Of the seven presidents of the Continental Congress, three of them, Henry Laurens, Elias Boudinot and John Jay were of Huguenot families. Besides those, there were the Morgans of South Carolina; the Bayards of Delaware, Professor Agassiz, and the late President Garfield, who were of the same origin. The Guiteau family, for many successive generations have furnished to the world one or more members of the medical profession who were leading and prominent physicians in the community in which they lived, as well as in the vicinage of their practice. They were as noted in this regard as the Mann and Capron families. The father of the one who thus located in Deerfield was himself a physician, and for years had been a leading one in Lanesboro and Pittsfield in Massachusetts. He was quite an old man, when his eldest son, who was named after him, came to this county; the father also came soon after, and died in 1814, at the age of seventy-seven. A brother of Francis Guiteau, Jr., as early as 1794, attended school in Clinton, later pursued and finished his medical studies in Massachusetts, and in 1802 located in Trenton, in this county, and there for nearly fifty years Dr. Luther Guiteau practiced his profession and was among the foremost, most honored and respected of the physicians and citizens of this county. He was father of the present Dr. Luther Guiteau of that village. Another brother was Calvin Guiteau, a well known surveyor of the farms and first roads in Deerfield, who

became a resident of that town as early as 1797, was elected in 1798 the first commissioner of highways in Deerfield, and its supervisor in 1811; in 1817, he removed to Utica, in which place he died. Another brother was Samuel Guiteau, who located in Trenton about 1806, and when seventeen years old, took up a tract of wild land in that town; he died in 1851 at the age of sixty-two years. He was for years a member of the Presbyterian church. Another brother was Rev. Norman Guiteau; he joined the Baptist church in Whitesboro in 1813, as the records of that society attest. In 1819 and 1820 he was pastor of the Baptist church in Trenton.

I have thus far digressed from the main subject of this sketch because I deemed that any facts which are given in relation to this family will be of interest. From what I can gather, I infer that Francis Guiteau, Jr., was not licensed to practice medicine when he first came to this county; and so conclude from the notice of his death in 1825 in the *Baptist Register*, which speaks of him as having been a practicing physician for nearly or about thirty years. When Deerfield was organized into a town—at the first town meeting held in the Spring of 1798, Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., was elected its first supervisor, re-elected in 1799 and again in 1800. About 1801 or 1802 he moved across the river into Utica, and there practiced medicine and a portion of the time kept a drug store, some of the time with Dr. Solomon G. Wolcott as partner, until 1815. In the last named year, Dr. Guiteau bought of W. G. Tracy, the premises next westerly of the present residence of C. M. Dennison, and thereupon removed to Whitesboro, and resided in that village until his death, which occurred after a brief illness, April 18, 1825, at the age of fifty-nine years and five months. Dr. Guiteau was a worthy and respected citizen, and as a physician, stood at the head of his profession. He was one of the founders in 1806 of the Oneida County Medical society, and was elected its president in 1808, and again in 1809. He was twice elected its vice-president, and three times chosen censor. In the outset of this sketch, mention was made of the religious tendencies and the enthusiasm of the Huguenots. The records of the Baptist church at Whitesboro show that Dr. Guiteau united with that church in 1809, and all accounts agree that he was a firm believer in, and a zealous advocate of the doctrines of that church. A correspondent writes me from a distant State, that Dr. Guiteau had such decided convictions as to the form of baptism by immersion, that he was heard to declare

that if an angel of light should tell him any other form was right, he would not believe it. Dr. Bagg in his "Pioneers of Utica" speaks of Dr. Guiteau, "as a zealous and leading Baptist and sensitive to any opposition to his religious views; he was also a strong democrat, genial and pleasant in manners, but decided in his opinions and free in the expression of them. He was about six feet high, rather spare of flesh, erect and active, of firm fibre and well fitted to endure labor and fatigue. In the war of 1812, he invented an explosive missile, designed to sink ships, for which he received a grant from the government." The article in the *Baptist Register* before alluded to, supposed to have been written by Rev. Elon Galusha, a former editor of that paper, and who was in charge of the Baptist church at Whitesboro at the time of the doctor's death, spoke of the deceased "as one of the brightest luminaries in his profession, a friend to humanity, an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, and the possessor of an active mind and memory which few can boast, and one who died in full faith in his Redeemer and confidence in the Christian religion." Dr. Guiteau was the father of eleven children, ten of whom, five sons and five daughters, lived to maturity. The given names of three of the sons were the same as those of their uncles, and it was argued on the assassin's trial at Washington, that as the names of Calvin, Luther and Abram seemed to be favorite ones in the Guiteau family, it afforded evidence of the tendency to the religious spirit and enthusiasm which characterized their Huguenot ancestry.

I will name the children in the order of their births, and by mentioning the diseases of which they died, light may be thrown upon the question as to insanity in the family, and as to whether it was brain trouble, or a disease of other organs that caused death. Mary was the first born, and was about two years old when her father came to the "Whitestown country;" in 1812 she married John McNeil, then of Charlotte, Vermont, but the McNeil family subsequently lived across the river in Deerfield in this county, as old residents inform me. He was father of Judge John McNeil, of Port Huron, Michigan. An inscription on a tombstone in the Whitestown cemetery tells us that Mary died August 27, 1816, in the twenty-seventh year of her age; she died of consumption. Hannah was the next born, and was about a year old when Dr. Guiteau located in Deerfield; she was never married; after her father's death she lived with her brother Calvin at Watertown, and later with her brother Luther at Freeport, where she died of cholera in October, 1854.

The third child, but the first son, was Julius C. He was born the next year after his father moved to this section. A correspondent, now seventy-seven years old, writes me that he well remembers Julius, when the latter was in his teens and clerk in the drug store of Dr. Wolcott, of Utica. In September, 1815, when twenty-two years old, he married Mary Ann, the eldest daughter of Dr. Moseley, and soon after moved to Buffalo, and went into the drug business in that place. A letter from the post office department gives me the information that Julius C. Guiteau was postmaster of Buffalo from May 6, 1818, to April 25, 1831. It will be remembered that William A. Moseley, a brother-in-law of Julius C. Guiteau, went to Buffalo from Whitesboro, about 1818, and subsequently became a well known lawyer and member of Congress in that place. Julius C. subsequently moved west and died of consumption in Freeport, in August, 1845. His widow died in August, 1853, in Whitesboro, and her remains are in the cemetery lot of her father in that place. Old remembrancers of Whitesboro inform me that Julius C. had no children. A Roman informs me that in 1838 he was living in Batavia, in this State, and that he knew a young man there about twenty-one years old by the name of Julius Guiteau. The name and age of this young man would indicate him to be the eldest son of Julius C.; but it may have been another family, or the old residents of Whitesboro may have forgotten, or never have known, whether or not any children were born unto Julius, as he left Whitesboro so soon after his marriage and never lived there afterwards. Sophronia was the next child born, who lived to maturity. In October, 1818, she became the wife of Captain Freedom Tibbetts, formerly deputy sheriff in this county, and who over fifty years ago kept the American Hotel in Rome. She died of consumption in August, 1822, at the age of twenty-six, leaving two children. The daughter is dead, but the son named after Francis Guiteau is living in Milwaukee, a wealthy and respected citizen of that place. Anna was the next child; she was born in 1798. When a young woman she taught in Whitesboro a school for young girls. In January, 1829, she married Orsamus H. Parker, a music dealer and teacher, and lived a while, as I learn, in Oswego. A correspondent from the west writes me that in 1835 Anna was a widow with three children, and residing at Ann Arbor, but that within a year or so after, she moved away and went east, and in 1852 was living in Jefferson county. It was stated by counsel on the Guiteau trial that Mrs. Parker returned to Oswego insane, and

died in that condition. Correspondents at Watertown, who well knew Anna in her life-time, write me that she lived for a while and died in Watertown and is buried there, and speak highly of her; no mention is made of her insanity. Another correspondent writes me that Anna died of cancer in the breast, and makes no mention of her being insane. She left three children; the eldest son was quite intemperate, and as appeared on the Guiteau trial, died in an insane asylum; another son is living out west, and the only daughter died a few years ago in San Francisco.

Francis W. was the second son of Dr. Guiteau, and he is the one of whom mention was made on the assassin's trial as having been engaged when a young man in a duel, and died in an insane asylum. A correspondent, now eighty-six years old, a former resident of Utica, and who well knew and well remembers Dr. Guiteau and all of his children, and whose mind and memory seem unimpaired, writes to the following effect of that affair: When quite young, Frank went to live with his brother Julius in Buffalo. He became involved in a love affair, and challenged his rival to fight a duel. As a joke upon the challenger, the pistols were loaded only with powder, and the shirt bosom of the rival stained with blood, or with a liquid resembling blood, and then concealed from sight. The parties met, Frank fired and the rival fell; as the "bloody shirt" was exposed to view, Frank thought he had committed murder, and was so frightened and conscience stricken, or else ashamed and mortified at the hoax played upon him, that his nervous system was prostrated, and his health became so much impaired, that he returned to his home in Whitesboro; afterwards he went codfishing or on a whaling voyage. Another correspondent, a former resident of Whitesboro, writes me that he well remembers Frank, when the latter was a young man and expert clerk in the office of Thomas Walker, of Utica—that Frank wrote a splendid hand, was of pleasing address and manners, dressed well, stylish and "nobby" in his appearance. That correspondent further writes, that in 1828 or 1829 Frank came to him in New York city, rather "cranky" in appearance, and saying that he had just returned from a three years' cruise as captain's clerk; that was the last that correspondent ever saw of him. The records of the Bloomingdale Asylum show that Francis W. Guiteau died insane in that institution in December, 1829, at the age of twenty-nine, his insanity caused by mortification at fighting a sham duel. He was in that asylum three months. It was stated on the trial at Washington that Francis had been

insane fourteen years; that would make him about fifteen when that sham duel was fought. Julia was the next child; she was born in Utica in March, 1802, which would indicate that the time her father moved to that place from Deerfield, was as early as 1801, or else the fore part of the year 1802. In September, 1825, she was married by Rev. John Frost, to William Sumner Maynard, a nephew and clerk of Dr. Moseley, and also a cousin of William H. Maynard. His mother was a sister of Dr. Moseley. Soon after the marriage, he moved to Oswego, and commenced the dry goods business there. In September, 1830, he moved to Ann Arbor, and there became one of the most wealthy, enterprising, public spirited and respected citizens of the place. He died in 1866. His wife, after a week's illness, died in January, 1856, of consumption, ending in an attack of pneumonia. Correspondents speak of Mrs. Maynard in the highest terms, as an active worker in the church, a lovely Christian character, a benevolent and kind hearted, and a most estimable woman. In fact, all of my information as regards the daughters of Dr. Guiteau is to the same effect; and wherever mention or allusion is made to insanity in the family, or any of its members by any of my informants, that fact is not withheld in the sketches. Mrs. Maynard had three children, all now living; one Mrs. Wilson, of Leadville, Colorado, and one Mrs. Lansing, of Michigan. The youngest, after ten or twelve years of age, became weak minded and imbecile, caused as the evidence on the Guiteau trial showed, by reason of frequent mesmeric operations upon her when a young girl.

Calvin was the next born; when a lad he was clerk for the Walcotts. Calvin afterwards learned the jeweler's trade of Mr. Wells, in Whitesboro, and about 1828 located in Watertown, Jefferson county. About 1830, he married Miss Zaire A. Romaine, whose parents resided on Carlton Island. Calvin was a very ingenious mechanic, and manufactured not only valuable time pieces, but surgical instruments and other fine pieces of workmanship. Calvin died in September, 1846, at the age of forty-one years. He was the father of five or six children, all of them dead but two—one Mrs. Corbin, of De Pauville, in that county, and the other a son, (Henry Clay Guiteau), a worthy resident of St. Louis, and for eleven years past, conductor on the Iron Mountain railroad.

Abram Bloodgood Guiteau was the next, and was born in 1807. He too was dry goods clerk, and as he grew to manhood engaged in mercantile pursuits. Not far from 1838 he married Miss Emily

Redfield, daughter of Deacon Redfield of Watertown. My information is, that about that time he was in the dry goods trade in Pulaski, Oswego county, as one of the firm of Mansfield & Guiteau, and that about 1843 he located in Sacketts Harbor, and was a merchant there from that time until about 1853, when he moved west and located at Freeport. In the early part of the rebellion, he drifted south as a soldier, and was at Little Rock and other points south, but lived to return. He is one whom counsel on the Guiteau trial spoke of as having become in the latter years of his life quite out of joint in his habits and his mind weak and imbecile. He died a few years ago at the residence of his brother Luther, in Freeport. He had four or five children, but I am not able to trace them.

Luther W. Guiteau was the youngest of the family and was born in March, 1810. He was the father of the one who, within the past year, has brought the name so prominently into notice. He was steady and conscientious, had experienced religion and united with the church. In those days the great and about the highest ambition of the generality of young men was to become merchants, and so Luther Guiteau entered a dry goods store, graduated therefrom, went west and became a merchant in Ann Arbor. About 1835 he married Miss Jane A. Howe, daughter of Major John Howe, who was for some time a partner in Ann Arbor of William S. Maynard. Mr. Guiteau took his wife to Ann Arbor, where he was in prosperous business, and there two of his children, Mrs. George Scoville and John W. Guiteau were born. In 1838 he removed to Freeport, and there, for the last six years of her life, his wife was much out of health, a portion of the time confined to her bed. Three more children were born, one of whom was Charles Jules Guiteau, in September, 1841. She died about 1847, and a few years thereafter Mr. Guiteau married for his second wife a widow who was formely a resident of Cazenovia, in Madison county. Of this last marriage two children were born, both residents of Freeport, the son named after his father, and in a bank in that place. Luther W. Guiteau died in Freeport in 1880, at the age of seventy years. All the information which comes to me of the family, is to the effect, that Luther had more of that stern and rigid morality, more of the intense religious zeal and fervor, than any of the other children. In this regard, he may have more closely resembled his father, than did any of his brothers or sisters. This element in him, with a similar spirit in his wife, may have been inherited by one or more of their children. But all accounts

agree, that whatever Luther's religious view may have been, he was a very amiable, kind hearted, conscientious, good dispositioned and upright man; that for years, he was the trusted cashier of a bank in Freeport, and universally respected and esteemed. A photograph taken of Luther a few years before his death, has been shown me, and it would indicate a person of intelligence, firm and decisive in his views, unbending in his purposes, unyielding in his convictions, yet a kind hearted and amiable man.

The widow of Dr. Francis Guiteau, and mother of the foregoing children, lived with her son Julius, at Buffalo, awhile after her husband's death, but died at Watertown many years ago, at the age of seventy or eighty years, and she is buried at that place.

Henry R. Storrs.

In 1804 there was much excitement in the "Black River Country," north of us, over the near prospect that a new county was to be formed from Oneida, and as to the location of the county seat. Champion, Brownville, Watertown, Redfield, Lowville and Martinsburgh were all sharp competitors for the prize, and each locality had its warm and influential friends. At Champion resided Noadiah Hubbard, the first settler, Moss Kent, brother of the Chancellor, and himself a strong man, Egbert Ten Eyck, (father-in-law of Judge Mullin,) afterwards member of congress and county judge; and besides, the influence of the landed proprietors was exerted in behalf of their town. In 1804, while this excitement was at its height, Henry R. Storrs graduated from Yale College at the age of seventeen years. All accounts agree that he was located for awhile at Champion village, that he read law with Gold & Sill, at Whitesboro, and that he was admitted to the bar about 1809; but I cannot learn whether he was at Champion or Whitesboro first. I conjecture, however, that he first went to Champion and read law with Mr. Ten Eyck, or Moss Kent, in the hope that that place would be selected for the county seat; but finding that two counties (Jefferson and Lewis) instead of one were formed, and that Champion became the county seat of neither, he concluded that village (even if it was the seat of his father's landed possessions,) afforded a poor field for his talents, and that he then came to Whitesboro, finished his legal studies, and became a permanent resident of that village.

At that time Whitesboro loomed up more prominently than any place in the State west of Albany. It was a half-shire town. The county clerk, treasurer and surrogate had their offices and lived

there, as did also the Member of Congress and many other leading men. In common parlance, Whitestown was then "booming," and there Henry R. Storrs located, not far from 1809. In 1810, he married Esther White, granddaughter of the pioneer settler and the first white child born in the "Whitestown Country." When Mr. Storrs commenced practicing law there, he was but a year or so past his twenty-first birthday; yet he rose rapidly to notice and to a prominent position at the bar and in politics. Fortune C. White was admitted to the bar about 1814, and the two formed a partnership, and had a profitable and extensive law business. It was the third law firm in Whitesboro whose members were brothers-in-law, and who were also influential and prominent politicians and office-holders, viz.: Platt & Breese, Gold & Sill, Storrs & White.

In 1816, Mr. Storrs was nominated for Congress. His competitor was Nathan Williams, of Utica. At that time Mr. Storrs was but twenty-nine years old. For eight years (or one-half the time since Oneida county was formed) Whitesboro had had the representative in Congress. That election resulted in favor of Mr. Storrs by 278 majority. In 1818 Mr. Storrs was re-nominated and re-elected without any formidable opposition. His course in Congress in 1820 in favor of the Missouri Compromise,* was distasteful to his constituency, and he was not re-nominated in that year. In 1822 he was picked up and nominated by the party to which theretofore he had always been opposed. His opponent was Hon. Ezekiel Bacon, father of ex-Judge Wm. J. Bacon. After a sharp contest and a poll of many thousands of votes, Mr. Storrs was elected by only fifty-five majority—the closest vote, I think, ever cast in this county between opposing candidates for Congress. In 1824 Mr. Storrs was re-nominated and elected the fourth time, beating James Lynch, his opponent, by over 1,000 majority. In 1826 he ran again against Ezekiel Bacon, and was for the fifth time elected; this time by over 2,300. In 1828 he again ran, and was elected by 234 majority over Greene C. Bronson. This was the sixth time Mr. Storrs was elected—more times than any other congressman from this county. While holding this office, March 9, 1825, he was appointed First Judge of the old Common Pleas of this county, and held that office until January, 1830, when he was succeeded by Chester Hayden.

The residence of Mr. Storrs, in Whitesboro, was opposite the

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*He was to a large extent its originator and earliest and most powerful advocate.—*Bacon's Early Bar of Oneida County.*

Court House, and on the northeasterly side of Main street. Tradition has it, that it had been the early residence of Mr. Breese, and that the latter erected the house. Of this I have doubts, for it was land which Judge Hugh White had conveyed to Fortune C. White and Esther (White) Storrs, and it is doubtful if it ever passed out of the family, until Mr. and Mrs. Storrs sold it in 1833 to Rev. Mr. Coville, a Baptist clergyman at Whitesboro. The latter the next year deeded that old homestead to Fortune C. White, and the latter in 1847 to the late Thos. H. Flandrau. About 1832, Mr. Storrs removed to New York, and opened a law office in that city.

I have alluded to Mr. Storrs' political career, and have hardly mentioned his legal abilities or professional standing. It is proper to say that as a jury advocate, he had no equal in the county, and but very few in the State. He was tall, of commanding figure and presence, dignified in bearing, graceful in manners, with a voice remarkable for power, as well as for sweetness and melody. He was fluent in speech, apt and felicitous in questions and expression, classical and chaste in his thoughts, and his eloquent, ringing and well rounded sentences were well calculated to enrapture and captivate a jury. He was also an excellent lawyer, and combined in a greater degree than any other lawyer in central New York, the legal acumen of the jurist with the brilliancy of an advocate. Henry Clay told ex-Judge Foster when the latter was in Congress in 1837–8, that Henry R. Storrs was the most eloquent debater he ever heard on the floor of the House. Ex-Judge Gridley told me many incidents in the professional career of Mr. Storrs, demonstrating his great power and influence over juries. Judge Gridley said Mr. Storrs was the most brilliant advocate he ever heard. He related a summing up of Mr. Storrs in the Rome court house about 1828, in behalf of a plaintiff in a noted *crim. con.* case, wherein Mr. Storrs, in his appeal to the jury for large damages, deprecated the effect upon the community if the verdict was not among the thousands, and if it was not, he invoked the lightning of heaven to fall upon that court house and shiver it to atoms, so that not one brick or stone should stand above another, nor a vestige remain of a place where an American jury had so lightly punished such violators of law. Judge Gridley said it was the most powerful and thrilling appeal he ever heard.

Mr. Storrs had five children, all of whom outlived him. His youngest child and only daughter Eliza, was in early life in delicate health and consumptively inclined. In July, 1837, he,

with her and with his wife, were at the Pavillion Hotel at New Haven, Conn., for the purpose of improving his invalid daughter's health by the breezes off Long Island Sound. In the evening of July 29th, Mr. Storrs ascended the stairs to the cupola of the hotel to view a fire which had broken out in the city; while going down stairs he complained of faintness and sat down to rest; on recovering he proceeded on his way to the drawing room, and while walking up and down in the rooms of the hotel, in cheerful conversation, he was taken suddenly ill, fell to the floor and expired immediately. An artery was ruptured. And thus at the age of forty-nine years, Henry R. Storrs was cut off in his prime, in the midst of his professional career and usefulness, and in the full vigor of an unclouded intellect. He was buried in that city, and at meetings of the bar and of fellow-citizens in New Haven, New York and elsewhere, and through the press, were voiced the deep feelings of sorrow everywhere felt at such a loss. His daughter died August 27, 1837, not a month after the death of her father, at the age of twenty-two, and the two are buried by each other's side. I might mention here that a sister of Mr. Storrs, was the wife Governor Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut: a brother of his read law with Henry R. in Whitesboro, returned to Connecticut to practice law, and was a Member of Congress for six years, and Judge of the Supreme Court of that State from 1840 until his death in 1861. Of the four sons of Henry R. Storrs, Henry Lemuel graduated at Hamilton College, entered the ministry, and in 1836 became an Episcopal minister, and was located for a while at New Hartford in this county, but afterwards at Yonkers, where he died in 1852, at the age of fifty-one. His wife was a sister of Bishop Kip. Fortune K., another son, located in California, and was connected with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and died unmarried in December, 1853, at the age of forty-four. His remains are in the Yuba Cemetery on the Pacific Slope. William Champion was another son; he graduated from college, read law, and was admitted to the bar and located in Rochester and was United States Commissioner. He died July 14, 1853, at the age of fifty seven years; his remains are in the cemetery at Mt. Hope. Peyton R., another son, was a farmer and lived many years in Trenton, but many years ago moved to Wisconsin, and died at Milwaukee June 13, 1855, at the age of thirty-seven; his remains were taken to Mt. Hope.

The widow of Henry R. Storrs outlived her whole family. Toward the close of her life she took up her residence with her old

friend, Mrs Sarah Eames, in New Hartford in this county. Mrs. Eames was the oldest daughter and only surviving child of the late Jedediah Sanger. She died August 12, 1861, at the age of eighty-three years, and her funeral took place from her late residence at 3 P. M. Thursday, August 15th. That same night there was another death in that dwelling. The two who had seen this country when it was a wilderness, and had lived to witness its growth and prosperity, who were schoolmates in girlhood, companions in later years, and friends through life, and who had outlived their day and generation, were not long separated at death. Before the sun had risen on the morrow, all that was mortal of Esther Storrs had ceased to live. She died at the age of seventy-six. In that quiet rural home, within sight and sound of the murmuring waters of that busy stream where their ancestors settled, and upon which they erected so many thriving industries; the eldest daughter and only surviving child of the pioneer settler of New Hartford, and the first white born child of all of this "Whitestown Country," passed their last days together in seclusion, quite unnoticed, almost forgotten by the world; and there this aged couple died, but a few days apart. There is surely a singular coincidence and a touching appropriateness in the ending of these two lives. The remains of Mrs. Storrs were taken to Mt. Hope for interment.

SAMUEL A. TALCOTT.

Whenever Henry R. Storrs is mentioned as once a resident of this county, and as the ablest jury advocate of his day in Central New York, the name of Samuel A. Talcott comes to mind, for he was a cotemporary of Mr. Storrs, a resident of Whitesboro for a while, and the ablest lawyer in the county, and not surpassed by any in the State or nation. Mr. Talcott was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and was left an orphan at an early age. When fourteen years of age he attended Colchester (Connecticut) Academy, thence passed to Williams College, where he graduated in 1809 at the age of twenty years. Soon thereafter, he married a sister of Col. John Ledyard, of Revolutionary fame, and about the time of his marriage, moved to Whitesboro, and finished his legal studies in the office of Gold & Sill. In 1812 he moved to Lowville, in Lewis county, and formed a law partnership with Isaac W. Bostwick; the latter prior to 1800 was a tutor in the family of Livingston at Poughkeepsie, whose daughters, Arthur Breese and Judge Jonas Platt married. In 1816, Mr. Talcott

removed to Utica, and formed a partnership with William H. Maynard, who was a schoolmate of his in college, and who subsequently became a star of the first magnitude in the legal galaxy of the State. Mr. Talcott at once took front rank in the profession in this county and in the State, as evidenced by the fact that in February, 1821, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed Attorney General of the State. This appointment, it is said, was made through the influence and efforts of Martin Van Buren, who was then an important factor in the politics of the State and nation. Mr. Van Buren had been six days before elected to the United States Senate, and as he had ambitious aspirations and far-reaching sagacity, he sought to attach to his interests the rising and leading young men of the State. About that same time Mr. Van Buren was instrumental in procuring the appointment of John Savage as Comptroller (afterwards Chief Justice) and Samuel Young and other young men to offices. Judge Platt, with a peculiar wink, said at the time to a friend: "This is an age of young men." On the appointment of Mr. Talcott he took up his residence in Albany, and the fact that he succeeded in the Attorney Generalship such a brilliant lawyer as Thomas J. Oakley, very naturally attracted towards him the eyes of the bar, and invoked criticism on the appointment. At that time the State numbered among its leading luminaries such men as Thomas Addis Emmett, John Wells, John C. Spencer, Ogden Hoffman, Elisha Williams, Daniel Cady, David B. Ogden, John V. Henry, and Abram Van Vechten; and yet, Mr. Talcott proved himself the peer of the brightest and the best of them. He was often engaged in important causes, where great principles of law were involved, and the closest reasoning and the finest discrimination were required to be made. He was not eloquent before a jury like Mr. Storrs, yet his mind was clear and logical; he was fluent in speech and expression, and forcible in language and gestures; if he did not captivate juries by appeals to their feelings, he generally won their judgments and verdicts by the superior force and great power of his reasoning. But it was in appellate courts, where abstruse legal questions, or great principles of law were involved and discussed, that he shone to greater advantage, and where he was without a superior, and some think without a peer in the land. Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, and others, equally capable of judging, have expressed opinions placing Mr. Talcott among the foremost lawyers in America. It was in a case in the United States Supreme Court, in 1829, that Mr. Talcott was

pitted against Mr. Webster, and came off victorious. It was the case known as the "Sailor's Snug Harbor," and it was by reason of Mr. Talcott's masterly argument that that institution has now an existence in New York, and ranks among the foremost charities in that city. That case has a traditionary history, because of incidents connected with it. As is well known, Mr. Talcott had become quite dissipated, and grave apprehensions were entertained as to whether he would be able to appear in court and argue the case when it was reached. He had been considerably irregular in his habits for a number of days previously, but the day the case was reached, Mr. Talcott strode into the court room, attired as was his wont, with scrupulous care and neatness, showing no sign of dissipation, and made one of the greatest arguments ever listened to in that court room. A gentleman, who forty years ago was a member of the Court of Last Resort in this State, informed me that a few years after the occurrence of the above argument, Mr. Talcott was engaged to argue an important case before that court. For some days before the case was reached, Mr. Talcott had been sadly tippling at some of the low groggeries in the suburbs of Albany, and it was feared he would not be present to take care of the case. But the day the case was called, he came into court dressed with great care, his face smoothly and cleanly shaven, showing no signs of dissipation, except a slight redness of his cheeks; his mind was clear and active, and he made a most masterly argument before the Court of Errors at Albany.

Mr. Talcott was about five feet ten, of medium size, erect in his carriage, of dignified manners and bearing, and rather distant and taciturn in his behavior. As before stated, he was first appointed Attorney General in 1821; he was reappointed in February, 1823, under the constitution of 1821, and in February, 1829, was succeeded by Greene C. Bronson, another Utican, and the latter in January, 1836, by Samuel Beardsley, still another Utican. About 1830, Mr. Talcott removed to New York, and died in that city March 19, 1836, at the early age of forty-seven years, in the midst of a legal career which, but for his irregular habits, would have been one of the most brilliant of any in the nation. Within a week thereafter Theodore Sill (in whose office Mr. Talcott had read law a quarter of a century before,) died at his home in Whitesboro. Mr. Talcott was twice married; by his first wife one child was born, the present Judge John Ledyard Talcott, of Buffalo.

Rev. John Frost.

There were a number of earnest and learned divines who located at Whitesboro in the early part of its history. Among the number may be mentioned Elder Stephen Parsons, who in 1796 formed the first Baptist Church of the place, and remained until 1802. He was succeeded by Elder Caleb Douglass, who was pastor from 1802 to 1815; next came Rev. Elder Elon Galusha, who was pastor from 1815 to 1831—all faithful and able divines. As has been heretofore stated Rev. Bethuel Dodd located in the village in 1794, and was the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church there; he was succeeded in the fall of 1804 by Rev. James Carnahan, (afterwards President of Princeton College,) who remained until 1812. I think no one of the ministers who located in Whitesboro, remained as long as, or had a higher standing, or was more widely known than Rev. John Frost.

Mr. Frost was called in November, 1812, to succeed Mr. Carnahan in the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church of that village. At that time he was an unmarried man of but twenty-four years of age. He was born in Williamsburg, Mass., and when eighteen years old graduated at Middlebury College, and four years later from Andover Theological Seminary. In May, 1810, he entered the ministry, and soon after engaged in the effort to awaken in the churches an interest in foreign missions, a subject in which he was much enlisted, and to which he pledged himself while pursuing his theological studies. At that work he labored in the principal places in New England and New York, and so great was his zeal and enthusiasm in that field of labor that he declined pastoral calls from Danbury, Conn., and from Braintree and Williamstown, Mass. He assisted in forming in Boston the first society (the "A. B. C. F. M.") on foreign missions; and could he have lived to this day, and witnessed the immense field now occupied by that society and the grand results worked out in foreign lands, he would have felt that his labors had not been in vain. Before his call, one minister had supplied the pulpits of the Presbyterian Churches at Whitesboro and Utica. On Mr. Frost coming the society was divided, and he supplied the pulpit at Whitesboro. Mr. Frost was ordained March 13, 1813, and I have before me the ordination sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. Azel Backus, D. D., then President of Hamilton College. The pamphlet was printed by Ira Merrill, of Utica, and the subject was "Ministerial Fidelity," and from the text in Isaiah 58: 1.

Mr. Frost continued pastor of that church for twenty years, and during his labors several hundreds were converted, and many gathered into the Christian fold. By his advice, the Presbyterian Churches at Oriskany and Yorkville were formed, and the members of those congregations mainly taken from the parent church at Whitesboro. Mr. Frost was a ready and active co-operator with Rev. G. W. Gale in the founding at Whitesboro of the "Manual Labor School," later known as "Oneida Institute," and now as "Whitestown Seminary." He rendered valuable assistance in collecting funds for the support of that institution, and in 1833 resigned his pastorate to devote his whole time to soliciting money to carry on and sustain that educational enterprise. His extensive acquaintance in New England and in New York, and the unbounded confidence reposed in him by all, resulted in crowning his efforts with great success. When the institution came under the controlling influence of Rev. Beriah Green, whose views on the temperance and slavery questions were so much in advance of the age that the school lost the friendship of a great many of its former friends, Mr. Frost withdrew from that work, and returned to the ministry, and for four years was settled as pastor at Elmira. When he left that place, he declined a settlement elsewhere, meanwhile supplying vacant pulpits. He was supplying the pulpit at Waterville, in this county, retaining his residence at Whitesboro, when he took cold while riding on horseback between the two places, the cold terminated in pleurisy of which he died in Waterville March 1, 1842, at the age of fifty-four. His last words were, "God reigns and always has reigned." His remains are in the Whitesboro cemetery. Those yet living, who remember Mr. Frost, speak of him as a preacher, always clear, logical, forcible and convincing, and at times truly eloquent. His great aim was to enlighten and persuade, not to dazzle or amuse. He was earnest in manner, tireless as a worker, and a great friend of the cause of temperance and of the slave; and in that period of our country's history, when excitement was high on those questions, and it cost a man his place, and sometimes his life, to speak out boldly, Mr. Frost was an open and bold worker, and by pen and voice did what he could to erase from our country's escutcheon the stigma that we were a slave-holding people and a nation of drunkards. By his patient endurance, modest heroism and stainless integrity he won a name and reputation as a citizen, Christian, minister and philanthropist that will endure as long as philanthropy and piety shall be respected or reverenced upon

earth. For thirteen years he was trustee of Hamilton College and rendered valuable service to that institution. The same year that he was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Whitesboro, he married Harriet L. Gold, the oldest daughter of Hon. Thomas R. Gold, a woman of excellent qualities of head and heart, and among the most cultured of her sex. She survived her husband, and died at her home in Whitesboro, August 5, 1873, at the advanced age of eighty-three years. Rev. Mr. Frost left him surviving four children. Sarah Gold Frost became the wife of Rev. Andrew Hull, D. D., of Elmira, where she died in December, 1861. Mary A., another daughter, became the wife of William Burt, of Chicago; she died in Whitesboro, in June, 1863, and her remains are by the side of her parents. Thomas Gold Frost, the only son, attended the "Manual Labor School," graduated in 1842 from Hamilton College, read law in Rome with Stryker & Comstock, became a law partner of H. T. Utley, now of Waterville, and later with J. Thomas Spriggs. About 1858 Mr. Frost removed to Galesburg, in Illinois, and subsequently to Chicago, where he was a leading lawyer, and where he died in December, 1880, universally regretted. Miss Harriet L. Gold Frost is the only survivor of the family; she is yet a resident of the village where her grandfather settled ninety years ago, and is an occupant of the homestead, which he erected for her parents more than sixty years since.

THE MANNS AND CAPRONS.

Inasmuch as considerable has been said concerning the pioneer lawyers, physicians and divines of Whitesboro, it is meet and proper that something should appear regarding another class of early residents, who by their industry and enterprise contributed as much as any to give to that villiage its "Golden Age." I refer to those connected with the manufacturing interests and who started the first cotton factories in this State.

On Christmas day, 1778, when this country was in the midst of her Revolutionary troubles, the American privateer brig *General Arnold*, with one hundred and twenty men on board, hoisted sail in Boston harbor and put out to sea. Hardly was that vessel out of port before it was overtaken by one of the most tremendous snow storms within the memory of any then living. The next day it parted its cable off Plymouth harbor, became unmanageable, men froze to the masts and rigging, the captain, surgeon of the vessel and one hundred of the men perished by the cold, and sixty-

six of them were buried in one grave. An inscription upon a family monument in the burying ground at Oldtown, Mass., records the above facts and concludes with these words: "And now Lord God Almighty, just and true are all Thy ways, but who can stand before Thy cold?" That monument is to the memory of the surgeon lost on that vessel. His name was Dr. Herbert Mann, of a family noted for the many eminent physicians which successive generations have produced. His father was also a doctor, of Attleboro, Mass., a noted physician and an active participator with the Colonists in their struggles for independence. That father (Dr. Bezaleel Mann) died in 1796 at the age of seventy-four years. That surgeon had three brothers, two of whom, like himself, had graduated at Brown University, and were noted physicians, one of them settling at Newport and the other at Hudson in this State. The other brother was Newton Mann, a merchant and a business man, who came to Whitesboro. Dr. J. Milton Mann, who located at Hudson, was drowned one night while crossing the river to visit a patient; he left a widow, one son and four daughters. In 1806 that widow and her children, also Newton Mann, and Dr. Seth Capron (who had married into the Mann family) came to Whitesboro to live. Newton Mann located on the corner of Main and Westmoreland streets, where Hon. Philo White now resides; the widow Mann and family lived in the house next westerly, where a son (H. B. Mann, of Newton,) subsequently lived, and which afterwards for forty years or more was the residence of Rev. Beriah Green. Dr. Capron lived on the other side of Main street, nearly opposite the residence of Newton Mann. These three families were connected by marriage or related to each other, and were valuable acquisitions to the society of Whitesboro, while the men were among the most prominent and enterprising business men in this section. About that time President Dwight, of Yale, made a tour through this section, and made this entry in his "travels:" "Of the pretty little village of Whitesborough, the houses are about sixty in number, and for a new settlement are uncommonly good; they stand on a single street, straight, smooth and beautiful. It contains two churches and several genteel families, who are eminently hospitable and furnish each other with the pleasures of a polished society." As before stated, Newton Mann was a merchant, and for a while a partner of B. S. Walcott; he was also largely interested in the promotion of cotton manufacture and other industries of the country. About 1825, he followed his son to what is now

Mannsville, in Jefferson county, but he did not engage in business after he left Whitesboro. He died in Mannsville, April 11, 1860, at the age of ninety years; his wife died six months later, November 17, 1860, at the age of ninety-four. That couple had lived a married life of sixty-eight years, and were not long separated by death. They had one son and two daughters. The son, H. B. Mann, was an enterprising business citizen and manufacturer; his wife was Julia Doolittle, a daughter of a pioneer settler of Whitesboro. About 1824, he moved to what is now Mannsville, after whom that place is named, became a partner of and half owner with his brother-in-law Daniel Wardwell, in a cotton factory of six hundred spindles, which the latter had erected there in that year. In 1827, the factory burned to the ground, entailing a loss of $10,000 upon the owners, and soon thereafter H. B. Mann returned to Whitesboro and died there January 8, 1830, at the early age of thirty-eight years. His widow died at the residence of her son Dr. J. P. Mann, of New York city, July 18, 1872, at the venerable age of eighty years, and the remains of husband and wife are side by side in the cemetery at Whitesboro. Hetty, one of the daughters of Newton Mann, became the wife of Judge Daniel Wardwell, who read law with Gold & Sill, lived in Utica, Rome, Pulaski and Mannsville, and was one of the judges of the Jefferson Common Pleas, Member of Congress from the latter county for four terms, and in Congress a devoted friend of President Jackson all through the most stormy times of the latter's Administration. Mrs. Wardwell died in 1858, and her memory is cherished by all who knew her, as one of the best and most lovable of women. Abby Mann, the other daughter, became the wife of Dr. Roswell Kinney, a leading physician of Mannsville, and one of its most worthy citizens. He was brother-in-law of Rev. G. W. Gale, who started the Oneida Institute at Whitesboro. Mrs. Dr. Kinney outlived her husband, and died in March 1881, at the age of eighty years, revered, respected and loved by a large circle of friends. A stately, appropriate monument in the Mannsville cemetery marks the resting places of the three families of the Wardwell's, Mann's and Kinney's.

Of the family of Dr. J. Milton Mann, who came from Hudson to Whitesboro, as before stated, the eldest daughter, Eliza, married in 1810, Theodore Sill, as before mentioned. She died April 29, 1849. She was the mother of Mrs. Calvert Comstock. Eloisa, another daughter, became the wife of John B. Rumney, formerly

of England, but who resided, I believe, prior to 1848, in the western part of the State, and subsequently moved South; she died quite suddenly at or near Alexandria, Va., in October, 1849. Sarah J., another daughter, became the wife of Thomas D. Burrall, of Geneva, prominently connected with the invention, manufacture or sale of agricultural implements; she died in April, 1831. Mary E., the only unmarried daughter of that family, will be remembered even by later residents of Whitesboro, as a very intelligent and cultivated lady; she died in Rome about fifteen years ago. John B. Mann, the only son, died in Rome at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Sill, in the winter of 1848–9.

Dr. Seth Capron, although the last mentioned of those three families, was not by any means, the least in importance; on the contrary, he may be justly ranked among the first of the leading men of Whitesboro, or in Central New York. He was forty-five years of age when he moved to Whitesboro, was a man of family, and stood high in the medical profession. He had seen much service in the war of the Revolution, was at the siege of Newport, attached to the staff of LaFayette, where he came near losing his life by a cannon ball which grazed his head, that was aimed at the life of his General. He was at the battle of White Plains, and during the rest of the war, after that battle, was under Washington. It was not until the return of peace that he commenced his medical studies. He then entered the office of Dr. Bezaleel Mann, whose second daughter he subsequently married. He came to Whitesboro as before mentioned, and in a year or two afterward gave so much attention to manufactures and other pursuits that he can hardly be said, after his removal to this county, to have been a practicing physician. He was originator of the scheme, and with the co-operation of B. S. Walcott, Newton Mann, Theodore Sill, Thomas R. Gold, and a few others started on Sauquoit Creek the first works for the manufacture of cotton erected in this State. Dr. Capron had the main charge, and large numbers of merino sheep were imported from Spain at a heavy expense, some costing as high as $600 and $1,000 each. There were large fields of them kept across the river, and one of the farms was called "Mount Merino." Dr. Capron was small in stature, but he made up by his great physical and mental activity and large business capacity and ability. He never seemed more happy than when engaged in the most extensive enterprises that called into requisition all of his energies and the powers of his mind. He was as active in the peaceful pursuits of life as he had

been in the stirring times of the Revolution. For a dozen years or so he was thus engaged at Whitesboro, but at last financial embarrassments overtook him, and he lost his property. He then removed to Oriskany, took charge of the woolen mills there, but in 1825 he left the county and located at Walden, in Orange county, and there established far more extensive factories than he was able to do in this county. Ten years later, after an illness of but one day, he died at the age of seventy-four years. He had four sons. John, Newton, Seth and Horace. Dr. Seth Capron, Jr., was a physician, and Horace, the well-known General Horace Capron.* The success which attended and the grand results which followed the establishment of those cotton works at Whitestown are of themselves sufficient to embalm the memory of their founders in the hearts of their countrymen. That class of men gave to Whitesboro its golden age. Dr. Bagg has rendered a most valuable service to the whole country by the exhaustive paper read by him before the Oneida Historical Society in July, 1879, relative to that branch of Oneida county's industries.

S. NEWTON DEXTER.

In the year 1815 there located in Whitesboro a married man of thirty years of age, of great industry and force of character, and who subsequently demonstrated his ability and capacity to undertake and carry forward more extensive, and a greater variety of business enterprises, than any other man who ever lived in that village. S. Newton Dexter was to Whitestown, as well as to every other locality where his active mind and enterprising spirit found work to do, the life and soul of thriving manufacturing industries, and an active and prominent participator in everything that tended to promote the prosperity of a place, or the culture and education of its people. He was a fit successor to the Manns and Caprons, to carry on the great enterprises they had inaugurated. The great-grandfather of Mr. Dexter was a graduate of Harvard College, and for many years pastor of a Congregational Church in Massachusetts. His grandfather, before the war of the Revolution, was an eminent importing merchant of Boston, and at his death bequeathed a handsome endowment to Harvard, the income of which went to the Professor of Biblical Literature. His father was the first manufacturer of cotton goods in

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*Gen. Capron Ex-U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, died at his home in Washington, on the night of February 22, 1885, from a cold taken at the dedicatory ceremonies at the Washington Monument, the previous day, at the age of 73 years.

the United States, and an enterprising business man. With such an ancestry, and such noble examples and worthy incentives before him, it would be quite natural to expect something worthy and of like character from the descendant. S. Newton Dexter was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1785, and in due time entered Brown University, where his elder brother had graduated in 1801; but the activity of his mind and his restless desire for a more busy and active life, led him to leave school before he had graduated, and engage in business in Boston. In 1815 he removed to Whitesboro, where he resided, with temporary exceptions, for forty-seven years of his life. He engaged at first in a mercantile pursuit, his store being on the corner of Maine and Mohawk streets. That was on the eve of the construction of the Erie canal, and Mr. Dexter's large business capacity soon led him into other pursuits, and into much larger and more diversified fields of labor. In 1817 he had a large contract for the construction of a section of the canal which led through what is now the city of Syracuse, but then a swamp. In 1824, he undertook a heavy contract on the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, which occupied five years of his time and which involved an expenditure of over $2,000,000. That work was completed to the entire satisfaction of the directors, as evidenced by their complimentary resolutions on Mr. Dexter and his work. He was a stockholder in the Oriskany woolen factory, a company formed four years before he moved to Whitesboro, with a capital of $200,000, and having among its original stockholders Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer, Jonas Platt, William G. Tracy, Newton Mann, Thomas R. Gold, Theodore Sill and DeWitt Clinton. Mr. Dexter, subsequent to his canal contracts, took charge as agent of those woolen mills, and by his executive ability, and the use of his own funds, restored the credit of the company and brought back to it business and public confidence, at a time when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Through his agency the Dexter Manufacturing Company was organized in 1832, with a capital of $100,000, and its location fixed at Pleasant Valley, a short distance from Oriskany, where it flourished and thrived during the rest of Mr. Dexter's life. About the same time that company was formed, Mr. Dexter became largely interested in other manufacturing enterprises in Elgin, Ill., and also in Jefferson county in this State. The little village in the town of Brownsville in the last named county, at the head of Black River Bay, and which had theretofore borne the name of "Fish Island," was made in 1837, by the means and

influence of Mr. Dexter, the seat of large manufacturing establishments. One thousand acres of land were purchased and laid out into village lots, the village in compliment to its founder was named "Dexter," and now contains some six hundred inhabitants. In 1829, Mr. Dexter was elected one of the first trustees, and the first president of the village of Whitestown. He was the first president of the Bank of Whitestown, and held that position from 1838 to 1853. In 1840 he was appointed Canal Commissioner by Governor Seward, and in 1850 was appointed by Governor Hamilton Fish one of the managers of the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica, which position he held until his death. There were many other pioneer and business enterprises in which he was engaged, the ultimate success of which demonstrated his foresight, far-reaching sagacity and business ability. In the midst of all these varied duties, and the multiplicity of his cares and labors, he was not neglectful of works of art nor of the causes of education and religion. His library was well stored with works of a standard character, and his mind with useful knowledge. His conversational powers were great, his informantion varied and extensive, and his manners easy, social and polite. Hamilton College numbered no stronger friend or benefactor among its list of supporters than Mr. Dexter, his benefactions to that institution aggregating some $23,000. The first wife of Mr. Dexter was Laura Northrup, of Athens, in this State; they were married four years before his removal to Whitesboro; she died in 1846. His second wife was the widow of Thomas R. Gold, Jr., she outlived him, and is yet a resident of Whitesboro. Mr. Dexter died November 18, 1862, at the age of seventy-seven years, and an appropriate monument in the Whitesboro cemetery marks his resting place. Mr. Dexter left two children; Andrew, the son, was with his father in the manufacturing enterprises, and lived at Whitesboro, and also at Utica. His wife was a daughter of Theodore S. Gold. I believe they now reside in New York city. The only daughter of S. Newton Dexter became the wife of Prof. North, of Hamilton College. She died in 1869, and the tender and touching address of Prof. Upson at her funeral bears witness to her high Christian character, and to those noble traits which she possessed as daughter, wife and mother, which make up the highest types of womanhood.

Is it a wonder that Whitesboro had such a golden age, when such persons as I have enumerated contributed to and made part of its history?

Lewis Berry and His Family.

In 1802, a man with a wife and several small children came from Washington county, in this State, and located at or near what is Lairdsville, in the town of Westmoreland, in this county, and there engaged in mercantile pursuits. That merchant was Lewis Berry. He was originally from New Jersey, where his father was one of the King's Justices of the Peace at the breaking out of the Revolution, but who took sides with the Colonists. The first Berry who crossed the Atlantic for America was an escaped prisoner from Sterling Castle, where he was confined under sentence of death, for the part he took in behalf of the house of Stuart in the bloody contest with Cromwell and the Parliamentary party. At the time Mr. Berry commenced his mercantile career in Westmoreland, the county was new and sparsely populated, the people poor, trade limited, and business neither extensive nor prosperous. In a few years, by reason of overtrade or lack of patronage, Mr. Berry became embarrassed in his circumstances, judgments were obtained against him, his store of goods and his real estate were sold out by the sheriff, and as imprisonment for debt was then the law of the land, he was taken into custody and placed upon "the limits" at Whitesboro. That was about 1807. This misfortune was no disparagement to Mr. Berry's abilities or integrity, nor did it serve in the least to discredit or discourage him. He seemed to be not unmindful of the fact that they are the greatest and noblest who meet life's necessities with the bravest heart and the fewest murmurs, and who do to the best of their ability whatever is given unto them to do. Out of this nettle of danger he plucked the flower of safety. He commenced keeping "tavern" in the old tavern stand of Daniel C. White, opposite the village green, a little easterly of the residence of Mrs. W. L. Wetmore, and where the first town meeting of Whitestown was held in 1789. At the time of Mr. Berry's compulsory removal to Whitesboro, that village had become an important and prominent locality. It was one of the county seats, and was the abode of some of the most influential men in this part of the State. It was a good location for a well regulated and a well kept "tavern" as hotels were styled in those days, and the place where judges, lawyers and the best class would congregate when courts were held in that villiage, and where travelers would stop on their way through the central part of the State. It was just such a stopping place as was then greatly needed, and Mr. Berry took in the

situation at a glance, and set to work to supply the pressing need. No one now living can remember how Mr. Berry kept that house, although the oldest inhabitants just remember that he did keep it for awhile; but there are many yet alive, who well remember, and have a pleasant recollection too, of the "tavern," or perhaps more properly speaking, of the boarding house Mr. Berry kept, on the site next to Judge Platt's residence, for nearly or quite forty years of his life. As early as 1795 Nathaniel Platt kept a store on that site, and in 1802 Richard M. Harrison, a brother of Mrs. Dr. Elizur Moseley, was in trade there; not far from 1810 it was converted into a tavern stand, and Mr. Berry seems to have been the first occupant and the only one so long as he lived. There are yet so many among the living who remember Mr. Berry and his well kept house that it is pleasant to refer to them and to speak in unqualified praise of both. It was a popular resort at the sessions of the court in Whitesboro and for travelers who would make a long day's journey to reach that road-side inn rather than to pass a night or take a meal at a less attractive place. It was widely and favorably known throughout the State, and was to Whitesboro what "Bagg's Tavern" and hotel years ago were to Utica, Congress Hall to Albany, and the Astor House to New York, where men of culture and of quiet habits loved to gather, because there they were sure to meet men of their own tastes, and to find a place of respectability and of home-like attractions. Mr. Berry, too, was a cultured and cultivated gentleman of genial and polite manners, social in his intercourse, and highly entertaining and instructive in conversation. He was a general favorite wherever known, and respected and liked by all his neighbors. It is handed down as one of the traditions of his times, that when he was placed upon "the limits," some thirty or forty of his farmer country neighbors made a "bee" and brought him in the winter as many loads of wood and piled it in his yard or woodshed, as sufficed for the year's use. This was repeated the next year and the next, and so on until it became one of the regular yearly customs of his country friends. Mr. Berry was too generous and kind hearted to let such occasions pass unnoticed, and so he made each one of these occasions a joyful and festive one by providing for the teams which drew the wood, and furnishing to all the persons who came a sumptuous dinner, a cordial welcome and a liberal entertainment. No doubt the expense to him of such entertainments was much beyond the value of the fuel that was brought; but he appreciated the feelings that prompted his friends

to do these deeds of kindness—yes, to keep up the custom in remembrance and as a reminder of by-gone years, and he was too kind, genial and generous to wish for the discontinuance. He had that touch of human nature which made him feel the whole world was his kin, and that each living being was a member of one common brotherhood. I am told by those who knew him best that to none was he more kind, attentive and sympathetic than to those young men of limited means, who, struggling with poverty and manfully battling with life, came to Whitesboro to attend school or to pursue their legal studies. Those he unobstrusely sought out, and invited and strongly urged to make his house their boarding place, with full permission to pay him whenever they could, or not at all, if they were never able. Mr. Berry took great interest in politics, and was a Federalist while that party was in existence, and an equally ardent Whig in later years. Although he bore a most striking resemblance, it is said, to General Andrew Jackson, yet Mr. Berry was his bitter political opponent. Henry Clay was his beau ideal of a statesman, and it well nigh broke his heart when that gallant chieftain lost the Presidential race of 1844. He lived, however, and took part in another presidential contest four years later, but not with equal heart or ardor. Time was laying its heavy hand upon him, and although he had lost four children, all in infancy, yet it had been over twenty years since death had invaded his household. It came, however, in March, 1849, and this time took the head of the family. At the age of eighty-two years, Lewis Berry was called from earth, and his remains were laid away in the cemetery which overlooked the village where he had passed over forty years of his life.

Three years later, another link of that family circle was missing in the person of the brightest, the most gifted and the most widely known of the children. Six months thereafter death came again, and this time took the youngest-born of the family. The next year another of these children died, and in 1855 she who had been for over sixty years the wife of Lewis Berry, the mother of fifteen children, passed away at the age of eighty-two—the age of her husband when he died six years before. The next year two more daughters died, and thus, within the space of seven years, the village church bell of Whitesboro had tolled for seven funerals in that family.

I have said there were fifteen children, four of whom died in infancy, and I think before Mr. Berry removed to Whitesboro. The oldest son was Wendell Berry, born in 1793, who was about

fourteen years old when his father located in Whitesboro. He attended Mr. Halsey's school, graduated in 1815 from Hamilton College, read law, was admitted to the bar, and about 1819 moved to and opened a law office in Mayville, Chautauqua county, where he died in 1828, at the age of thirty-five. Morris Miller Berry was the second son, and the fourth child. He also was a pupil of Mr. Halsey, but received from Rev. John Frost the finishing touches to his education, preparatory to entering Hamilton College, at which institution he graduated in 1817 at the age of eighteen. He read law with Nathan Williams, of Utica; was admitted to practice in October, 1820, and soon after opened a law office in Massena, St. Lawrence county; but the law was not to his tastes or likings. He had much literary ability, was well read and well informed, could and did write fine pieces of poetry, both of a serious and humorous character, contributed able articles for the press and wrote essays and addresses of fine literary merit; but he was diffident and unassuming, and could not face a court, jury or audience, although he could write articles that would sensibly touch the reader or hearer, or set them in roars of laughter.

After his admission to the bar, rather than practice law, he taught schools in the rural districts, boarded around among the patrons, as was and is customary in country districts; he also wrote considerably and very acceptably for newspapers and magazines. He was not long absent from Whitesboro, after his admission to the bar. During the "Washingtonian movement" and temperance revival of about 1842 he wrote, at the request of Rev. Beriah Green, a temperance address, to be delivered in an evening at Whitesboro. The evening came and so did a large audience; Mr. Berry arose and got as far as "Fellow Citizens," and there his tongue balked and refused to budge another inch or to utter another word; he sat down and other speakers finished the meeting. Another evening was appointed for the address, and again a large audience and Mr. Berry were there. After great effort and much halting and hesitation he went through with his lecture, but he said it was the greatest struggle of his life; and yet Mr. Green said that lecture, as to its style as a literary production, would have done no discredit to Addison, and for solid arguments and apt illustrations, was equal to the best made on that subject. He was Postmaster of Whitesboro during the administration of Harrison and Tyler, but was rotated out of office in 1845 by the administration of President Polk. From 1846 to 1866 he was in the book trade at Saratoga, and for five

years afterwards was librarian at Divinity Hall in Philadelphia; later he removed to Washington and died in that city in January, 1881, at the age of eighty-two years—the same age that his father and mother were when they died. He left a widow but no children. At the time of his death he was, with one or two exceptions, the oldest alumnus of Hamilton College, and but a few who read the notice of his death were aware that he was once one of the early residents of Whitesboro, and among the brightest and best informed of those who gave to that place its golden age. His remains are in the cemetery at Saratoga. In 1845 he married Miss Eugenia Dorland, of Poughkeepsie, who yet survives him.

Lewis F. Berry was another son; he was a bookkeeper and always a resident of Whitestown. He was trustee of the village from 1836 to 1842; he died at Yorkville in January, 1869, at the age of sixty, leaving a widow now residing West, and three daughters. John was the youngest born of Lewis Berry's children, was a machinist and was never married; he died in July, 1852, at the age of thirty-two. There were seven daughters, four of whom never married; of this four, Jane H., died in 1810, at the age of sixteen years; she is said to have been very beautiful; Wealthy Ann, died in September, 1853, at the age of fifty-five; Mary died in December, 1856; Cornelia in April, 1872, at the age of about sixty. Of the married daughters, Elizabeth was the fifth daughter, and the first one married. Those who remember her in her beauty and prime, as she was fifty years ago, tell me she was bright, fascinating, beautiful, cultivated and the belle of society. She was one of the thirteen white-robed maidens who joined in the procession that gave welcome to LaFayette when he visited Whitesboro in June, 1825. The introductions to citizens were on the grounds of Judge Platt, the reception by the committee at the house of her father. She became the wife of Hon. O. L. Barbour, who read law with Wheeler Barnes, of Rome, and whom lawyers know as the author of the sixty-seven volumes of "Barbour's Supreme Court Reports," "Barbour's Chancery Practice," and "Magistrate's Criminal Law"—the last two works, the best of the kind to be found in a lawyer's library. She died at Saratoga in October, 1856, at the age of about fifty. Frances Miriam was eleventh child in the family. In early life she was peculiarly bright and gifted, and exhibited unusual talents as a writer of both prose and poetry, and in her pencil sketches and "off hand takings" of the foibles and peculiarities of

man and womankind. In these regards she was much like her brother Morris Miller, although he never attained the reputation or acquired the celebrity she worked out for herself. She was a favorite contributor to *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Neal's Saturday Gazette*, and those periodicals were greatly sought for during the time her articles were running through their columns. Most of the "Widow Bedott Papers," of which she was the authoress, were written after her marriage in 1847, and were dramatized after her death. Tradition has it that most of the humorous characters in these papers were taken from real life, and that two libel suits were commenced by different persons, each plaintiff claiming she was the woman referred to in the character of "Mrs. Sampson Savage." No one remembers that either of these libel suits culminated in a trial. Great as was Frances Miriam's talents in this vein of writing, yet it is said she shone to better advantage, and exhibited greater strength of mind and more poetic genius in articles of a serious kind. Fragmentary poems of hers, which from time to time appeared in print, were reckoned among the sweetest and best of any which were then being published. She is remembered as among the foremost of humorous writers of that kind of humor above mentioned, and I think I am safe in saying that Whitesboro, even in its golden days, has produced no more gifted or talented lady than she. In 1847 she became the wife of Rev. B. W. Whitcher, now and for many years a resident of Whitesboro. She died January 4, 1852, at the age of forty-one. She has but one child, Mrs. W. S. Wood, of Muskegon, Michigan. Katherine Berry was the youngest of the daughters; she, too, possessed much literary ability, and for many years was a valuable contributor to newspapers and magazines. In 1855 she became the wife of Colonel H. P. Potter, for many years a resident of Whitesboro, but now a resident of Ballston Springs. She died in 1865 at the age of forty-eight years. None of the sons of Lewis Berry had a son, and hence the family name is not perpetuated among his descendants; nor are there any grandsons among his daughters except in the family of his daughter Elizabeth.

THE CURTENIUS FAMILY.

Whitesboro at an early day took great interest in maintaining good schools, and having as teachers therein those who were highly educated and ranked among the foremost in their profession. This painstaking gave the society and the schools of

Whitesboro a good reputation abroad, and served to induce many to settle in that locality for the purpose of enjoying that society, and at the same time reaping for their children the benefit of those schools. In 1818 there came to Whitesboro to reside a widow with five children of her own, besides two of her late husband's by a former marriage. This lady was Mrs. Peter Curtenius. Her husband had been a wealthy merchant in New York city, was the owner of many thousands of acres of land in Oswego county, which as early as 1795 had been conveyed to him by the patentee, George Scriba; he was also the owner of a large tract of land in Steuben township, in this county, and, in his day, was a wealthy and prominent merchant and citizen in New York. He was born in that city and always lived there. In 1804 he was Member of Assembly from New York, two years later was appointed by President Jefferson United States Marshall for the southern district of the State, held that office until 1811, when he was reappointed by President Madison, and continued until 1814. I learn that his first commission, bearing the autograph signature of President Jefferson, is now in the possession of his daughter at Whitesboro. Allow me to suggest by way of parenthesis, whether the Oneida Historical Society had not better make the effort to procure that document for a deposit among its archives? Mr. Curtenius died not far from 1817, and on the removal of the family in 1818 to Whitesboro, Mrs. Curtenius purchased the Arthur Breese mansion, which stood on the hill, near the cemetery, giving in exchange one thousand acres of the Oswego lands. That mansion had been the residence of Gideon Granger and family during their several years' residence in Whitesboro. As those seven children became educated, and matured, they scattered in various directions, and the sons engaged in different avocations. The two sons by the first marriage never married; the oldest one died in New York city in 1833, and the other one in Kalamazoo in 1866. The eldest son by the second marriage, was John; after completing his education he read law with Storrs & White, was admitted to the bar, and in 1820 married Mary F., a daughter of Judge Young, founder of Youngstown, Ohio, and granddaughter of Judge Hugh White, the pioneer settler of Whitestown. He removed to Buffalo, practiced law there, but subsequently removed to Utica, where he died in 1871; he was father of Mrs. Edward S. Brayton, of Utica. Alfred G. Curtenius, the next son, after his school days were over, engaged actively and extensively in business, married in 1842 Miss

Antoinette Tracy, of Utica, moved West and accumulated a large fortune, and died in Peoria, Illinois, in 1857. Frederick W., was another son; he attended Hamilton College, read law and was admitted to practice and located in Kalamazoo, where he married in 1867, and is now engaged in the practice of his profession at the age of seventy-six years. Of the two daughters of Mrs. Curtenius, one married in 1824, William Walcott, uncle of William D. Walcott of New York Mills. She died in Utica in 1846. Helen M., the other daughter, was married in 1839 to William S. Wetmore, grandson of one of Whitesboro's pioneer settlers; he was a lawyer, admitted to the bar about 1831, was County Superintendent of Schools about 1845 and died in 1846; his widow is yet a resident of Whitesboro, and has been for almost sixty-four years. None of the children were born in Whitesboro, and none have died there, and Mrs. Wetmore and her brother, Frederick W. Curtenius, are the only survivors of those seven children. To her clear, ready and active memory, I am indebted for many interesting facts concerning Whitesboro's early history.

THE STRYKER FAMILY.

In 1819, there came to that village to locate, and to educate her children, another widow, with a family of sons and daughters. That family was the widow and children of Daniel P. Stryker, late of Orange, New Jersey. The schools of Whitesboro were an inducement for their coming, and another one was that the widow of Rev. Bethuel Dodd, then a resident of Whitesboro and childless, was a sister of Mrs. Stryker. Daniel P. Stryker was a merchant in Orange, but always of feeble health and of consumptive tendencies; he took cold while crossing the water between Orange and New York, was ill but a short time, and died in 1815, leaving the above family, four of the children being sons, and the eldest of them but six years of age at the father's death. This family on its removal to Whitesboro moved into the house of Mrs. Dodd and the inmates constituted but one family. In 1823 the only daughter and one of these sons died in the same week of scarlet fever; in 1831 another son died, leaving but two of that family of children. The eldest of those two sons, John Stryker, attended the school of Mr. Rawson, having for his schoolmates Charles Tracy, Henry Platt and F. W. Curtenius. He had in view mercantile pursuits, and was for a while clerk in the store of William G. Tracy. At the suggestion of Thomas R. Gold he left Mr. Tracy's store and became student at law in that noted

lawyer's office, and soon became confidential clerk and manager of his office and keeper of the law register. It was in October, 1827, while Mr. Stryker was absent in Vernon for a day to transact law business with Timothy Jenkins, that he learned on his way back that Mr. Gold, during his absence, had suddenly died. Mr. Stryker finished his legal studies in the office of Storrs & White, and in 1829 was admitted to the Oneida Common Pleas, before he was twenty-one years old. That same year he removed to Rome and formed a law partnership with Allanson Bennett, then and subsequently quite a prominent and well known lawyer in this county. Subsequently Mr. Stryker was law partner of ex-Judge Foster, of Charles Tracy, Calvert Comstock and B. J. Beach. He never appeared much in courts as an advocate, or in the argument of causes, yet he was a good practitioner and always controlled a large share of lucrative business. At an early age he had a great liking for politics, and at once embarked in its successful manipulations, its mysteries and uncertainties, and became one of the chief and leading actors and prominent factors in the democratic party. At the early age of twenty-three (in 1832) he was delegated at a meeting of citizens of Rome to go to Albany to aid in the procurement of the passage of a law chartering the "Bank of Rome;" he was eminently successful, and while there made the acquaintance and life-long friendship and respect of such magnates in the democratic party as William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, Edwin Croswell, Samuel Young and A. C. Flagg. In 1835 he was elected to the Assembly, the particular object and occasion of his going, being to secure the passage of a charter for the Syracuse and Utica Railroad Company, and to see that its location should be via Rome. In 1837 he was appointed Surrogate of the county and he held that office for ten years, and until the Constitution of 1846 made the office elective. No man in the country has been more active in politics, or has attended more State and National conventions, or had a greater influence than he in the management of and in shaping the policy and politics of his party, during the forty years and more that he was a prominent participator; and it is doubtful if there were any in the ranks whose shrewdness and tact were more generally acknowledged and followed. He has been prominently connected with railroad and other public enterprises, and I can well remember the time when a pass or a line from Hon. John Stryker would "dead head" a person over as many railroads and steamboat lines as one now would from Jay Gould or Wm. H. Vanderbilt. Mr. Stryker is seventy-three years of age,

yet his mind is as clear and as active, and his memory as retentive, as when in his prime. He can remember events and occurrences of fifty and sixty years ago, even to the minutest details, telling who were the leading delegates at a district, county, State or National convention, what the issue was, and how the vote stood, and the sides the prominent actors took, and what turned the scale, with as much particularity and exactness, as if the events were of yesterday. And to day he takes the same lively interest as of yore in all that concerns politics and parties, and the welfare and best interest of the Government and his country, and is as well posted, as when he was an active participator in its affairs. The wife of Mr. Stryker is a daughter of Hon. Thomas H. Hubbard, late of Utica, a prominent citizen and able lawyer in his day, and who was the first Surrogate (in 1806) of Madison county, and from 1816 to 1818 Deputy Attorney General of the district, then composed of the counties of Oneida, Otsego, Chenango, Herkimer and Lewis: and from 1818 to 1821 District Attorney of Madison county, and member of Congress from that county six years, and presidential elector in 1812, 1844 and 1852.

Rev. Isaac P. Stryker was the youngest of that family of five children. He attended the "Oneida Institute" in 1834, graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary, and about 1840 entered the ministry. He was pastor of the Presbyterian Churches at Urbana, Watkins and in other places, and for some thirty years was actively and usefully engaged in the duties of his sacred calling. Rev. Mr. Stryker has retired from the active duties of the ministry, and is now leading a life of quiet retirement in the village where his widowed mother and her five orphan children located over sixty years ago. That mother died at the residence of her son, Hon. John Stryker, in Rome, about 1832. The first wife of Rev. Mr. Stryker was a daughter of Commodore Woolsey.

Gideon and Francis Granger.

Among the many notable persons who were residents of Whitesboro prior to 1820, was Gideon Granger. He was from Connecticut, and was a leading and prominent lawyer there. He was elected in 1793 member of the Legislature in that State, and was several times re-elected, and to his exertions is that State principally indebted for its school fame. In 1801 he was appointed by President Jefferson, Postmaster General, and continued for eight years, and was reappointed to the same position in 1808, when President Madison assumed the duties of the presidential office,

and continued until 1814, when he resigned. About that time he moved to Whitesboro and occupied the dwelling known as the "Breese Mansion." His son, Francis Granger, had graduated a few years before from Yale College, and on the removal of the family to Whitesboro, the son became a student at law in the office of Gold & Sill. Not far from 1818, the Granger family moved to Canandaigua, and in 1819 the father was elected to the State Senate, but on account of ill health resigned in 1821. He died on the last day of the year 1822 at the age of fifty-five. He was an able speaker and a powerful writer, and a great friend of internal improvements. He gave 1,000 acres of land in aid of the Erie canal. Francis Granger was elected to the Assembly from Ontario county as a Clintonian in 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1829. The first time he was elected, he was the candidate of his party for Speaker of the Assembly, but was defeated by Gen. Erastus Root. In 1828, at a convention of the "Adams Party," held at Utica, he was nominated for Lieutenant Governor and Smith Thompson for Governor; a little later he was nominated for Governor by the anti-Masons, but he declined that nomination and ran for Lieutenant Governor on the Adams ticket, but was defeated by Enos T. Throop. It was the same year Martin Van Buren was elected Governor. In 1830 Mr. Granger, at the anti-Masonic convention, held at Utica, was nominated for Governor and again defeated by Mr. Throop, the opposing nominee. In 1832 Mr. Granger was a third time nominated for Governor, this last time by the anti-Masons, at a convention held in Utica, and this time he was defeated by William L. Marcy. In 1834 and again in 1836 and 1838 he was elected to Congress, but resigned in 1841 to accept the same office at the hands of President Harrison, which his father, just forty years before, had accepted from President Jefferson. He died in Canandaigua in 1868, at the age of seventy six years.

Finale—Summary.

I have thus briefly sketched most of the more noted families who located in Whitesboro prior to 1820. This has been essential to show the prominence that village occupied and the part its citizens took in the affairs of county, State and Nation, and which gave to the place its golden age. A summary or brief recapitulation of its leading men, and the offices they monopolized while residents of that little hamlet, will indicate their character, position and influence, as well as the importance of the village.

General George Doolittle was the first Brigadier General of the county. Hugh White, County Judge for thirteen consecutive years, from 1791 to 1804. Jonas Platt, County Clerk from 1791 to 1802—during that time Member of Assembly and Member of Congress—State Senator from 1809 to 1813, nominee for Governor in 1809, and Supreme Court Judge from 1814 to 1823. Elizur Moseley, Sheriff in 1799. Thomas R. Gold, State Senator from 1796 to 1803, in the Assembly in 1808, District Attorney from 1797 to 1801, in Congress from 1809 to 1813, and from 1815 to 1817. William Kirkpatrick, in Congress from 1807 to 1809. Arthur Breeze, in the Assembly in 1797, Surrogate for ten years, from 1798 to 1808. Abram Camp, County Clerk from 1813 to 1815, in the Assembly in 1816 and 1817. John B. Pease, Sheriff from 1819 to 1821. William G. Tracy, County Treasurer for twenty years, from 1810 to 1812, and again from 1813 to his death in 1830. Theodore Sill, County Treasurer from 1802 to 1810, Member of Assembly in 1813, 1814 and in 1826, and Brigadier General. Henry R. Storrs in Congress for twelve years, County Judge from 1825 to 1830; Fortune C. White, Assemblyman in 1829 and in 1839, County Judge from 1840 to 1845, and Brigadier General of State Militia. S. Newton Dexter three years Canal Commissioner. Can any other locality in the State or Nation make such a showing?

There are other persons, doubtless, who resided in Whitesboro prior to 1820, who attained distinction in other localities, and I should be much pleased to pursue the narrative, so as to include not only those omitted, but that other bright array, who came later, and were prominent actors in that little village. But I leave that pleasurable task to others.

Next June it will be ninety-nine years since Hugh White planted his little colony upon the banks of Sadaqueda Creek, and doubtless, in 1884, its Centennial will be observed in a manner becoming its importance, and worthy of the occasion and the grand results which have been produced. No other similar event in history has worked out a grander problem in its effect upon the growth, prosperity and civilization of the country. Those pioneers who thereafter followed the first settler were of a high order of talent, of character and culture; they came, not for speculation, but rather to better, in an honorable way, their own fortunes, and to settle, develop and improve the country. They made a decided impress upon the age in which they lived, and did their full share in the education, civilization and Christianizing of the human race.

The good which they have done lives after them, and is remembered with respect and reverence by a grateful people. These reminiscences of the past, these brief and unsatisfactory sketches of by gone years, are but faint and feeble reminders of the excellent and sterner virtues of a pioneer life—glimpses of the thrift, enterprise, genius and culture of those who gave to Whitesboro its golden age.

APPENDIX:

The First Census of Whitestown, in 1790.

Hon. D. Willers, Jr., of Fayette, Seneca county, who was Secretary of State in 1874 and 1875, has been for some time engaged in gathering materials for a history of his own county, connected with its early history. For the purposes of the contemplated publication, Mr. Willers procured from the interior department at Washington a copy of the first census of the town of Whitestown, made by the United States authorities in 1790, showing the names of the heads of families in the town, the number in each family and other particulars. The law for that census was passed by Congress March 1, 1790, and provided that the enumeration of the inhabitants should commence on the first Monday of August, 1790, and close within nine months thereafter. At that time the town of Whitestown extended as far west as Ontario county.

It is not likely duplicate census returns were made in those days, and in all probability the one on file in the department, is the only one extant. Mr. Willers has kindly forwarded the copy procured by him, for the purpose of having the same placed in the rooms of the Oneida Historical Society, for preservation and future reference. The list commences with the name of Jedediah Sanger. The names thus enumerated are not arranged alphabetically, nor is there any indication as to who resided at "Old Fort Schuyler" (now Utica,) Fort Stanwix (now Rome,) New Hartford, Kirkland, Paris, Whitesboro and Westmoreland—those being the localities where about all of the inhabitants of what was then the town of Whitestown, then resided. A fire in the patent office in 1877 injured some of the records, and a few of the given names on this census list are disfigured, and mostly obliterated, as appears below.

I have arranged the names in alphabetical order, and (as far as I have been able to ascertain from history, records and ancient documents) have indicated where most of the persons were located in 1790, as regards the towns, mostly in this county,* as at present organized.

The orthography of the names as appears on the census returns, has been copied, and the correct spelling given in brackets. This census pretty clearly shows who were residents of Whitestown at that early period, although there is evidence there were other residents of Whitestown in 1790 not included in it. For instance: Jones' Annals of Oneida County records that in 1789 the families of Ezra Parker, Ephraim Waldo and Nathan Waldo located in what is now the town of Bridgewater; that in March, 1790, the families of John Butler, Sylvester Butler and Asa Shepard settled at or near Sauquoit; that in March and April, 1789, the families of Benjamin Barnes, Jr., John Humaston, Aaron Simmons, Adam Simmons and Abel Simmons located on Paris Hill. Clark's history of Onondaga county records that Ephraim Webster was located near the mouth of Onondaga creek in 1786; and Jones' Annals that said Webster located at Oriskany about 1784, and in 1786 removed to Onondaga. It is also recorded in the history of Onondaga county that in 1788 Asa Danforth and Asa Danforth, Jr., and Comfort Tyler located at Onondaga valley.

It is quite likely that most of the persons whose precise location is not given, resided in what is now Onondaga county.

Jacob Morris was the census enumerator. The footings are as follows:

Number of free white males of 16 years and upwards,......	689
Number of free white males under 16,......................	443
Number of free white females,..............................	749
Number of slaves,..	3
Number not included in above,..............................	7
Total population,..	1,891

D. E. W.

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* Dr. Bagg and others have since located about forty names in addition, which are here included.

Names of Male Heads of Families.

BRIDGEWATER.

Farewell, Joseph

DEERFIELD.

Damewood [Damoth], Richard
Fanning, William
Shearman, James

KIRKLAND.

Bullen, David
Bullen, John
Blodgett, Rufus
Blodgett, Elijah
Blodgett, Ludim
Blanchard, Andrew
Butler, Ebenezer
Butler, Ebenezer, Jr.
Butler, Salmon
Bristol, Eli
Bristol, Joel
Carpenter, William
Cassady [Cassety], Thomas
Curtis, Jesse
Catlin, Jessie
Cook, William
Eastman, Peter
Ellenwood, Hannaniah
Foot, Moses
Foot, Luther
Foot, Ira
Foot, Bronson
Ferguson, Samuel
Ferguson, Samuel, Sr.
Fancher, Thomas
Gridley, Abraham
Gridley, Jobe
Hubbard, Thomas
Hovey, Solomon
Kirkland, Samuel
Kellogg, Amos
Marsh, John
Marsh, Samuel
Marsh, Asa
Munroe, Theodore
Markham, Stephen
Merrell, Caleb B.
Pond, Timothy
Pond, Barnabas
Stebbens, Judah
Stebbens, Judah, Jr.
Tuttle, Timothy
Willård, Lewis
Willard, Rufus

NEW HARTFORD.

Blair, Joel
Bushnell, Stephen
Blodgett, Solomon
Beach, Ashbel
Cook, Trueworthy
Collins, Oliver
Gaylord, Jotham
Gurney, Bezelial
Hale, Memon
Haminway, Isaac
Higby, Joseph
Ives, Amos
Jennings, Joseph
Jewett, Samuel
Kellogg, Jesse
Kellogg, Jacob
Kellogg, Frederick W.
Kellogg, Freeman
Kellogg, Aaron
Kellogg, Solomon
Kellogg, Stephen
Miller, Amoch
Olmstead, Ashbel
Olmstead, Gamaliel
Risley, Allen
Risley, Elijah
Savage, Guideon [Gideon]
Staples, George
Sanger, Jedediah
Seward, Nathan
Wells, Samuel
Williams, Thomas
Williams, Ezekiel

PARIS.

Coolage, Charles
Barnes, Benjamin
Barrett, Stephen
Barrett, Benjamin
Barrett, Isaac
Davis, Elijah
Fowler, Reuben
Griffin, Kirkland
Hopkins, Elias
Kellogg, Phineas

Lummas, [Loomis] Ladoc
Plumb, Joseph
Porter, Raphel
Rice, [Royce] Amaziah
Rice, Hezekiah
Rice, William
Shearman, Levy
Thompson, Alpheus

ROME.

Andrus, David
Colbreath, William
Demont, Joseph
French, Jasper
Fellows, Roswell [Rozel]
Gilbert, Nathaniel
Knight, Daniel W.
Phelps, Jedediah
Perkins, Silas
Robbins, Ephraim
Ranney, **eth [Seth]
Ranny, **illett [Willett]
Ranny, James
Smith, Bill
Wright, ** er [Ebenezer]
Wright, ** as [Thomas]

STEUBEN.

Sizer, Samuel

UTICA.

Alberson [Alverson], Uriah
Bellinger, John
Brown, Daniel
Christman, Jacob
Clark, Aaron
Harris, Joseph
Morey, Solomon
Morey, Sylvanus
Nutting, Simeon
Post, John
Potter, Stephen
Parker, Jason
Rust, Samuel
Sailes, Darius
Saule, Joseph
Smith, Peter
Smith, Nathan
Smith, James
Wells, Arnold

VERNON.

Brownson, Solomon

WESTERN.

Beckwith, Asa
Beckwith, Reuben
Wager, Henry

WESTMORELAND.

Blackmer, Ephraim
Blackmer, Joseph
Blackmer, Joseph, Jr.
Brigham, Stephen
Brigham, Lyman
Blair, John
Collins, Samuel
Cone, Walter
Chittington, Gerard
[Chittenden, Jared]
Dean, James
Dean, Jonathan
Dean, William
Gleason, Solomon
Gleason, Joseph
Griffin, Natheeneil
Jones, Nehemiah
Jones, Joseph
Laird, Samuel
Laird, John
Lummas [Loomis], Nathan
Lummas [Loomis], Isaac
Parkman, Alexander
Phelps, Silas
Phelps, Jacob
Phelps, Joseph
Rogers, Simeon
Smith, Amos
Smith, Elijah
Stillman, Samuel
Stillman, John,
Townsend, Nathaniel
Townsend, John

WHITESTOWN.

Badcock, [Babcock] David
Barnard, Moses
Brainard, Jeptha
Beardsley, John
Doolittle, George
Ensign, Samuel
Ferguson, James
Goodrich, Rosel [Roswell]
Holt, Justice [Isaac]
Kane, Elisha

Leavenworth, Lemuel
Maynard, Needham
Pool, Simeon
Root, Joseph, Sr.
Steel, Seth
Seymour, Uriah
Towny, John
Whitmore, [Wetmore] Amos
Whitmore, [Wetmore] Parsons
Wilcox, Ozias
White, Hugh
White, Hugh, Jr.
White, Daniel C.
White, Ansel
White, Joseph
White, Philo
Wilson, John
Winch, Samuel

LITCHFIELD, HERK. CO.

Angier, John

NORWICH, HERK. CO.

Fowell, [Farwell, Dr.,] Isaac

PERSONS WHOSE PRECISE LOCALITIES ARE UNKNOWN.

Arnold, Hopkins
Allen, Gideon
Allen, John
Allen, Jeremiah
Ames, Robert
Austin, Nathaniel
Allen, Thomas
Arnold, David
Armstrong, Archibald
Ailworth, Phillip
Allen, Isaac
Atwater, Asaph
Brannan, Seabury
Barnard, Samuel
Belnap, John
Blodgett, Joseph
Ballard, Luke
Blount, Samuel
Barnes, Asa
Barker, Simeon
Brown, Levy
Badcock, [Babcock,] Jonathan
Briggs, William
Bronson, Asiel
Clary, William
Cone, Osias
Cutter, Joseph
Cook, Samuel
Cook, Selah
Cook, Samuel
Cleveland, Gardner
Cergil, James
Collister, James
Coughlin, John
Coughlin, John, Jr.
Crandle, John
Case, Benjamin
Dunn, Joseph
Drury, Josiah
Davis, Joshua
Dewey, Elias
Eno, John
Fortune, Enoch
Fisk, Abraham
Graves, Nathaniel
Groves,——tine [Valentine]
Graves, Jacob
Gibbs, Zenas
Guile, Elijah
Gridley, ——eadorus
Gillett, Timothy
Hall, Barnabas
Humphrey, Noah
Hall, Jonathan
Hale, Thomas
Hayden, Jonathan
Huggins, William
Higgins, Edward
Hulvert, Joshua
Hubbard, Baxter
Hawkins, Widow
Hawkins, David
Harrison, Elisha
Howard, Stephen
Hawley, Rice
Hammond, Benjamin
House & Pearce (?)
Ingram, Joseph
Johnstone, * * * sa
Keltz, Philip
Kelsey, Nathan
King, * * * us
Meyer, ———
Merriman, Christopher

Mills, Kanah
McIntire, James
Morse, Joshua
Nurse, Jonathan
Noyes, Amos
Newell, Elisha
Peters, Benjamin
Paine, Joshua
Putnam, Charles
Parks, Robert
Parmalee, Amos
Perry, George H.
Potter, Sheldon
Pryor, Azariah
Root, Simeon
Rush, Elijah
Stanley, John
Smith, John
Steel, James
Shaw, Samuel
Sails, George
Sails, Jeremiah
Scott, Ezekiel
Sheldon, Stephen
Smith, James
Sanford, Jonah
Smith, James
Smith, Benjamin
Smith, David
Smith, Ebenezer
Satchell, William
Shifferd, Samuel
Smith, Theodoric
Shurman, ——almer
Shurman, ——dediah
Tillotson, John
Thompson, Zebulon
Tryon, Thomas
Tyler, Ashbel
Tuller, James
Thompson, James
Tuttle, Samuel
Weston, Jonathan
Willy, Bezihal
Wood, Joseph
Wright, ——omon[Solomon]
Webster, Daniel
Webster, David
Whipple, Israel
Whipple, Calvin
Wood, Thomas
Wilson, John, Jr.
Wilcox, David
Wright, Gabriel
Wright, Samuel

THE WAGNER RE-INTERMENT,

AT FORT PLAIN, OCTOBER 20, 1881.

Johan Peter Wagner, born January 3, 1722, the son of Peter Wagner, a very early pioneer of the Mohawk valley, after serving for years as a patriot in the Revolutionary struggle, at first under Sir William Johnson, and later under General Herkimer, and after having been engaged in the battle of Oriskany and most of the other prominent battles of the time and region, died full of years and honors, and was buried at Palatine in a cemetery on the Wagner farm now owned by J. Harvey Smith. His eldest son, also Johan Peter, and like his father known as colonel, was born November 6, 1750, and died August 1, 1816, after a somewhat more quiet but hardly less useful life than his father's. He was buried by his side in the cemetery at Palatine. Some time ago it became necessary to take part of this old burying ground for a public purpose, and Jeptha R. Simms, the man of all in the Mohawk valley most interested in its historic events, called the matter to the attention of the Oneida Historical Society of Utica and suggested the eminent propriety of reinterring the bodies of father and son in the beautiful cemetery at Fort Plain. The Historical society cordially took up the matter and determined to show proper honor to these two men, most worthy of themselves and as founders of one of the greatest families in the Mohawk valley. The plans arranged for the interesting event were carried through October 20, 1881, and the day will not soon be forgotten by people in the region most interested.

Two special cars were attached at Utica to the 10 A. M. train, to take the members of the Historical society and the military escort from Utica to Fort Plain, and they were well filled. The society was represented by its vice-president, Hon. C. W. Hutchinson, the chairman of the executive committee, John F. Seymour, the secretary, S. N. D. North, Dr. I. S. Hartley, Dr. A. G. Brower, Leroy F. Shattuck, Dr. Charles B. Foster, J. V. H. Scovil, Dr. Edwin Hutchinson, Dr. Douglass, Max Lehmann and others.

General Dering was represented by a detailed staff consisting of Major Sherrill, Major Pomeroy and Captains Eaton and Spriggs. The Utica Citizens' Corps was represented by Major Everts and his staff, Lieutenant Bagg, Lieutenant Gillmore, Lieutenant Munson, Chaplain Gardner, Surgeon West and Lieutenants Storrs, Kincaid, McQuade, Coggeshall and Stevens. The Hutchinson Light Guards, Company B, of the Twenty-sixth battalion, in command of Captain John W. Gossin, acted as military escort, and was accompanied by the battalion band. General C. W. Darling, as chairman of the committee of arrangements for the Utica party, was in command for the day, and was accompanied by General W. H. Christian, also a member of the committee.

On arriving at Fort Plain, the party was met at the depot by Jeptha R. Simms, William Clark, Rev. Dr. Wortman, Dr. Morgan Snyder, Horace L. Greene, Hon. Webster Wagner, John B. Haslett and Simeon Tingue, the Fort Plain executive committee, and a procession was formed, President Hutchinson marching in front with the members of the executive committee, followed by the Historical society and the Military. Two hearses bore the bodies of the Revolutionary hero and his son, a guard of honor marching with each. Arriving at the Reformed Dutch church, Rev. Dr. Wortman's, all entered, and, with the people from the town, it was comfortably filled.

J. R. Simms' Address.

After the reading of the ninety-first Psalm by Rev. G. L. Roof, D. D., of Troy, J. R. Simms delivered the address of welcome, in which he showed the appropriateness of such a ceremony taking place on the day selected. He said:

In behalf of the Fort Plain committee of reception on this interesting occasion, I take great pleasure in welcoming to our village this delegation of the Oneida Historical Society and its friends and escort, who have come hither on a sacred and commendable enterprise, to wit:—the re-interment in a more befitting place, of the remains of some of our heroic pioneer settlers.

The time chosen for this ceremony seems a very proper one, since we are in the midst of a galaxy of most interesting centennial events. One hundred years ago yesterday, at Yorktown, Va., the British lion crouched beneath the American eagle. One hundred and one years ago yesterday, was fought in the

adjoining town of Palatine, scarcely three miles distant, the battle of Stone Arabia; in which the interpid and brave Colonel Brown, borne down by overwhelming numbers of the enemy under Sir John Johnson, fell a most generous and willing martyr to the cause of civil liberty. One hundred years ago next Tuesday, occurred the battle of Johnstown, between the Americans under the daring Willet and the British, tories and Indians under Major Rose, in which the latter were defeated; and three days after, far up the West Canada creek, a just retribution for his damning deeds, sealed the fate of the infamous Walter Butler.

It were impossible on this occasion to notice even a few of the many thrilling and important events which transpired in the Mohawk valley, after the bloody battle at Oriskany, in which the patriots whose memory we now honor took an interesting part. But I may say that some of the most unique and noteworthy incidents that ever occurred in any place or age, transpired in the Mohawk river settlements during our seven years' war for the establishment of civil liberty. Many were the hair-breath escapes from the stealthy tory and Indian foeman; while many, very many representatives of families decimated by the tomhawk and scalping-knife, were conveyed at the end of Indian tump-lines through the unbroken wilderness, who, after suffering incredible hardships, were incarcerated for months—yes, for years, in Canadian prisons. Montgomery, Herkimer and Fulton counties were rife with such scenes of carnage and blood. I can not linger to single them out, but will barely make allusion to one of the most sanguinary.

About the 1st of July, 1781, Captain Solomon Woodworth, of the Johnstown settlements, a very brave partisan officer, went on his first expedition with his new command, in search of the foeman. Without awaiting breakfast, with a lunch in their knapsacks, himself with his command of forty brave men and six Oneida Indians, moved in the early morning from Fort Dayton up the West Canada creek, and was at the end of a few hours drawn into a défile—surrounded, and his command nearly all slain or captured. Twenty-five of his men, including himself, were the next day buried in one grave, a few miles from Eaton's corners, by Captain Putman and another company of rangers, then at Fort Dayton. But I can assure the hearer that a thousand and one of the startling and blood-curdling events, which transpired in the war on this then frontier of civilization, will, as I trust, ere long be published for their amusement and consideration.

I repeat, this is a befitting time to honor the memory and deeds of known patriots; and that country will be found the most prosperous and happy which properly cherishes and perpetuates the memory of its heroic ancestry, whether in words or on enduring marble. But I can not trespass upon time, as I anticipate that a rich feast of words is in store for us.

Again I say to our distinguished guests—you are thrice welcome to the hospitality of the village of Fort Plain.

Rev. Dr. Wortman stated that it had seemed to him becoming that the music should belong to the period in which the men to be reinterred belonged, and the choir would sing "The Dying Christian" to an old tune. This was performed with considerable spirit and with a similar lugubrious strain, sung later, formed a complete demonstration to the audience that church music has immensely improved within a half century. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley offered prayer, beseeching heaven that the liberty for which these men fought and labored, might continue always to bless their descendants.

Peter G. Webster, of Fort Plain, being introduced made a brief speech, thanking the Historical Society for its assistance, and the Utica Citizens' Corps and the military escort for their kind attendance. Mr. Webster connected the historic events which the day commemorated with the great rebellion, and called to mind the bravery shown by Utica soldiers and the readiness with which they and their comrades through the Mohawk valley took up their arms in defense of the country. Mr. Webster strongly commended every effort to bring to the minds of the present and of future generations the noble deeds done by their fathers. He spoke with feeling and force, and in closing, read a portion of a speech which he delivered on a similar occasion many years ago.

Rev. Dr. Wortman's Address.

After Mr. Webster, Rev. Dennis Wortman, D. D., spoke with force and appropriateness: We stand to-day upon historic ground. From the point where the dust of the old Revolutionary soldiers shall henceforth repose, we may gaze well about us in every direction, over valley and hill, and nowhere may we turn our eyes but they behold some spot associated with Revolutionary

suffering or heroism, or even pre-Revolutionary history. Here the old fort stood whence this town derives its name, called first Fort Plain, and afterwards Fort Rensselaer. Yonder, further on, the old church and the graveyard where, during and before that epoch, the living worshipped and the dead were buried. Some two miles further, and across the river, near Palatine church stood old Fort Wagner, home and fortress both—just as now and evermore the home is the divinely protected fortress of our national virtue, integrity and strength. It stands yet, a strong stone house, that stood in those olden days as a protection against the foe. Skirting off well to the right, a few miles, you can see the old church of Stone Arabia, its predecessor burned a hundred years last October, while many of the people all about were massacred. Further to the right still, near Palatine Bridge, you come upon the battle ground to which our veteran Fort Plain historian, Mr. Simms, has alluded, the battle ground where, under Colonel Brown, the Stone Arabians resisted so courageously the tory and Indian bands. Off toward the southwest the eye passes beyond Forts Clyde, Failing, Ehle and the Fort Rensselaer of Canajoharie on to the village of Currytown that was destroyed; and, yet further, to Cherry Valley, almost half of whose population were killed or captured by the brutal Butler, Brant being at that massacre, but an unwilling and protesting participant. I say it is historic ground. It has a pre-Revolutionary interest. All this valley teemed with a vigorous Indian population, one of the most powerful tribes on the continent. Their bones and implements of war seem so abundant as almost to make an Indian cemetery of many of these hillsides, while out beyond Ephratah a score of mounds indicate even a possibly pre-Indian occupation. Still, above all else, this is Revolutionary ground. In view of all hardships then endured in this whole region, I have accustomed myself to call it the very Shenandoah valley of that immortal conflict.

Not inappropriate were it then for us to gather here at this time to call up the memories of those days to localize and fix this valley history; to bring to the thoughts of our present and fast passing times the dangers and the heroisms of those days and gather therefrom fresh inspiration for our work and welfare of to-day. Not the less fitting does it become because we are able to localize these matters about the life of one who had a considerable prominence in the affairs of that time, and who was the honored ancestor of so many honored descendants who abide among us to this day. Meanwhile, a more beneficent use shall we make of

this occasion, if we be thereby inspired to move out unto a higher nobleness and a thorougher manhood. This, too, is a historic time—or shall be, if we so choose to make it. The Indians are no longer here. The tories are dead. The Revolution is past. But there still are foes to fight, errors to subdue, holy truths and principles to establish, grand victories to gain, honors to achieve, divine purposes to serve.

Ours is the heroism that made our fathers illustrious! Ours the fortitude that carried them to victory! And whether, a hundred years from now, the place of our burial is known, or utterly forgotten, may the goodness we shall have done be buried in many hearts, and in many lives make itself manifest in glad and everlastingly recurring resurrections.

He reminded his audience that they were seated in a church which stood on the spot where was the original Reformed Dutch church, which stood in the time of the Wagners. He showed, too, the original deed for the church lot, a very old document, "gnawed by other teeth than those of time," and which but lately came into his possession. In concluding, Dr. Wortman gave the Historical Society a cannon ball found on the battlefield of Stone Arabia, one of the few relics in his possession belonging to that period. Dr. Wortman expressed pleasure at being able to introduce "the orator of the occasion, Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, the energetic and accomplished vice-president of the Oneida Historical Society."

ADDRESS OF HON. C. W. HUTCHINSON.

Mr Hutchinson having expressed the thanks of his society for the relic given it, spoke as follows:

We are here assembled in the heart of the Mohawk valley, to pay proper tribute of respect to the memory of two individuals whose influence upon its history, and whose civic and military service during the troublous times of our Revolutionary war are deserving proper recognition. Circumstances having necessitated the removal of their remains from their burial place upon lands so long in the possession of the family, to a fitting spot in your beautiful cemetery overlooking those lands so many years their home. This day being so near the anniversary of the battle of Johnstown, with which their name is connected, make the ceremonies of this occasion unusually impressive. It appeals to our patriotism by recalling the history of the first settlement of this

valley by the Palatinates, and their noble Christian and patriotic deeds, of which, after a lapse of over a century, in a clear and undoubted record, has been preserved, and it is to be hoped that a more personal history will soon be written to perpetuate and record in a fitting manner the story of the lives and sacrifices of these early patriots, to whose sturdy character and invincible energy, we to such great extent owe the civil and religious freedom we now enjoy. And it is properly a public duty, for at this time, in the sixth generation the trace of family lineage is so slight, and became so diffused by collateral connection, that any tribute to their memory should be in the broadest sense public in its character.

In casually tracing at this time the lineage of some of the Palatine families, there are found at present to be between one and two thousand descendants in a single family line, and in the period of one hundred and sixty years the blood of the Palatinates permeates the veins of whole communities from Schenectady to "the crossing of the old ford" at Utica, called by the Indians Yah-nun-dah-sis.

In addressing you, therefore, we feel that any new fact which may be presented relating to the personal and historic events which have taken place in the valley of Mohawk should be received with interest.

The story of a man's life is usually written in the water. At his death a moment's troubled surface, then all becomes placid as before, and in a few years all memory of him except perhaps his name or a record of his good deeds has passed into oblivion forever.

But the history of each individual of the early settlers of this section stands out boldly in striking contrast. Their lives were constant struggles against opposing forces and adverse circumstances, but which brought out persistent determination of purpose, unity of ideas, and the closest harmony in united action, when a result was to be attained for a religious or a patriotic purpose.

The two Palatinate families of Johan Peter Wagner and William Fox removed from Schoharie to the Mohawk valley, about the year A. D. 1723, and settled in the town of Palatine, near Palatine church some two miles west of this village, Fox settling on the easterly side of the Garoga creek (a part of which is now known as the Newkirk farm), and Wagner settling about a half-mile easterly of the creek (a part of which is now occupied by Harvey Smith

and Chauncey Wagner.) The lands occupied extending from the Mohawk river several miles northerly. We find from the copy of the original deed that John Conrad Wiser, Jr., Jan Jacokop, John Jost Peters, Conrad Rigarts, Nicholas Fuller, Henry Mayor, Augerian Smith, Rutles Raving, Peter Spice, Peter Waggoner, Peter Conneaskern and Jacob Warynoo, all high Dutchmen or Palatines, took a deed from the five nations by their sachems, dated July 9, 1722, of the land beginning at Ostenrogen, or the first carrying place to the westerly end of it, to Gauerdagavien, being about twenty-four English miles upon both sides of the Mohagus river.

And this is the first recorded mention of this branch of the Wagner family. The traditional and subsequent history I now note.

Johan Peter Wagner, the Palatine and ancestral head of this family, was born at Braunsback, in Wirtemburg, October 4, 1687. He was married with Maria Elizabetha Laues, who was born at Oehringen in 1686. They emigrated to America 1709 and settled at New Paltz, Ulster county, and afterwards, in the year 1714, removed to Schoharie county where they remained until their settlement at Palatine in 1723. About the year 1750 he built his residence the old stone dwelling, (now standing and in a good state of preservation.) It was quite similar in style with the well-known houses of Frey, Ehle, Van Alstine, and Wormouth, which were erected about the same period.

This Wagner house is said to be the oldest house now standing in the State of New York, west of Fort Plain. In early times, and during the wars, it was stockaded and was known as Fort Waggoner, and a block house was said to have been situated some fifty feet southeasterly of the dwelling, and that some of its timbers are still in the barn buildings on the farm. And a part of the old foundation still remains.

On the Wagner farm in the rear of this house is a peculiar range of hills, called by the German settlers the *Steiler-Berg* or steep hill, ranging east to west for about half a mile. These hills, on excavation, are found to contain Indian relics of the pre-historic period, and recent discovery has opened two burial grounds of different generations of the tribes.

It was upon one of the most prominent of these hills that the old burying ground of the early settlers of this portion of Palatine was situated; a very few graves having inscribed tablets, hundreds being marked with two rough stones, without other mark or record.

Colonel Wagner's family consisted of eight children, as follows:

Anna Margaretha, born April 15, 1712; married Heinrich Tillenbeek.

Maria Catharina, born August 18, 1714; married Georg Rosner.

Utilia, born August 16, 1716; married Isaac Reit.

Catharina Elizabetha, born September 10, 1718; married Johan Georg Stockenchild.

Maria Magdalena, born January 4, 1720; married John Failing.

Johan Peter, born January 8, 1722; married Barbara Elizabetha Dockstader. [illegible]

Martha Elizabetha, born January 24, 1724; married Georg Saltsman.

Colonel Peter Wagner, died May 23, 1813, aged ninety-one years, four months and nineteen days. And the following receipt is still preserved:

> PALANTINE, 29 May, 1813.
>
> Received of Colonel Peter Waggoner nine dollars in full for six gallons of rum for the berriing of old Colonel Peter Waggoner.
>
> L 3: 12 0. J. WHEELER.

This Johan Peter, was the only son of his father the pioneer. He was generally known as Colonel Wagner. And herewith we copy from the records of the Evangelical Lutheran German congregation in Stone Arabia and translated from the original German, the following record:

> The Mr. Colonel Johan Peter Wagoner was born 8th of January, 1722. The godfathers were Peter Knieskerken, Gottfried Fiedler, Maria Lies Knieskerken, [Free].
>
> Stone Arabia, March 2, 1811.
>
> PETER WILHELM, Domeier.

He, was married with Maria Elizabetha Dockstader in the year 1750. They had nine children, namely: Johan Peter, Johan Georg, Elizabetha, Maria Margaretha, Johan Joseph, Johan William, Catharine, and Helen or Laney. And it is to the memory of Colonel Johan Peter Wagner and of his eldest son also named Johan Peter, and of their remains we are now paying this tribute of respect and Christian duty.

Upon their graves no evanescent flowers are laid; a crown of laurels is the fitting tribute to the record of their lives, a brief resume of which connected with public events I shall now partially present.

The first public record of Colonel Wagner is his commission as second lieutenant in the second battalion of the county of Albany,

which was under the command of Sir William Johnson. It is dated August 25, A. D. 1748, and is signed by George Clinton, the colonial governor. He was undoubtedly engaged in the French and Indian war of 1756.

The colonel was a staunch patriot during the Revolutionary war, and unswerving in his devotion to the cause of his country. He was one of the committee of safety for Tryon county, and was present as a delegate from the Palatine district at its first meeting held at the house of Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia, August 27, 1774.

There being present Christopher Yates, chairman, Peter Waggoner, Isaac Paris, John Frey, Jacob Klock, Andrew Fink, jr., Christopher W. Fox, George Ecker, jr., Andrew Reeber, Daniel McDougle and Anthony Van Fechten.

And he is also recorded as being present at the first general meeting of the committee in the Canajoharie district, held June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert, near the upper Indian Castle.

Colonel Wagner was engaged in the battle of Oriskany and held the position of lieutenant colonel of the second battalion from the Palatine district, of which Jacob Klock was colonel. His oldest son, Johan Peter, was second lieutenant in the first company of this regiment, and his second son, Johan Georg, was a volunteer in his command; the latter, was wounded in the forearm by a bullet, and on account of it received a pension. Joseph another son ran away from home and joined the command at the German Flatts, but being only sixteen years of age and the only son old enough to afford any protection to the family, his father promptly sent him back to look after the women and children.

Lieutenant Colonel Wagner, it is said, took command of the first battalion of the Canajoharie district at the battle of Oriskany, which was under the command of Colonel Ebenezer Cox, after General Herkimer, who was its first colonel, was wounded. He was also one of the grand jury at the first court of quarter sessions under the new State Government held at Johnstown September 8, 1788, and represented his district as a Member of Assembly at the second, third and fourth sessions, in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781.

A reference to some of the local history of this portion of the State may interest some of those here assembled. Those lands upon the south side of the river were in the possession of the Mohawks, whose easterly or lower Castle was called by them Te-äh-ton-tä-ló-ga, situated near Fort Hunter. The westerly or

upper Castle was called Gä-né-ga-hä-gä, and was situate on the east bank of the How-a-da-ga creek in the town of Danube, some two miles easterly of the residence of General Nicholas Herkimer, and was the former residence of King Hendrick and Captain Joseph Brant. The village of Fort Plain was called by the Iroquois Twä-dä-a-la-há-lä, "The Fort on a Hill." The Mohawk Middle Castle being situate on the easterly bank of the O-squä-go creek overlooking the village, and was called Gä-nä-jo-hí-e, and was the junction of the great Central and Susquehanna Indian trails.

Here, near the Reformed German Church, familiarly known to you as the Sand Hill Church, lived the Indian trader John Abeel, who married for his first wife the daughter of a Seneca Sachem, and whose sons were Teh-wun-yars, who was one of the fifty hereditary Sachem of the Iroquois, and was the leading military Sachem of the Confederacy; and Gy-ant-wä-ka, John (Abeel), the Cornplanter, the great war chief, and their half brother by Indian lineage was Gä-ne-o-di-yo, "The Prophet." It was during the invasion of the tories and regulars, under the command of Colonel John Johnson, and the Indians, under the commands of the Chiefs Thä-yen-dä-né-gea and Gy-ant-wä-ka, in August the year of 1780, that the Indians took John Abeel prisoner and burned his residence and other buildings, but his son soon released him and sent his father with an escort safely home. Abeel's daughter Maria, by his second wife, married Joseph Wagner, who resided in the old Paris mansion in this village for many years.

The following correspondence, taken from the originals still in the possession of the family, relating to these incursions just mentioned are of historic interest, and while curious in style, they are imbued with a spirit of rare force and determination in their quaint expression.

PALATINE, May 28th, 1780.

A Return for Amunition for the men which are gethered at the house of George Klock—13 men.

Sir Col. Klock desired me to call upon you for Amunition, as you had trawn for all the men in his Reg't living upwards from Fox's. Remain

Sir your Humble Servt,
JACOB G. KLOCK.

To Col. Peter Waggoner.

PALATINE, 26 June, 1789.

Sir, I do not doubt but you know that our scout made a discovery of the Enemy this afternoon near our Quarters. I Emediately on the endeligence send a few lines to Col Clyde Informing him of the aproge of the Enemy, and also desired some Assistance of him, he Emediately send 18 men which arrived here.

Capt Diffendorf with his Company Lise at Cox's, which we send for to come over this Evening. now I desire you would send all the yung abble men to-morrow by day braek from all the forts from you up. In order to durn out at day brack to attack the Enemy, as all the men here mean to durn out if we could be Leetle more Ranforced. I should be glad if you desire Col Klock to send some men from Stoneraby also. No more as Remain

Sir your most Humble servt

Col Waggoner JACOB G. KLOCK.

FORT PARIS July 13 1780

Sir pleas to order twelve of the smartest men that you have in the different forts under your command to Joyn Capt John Cassalms Company with four days provition with the quickest dispatch

from your friend and humble servant

To Lt Col Waggoner. JACOB KLOCK Coll

FORT PARIS, June 5, 1781.

Sir: I this moment received a letter from the commanding officer at Johnstown, that the enemy have yesterday taken several prisoners and burnt some buildings in those quarters, and it is thought by him that they will make a stroke either at Stoneraby or else up the river, the enemy is sixty or seventy strong you'll give notice to all the Posts up above without a moment's delay. I am your

To Cols. Klock and Waggoner. PETER S. DYGERT, Major.

FORT PARIS, Sept. 9, 1781.

Dr. Col: I received your order and did according to it. I have ordered every man, except yours namely John Shull's Adam Loux, Valentine Freligh and Henry Becker, whom I have kept for scouts. I am

Dr. Col. your very hbl servt

To Col Waggoner. SEPRINUS KLOCK, Capt.

Lieutenant Johan Peter Wagner, the oldest son of Colonel Wagner, and afterwards also a colonel was a fitting scion of the sturdy old Dutch stock of his ancestry. He was born November 6, 1750, and his wife Nancy Bell was born in the year 1759. They were married in 1782 and had a family of nine children. He died at Palatine, August 1, 1816 at the age of sixty-seven years. He was appointed by General Nicholas Herkimer a special commissioner to confer with Captain Joseph Brant at the Unadilla conference in July, 1777, and as heretofore mentioned was second lieutenant in the first company of the regiment commanded by Colonel Klock, at the battle of Oriskany. He with his brothers Johan Georg, Johan Joseph, William and Johan appear also to have been engaged in several skirmishes in this portion of the valley, particularly that of Fox's Mills, situate some eight miles west of this village, where Sir John Johnson with his Tories and Indians had thrown up a small breast work, and awaited the approach of General Van Rensselaer and his militia. The Indians were first

driven from their position, and the works of the enemy would have been carried, when apparently without reason Van Rensselaer ordered his troops to fall back a mile and encamp. The young Wagners with many others of the young men indignant at the order refused to retreat and remained on the ground taking many prisoners during the night. In civil life we find the name of Lieutenant Wagner a member from the Palatine district in the convention of 1801, over which Aaron Burr presided. There is also preserved a record of some of the generous gifts of the two Colonels Wagner for public and religious purposes, to which allusion is proper.

The old stone Lutheran church at Palatine was erected August 18, 1770. Henrich Nellis gave a deed for the land necessary. The title being made to Colonel Peter Wagner, Andrew Reeber and John Eisenlord, churchwardens, January 2, 1769, and Peter Wagner, Andrew Reeber and Christian Nellis, Jr., were bowmasters in charge of the erection of the church. Colonel Wagner subscribing for that purpose £100, Mr. Reeber the same amount and Mr. Nellis giving £50, and his family are recorded as giving for the support of the minister, in the year 1797, as follows:

Peter Wagner, Sr., £1.4.0. George Wagner, £1.12.0, Peter Wagner, Jr., £1.04.0, John Wagner £1.04.0, Joseph Wagner £1.12.0, and the name of Joseph Wagner who was a member of assembly at the 29th session in 1806, is engraved upon the church bell, and the following receipt is still preserved:

To Colonel Peter Wagner, Jr:

Sir—Be pleased to pay unto Thomas Day or order the sum of eight pounds in behalf of Elihu Hall, which, when paid, will be in full for your subscription money you subscribed towards building Union Academy at Stone Arabia.

Stone Arabia, the 12th December, 1797. ANDREW FINCH.

This occasion also recalls to the memory of a grateful people the names of other patriots of the Mohawk Valley: Herkimer, Brown, Cox, Clyde, Visscher, Fonda, Snell, Frey, Dygert, Yates, Fink, Paris, Van Horne, Sammonds, Veeder, McDougle, Van Vechten, Klock, Ecker, Campbell, Diefendoff, Petry, Fox, Staring, Bellinger Timmerman and others.

The patriotic devotion of these men should be more closely studied by the present generation, and the monument at Oriskany, soon to be erected, is a fitting tribute to the memory of those who so nobly acted during times of savage allied Indian and tory invasion in the Valley of the Mohawk. They were almost undisciplined, and inadequately armed, taking all their sons able to

carry arms, marched through the unbroken forest to meet St. Leger and his disciplined army and its savage allies. Their arms were victorious, the invaders repulsed, and their righteous cause, contending for civil and religious freedom, was crowned with success.

These heroic men had all most dear to life pledged upon the success of their arms, and stood in the ranks by the side of their sons, in defense of their cause. Members of the committee of safety carried muskets as privates, and four of them of great prominence in public life, namely: Col. Isaac Paris, Samuel Billington, John Dygert and Jacob Snell were killed at Oriskany. Had they failed, in their patriotic efforts their homes would have been devastated, their property forfeited, and the lives of their wives and families left to the brutal mercy of a ruthless enemy.

In thus cursorily recalling your attention to these events of the early history of this valley in which these patriots were such active participants, if an increased interest in this subject has been produced in the minds of any who will now determine to collect and properly preserve in fitting places records and documents of historic interest, then these exercises will have wrought a fitting work and beneficent result. It was your distinguished historian and townsman, Jeptha R. Simms, Esq., who first suggested the necessity and propriety of this day's services. His life has been spent in a labor of love recording the history of the Mohawk Valley and of the early patriots. To his exertions the public owe one-tenth of the sum subscribed by individuals for the monument at Oriskany. And his life work of history should be conspicuously placed in the home of every descendant of the patriots of the Revolution. In order that the history of their early struggles may be recalled to the minds of your children that they be taught to emulate the heroism and noble character of these men to whose deeds and acts you owe all most dear to mankind, the enjoyment of free institutions and a government of the people.

The chairman introducing John F. Seymour, of Utica, he read the following letter from his brother, Hon. Horatio Seymour, the president of the Historical Society, who, to the regret of all, was unable to be present:

UTICA, Oct. 19, 1881.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry I can not go to Fort Plain to attend the ceremonies at the re-interment of the remains of Colonel Wagner. I am glad the people of the Mohawk valley are waking up to their duties and obligations to the memories of the brave and patriotic men who were once the defenders

of this region. A discredit now rests upon its inhabitants for their neglect. Elsewhere the people would be eager to give an interest to their homes in the eyes of the American people by marking and making known the spots which are connected with interesting events of American history. Those of the Mohawk valley surpass in interest and historic value the events of sections, whose people have piously and carefully preserved the histories of their fathers. I trust the work of putting up monuments and preserving history has now begun, and that the reproach resting upon our citizens will be removed, and that the descendants of these brave men of the Revolution will not permit strangers of other races and blood to do them honor.

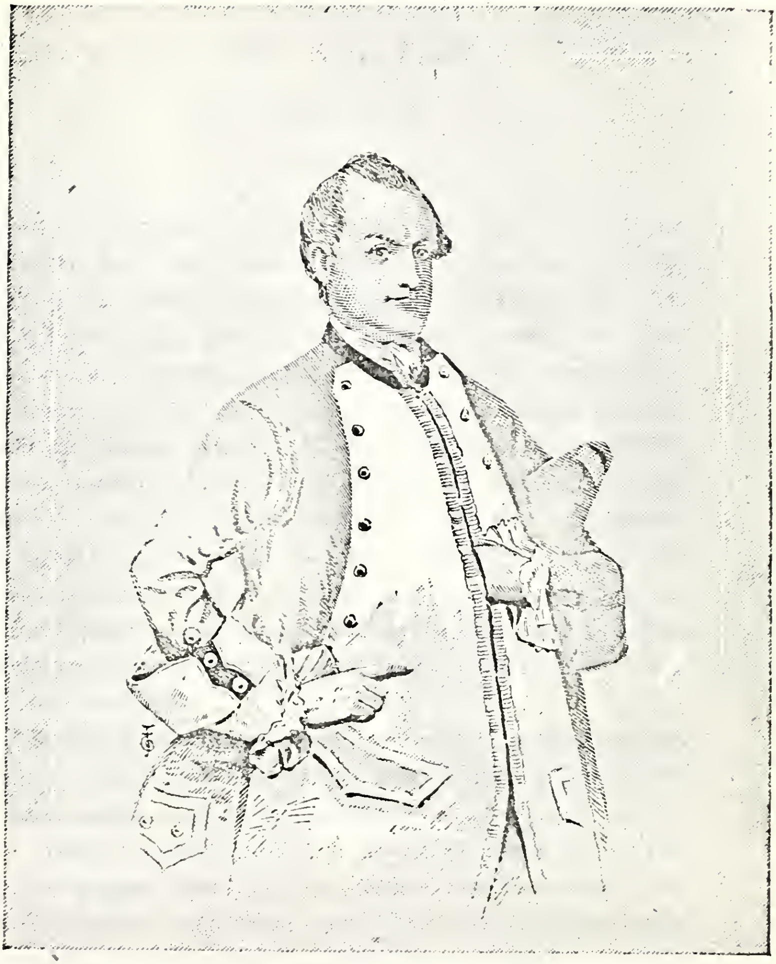
Very truly yours,

Hon. J. R. Simms. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The chairman introduced his friend Rev. G. L. Roof, whose father gave to Canajoharie its former name of Roofville. Mr. Roof spoke of his pride in being a native of Montgomery county and in having had one relative who took part in the battle of Oriskany and another who was with General Herkimer when he died. Mr. Roof made a pleasant speech and expressed his conviction that the future of the country was to fulfil those words of Daniel Webster, beginning. "Liberty and Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable," words which did the speaker more credit even than all his great orations on the interpretation of the Constitution. The exercises at the church closed with the doxology.

Forming again the procession moved to the cemetery, in one of the most beautiful and sightly spots of which the bodies were laid in their final resting places. From that point, which is high above the town and the valley, the observer can see the spot, three miles or more away, from which the bodies were taken, and turning around, his eye falls on many of the places of most interest to the father and the son, when they were alive. No better place could have been found. Rev. Charles H. Gardner, Rector of Trinity Church, Utica, the Chaplain, offered a fervent prayer at the grave, and the coffins were lowered side by side, the military escort firing last volleys.

It was now two o'clock or after, and the guests were glad to accept a cordial invitation to refreshment at the Fritcher Opera House. The bountiful lunch, kindly provided by some of the residents of the town, was served by its youth and beauty. The Utica party reached home about half-past six.



Peter Schuyler

DEDICATION OF THE SITE OF

OLD FORT SCHUYLER,

UTICA, JULY 4, 1883.

The propriety of suitably designating the site of Old Fort Schuyler, the first white name of Utica, was brought to the attention of the Oneida Historical Society by its President, Ex-Governor Seymour, at the meeting of April 6, 1881, and after some discussion in regard to the actual site and the memorial to mark it, the matter was referred to a special committee for consideration and future report. At the meeting of September 7, 1881, the question of locality was further discussed, and it was resolved to consult the older residents of the city, and also to make personal examinations of the site. Both were done, and the result was the conclusion that the site in question was near the junction of Ballou's creek with the Mohawk (Can-ne-o-ga-ha-ka-lon-non-i-ta-de) river, in the block bounded by Main and Second streets, and the river and creek.

The difficulty of determining with certainty the precise location of whatever constituted this fort, is another illustration of the speed with which uncertainty gathers over the materials for history. From its construction in 1758 to the beginning of this century, the original Fort Schuyler was the chief and almost only physical fact known as to what is now Utica. It was the stopping place here alike of troops and travelers, and continued to be the only one for several years after the close of the Revolutionary war. The pioneer settlers found it here and named their hamlet after it. The real fort itself was doubtless as well known to every resident of Old Fort Schuyler in 1800, as is the City Hall to the present inhabitants of Utica. And from that time to this there has been a continuous succession here of the descendants of those early settlers, who would naturally be assumed to be reliable

witnesses to establish the site of the old fort beyond a peradventure.

That the fort was within the limits above mentioned, including a space of some six hundred feet on Main street, from Second street eastward to the creek bank and thence along the creek and river to the line of Second street, is unquestioned. Brodhead's map of 1810 shows that Ballou's creek, though some distance east of Third at Main street, turns westward and enters the Mohawk but two hundred feet east of Second street. In what section of this plat of 600 by 400 feet, at its widest, the fort stood, or whether it occupied a large share of the whole of it, is the conundrum for the Historical Society.

The printed authorities, so far as known, locate the fort near Second street. Thus, Bagg's "Pioneers of Utica," 1877, says: "This fort was situated on the south bank (of the Mohawk) a very little distance southeast of the present intersection of Second street and the Central railroad." Jones's "Annals of Oneida County," 1851, says: "It stood between Main street and the Mohawk, just below Second street." Harrington's "Utica Directory," 1828, says: "The village was called Old Fort Schuyler from a fort, the ruins of which are slightly visible, north of Main and east of Second streets, near their junction."

But the majority of the living authorities consulted, located the ruins of the old fort, (several declaring they had seen them,) further eastward and in rear of the brick Methodist Church built in 1816, on the northeast corner of Main and Third streets, and destroyed by fire after 1850.

The tracks and appurtenances of the New York Central Railroad now almost completely cover the actual site of the old fort. The nearest available ground for the proposed monument was found to be a small triangular piece, near the southeast corner of Main and Third streets, a remnant left between those streets and Park avenue, lying about opposite the site of the old church and 100 feet or so west of the tall chimney of the City Mill, now Machine Works. It was, indeed, suggested that the chimney might be designated as a ready made

and readily seen memorial of the fort. Application was made to the Common Council to devote the desired plat to the intended purpose: the application was granted and the ground formally set over to the society, as reported at its annual meeting January 3, 1882. A suitable foundation was laid and the ground properly graded, under the direction and at the expense of Vice-President Hutchinson, who donated the work to the society; and at its meeting, May 8, 1883, it was determined, that the dedication of the site should take place on the ensuing anniversary of American Independence, and constitute a part of the celebration of the day by the citizens of Utica. Invitations were accordingly issued by the special committee of the society, Generals Darling, McQuade, and Christian, of the accompanying form:

1759 *1883*

The Oneida Historical Society requests the honor of your presence at the Dedicatory Services at the site of Old Fort Schuyler, Wednesday, July 4th, 1883, at 2 P. M.

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[*] Ruins of Old Fort.—*Jones' Annals. p.* 490.

THE PARADE.

The number of strangers who came to the city on this occasion was estimated at 20,000. Long before half-past eleven A. M. the crowd of men, women and children began to gather at Bagg's square and vicinity, and about that hour the various local and visiting organizations began taking the places in Bagg's square and Whitesboro, Genesee and Broad streets, which had been assigned to them. Everything worked like clockwork and there was not a drawback or hitch in the formation of the entire long line. John P. Vidvard at eleven forty-five A. M., the hour advertised for the procession to move, had his long line of decorated carriages systematically arranged in Whitesboro street. and streets adjacent. With remarkable promptness for so long a procession, Grand Marshal Everts started the line in good order. As the procession started, cannons sent forth loud reports and the City Hall and church bells rang in unison. The line formed in the following order:

Platoon of Police.
Grand Marshal D. T. Everts and Staff.
Old Utica Band.
Utica Dering Guards—Captain Joseph H. Remmer.
Oneida Historical Society.
Orator of the Day, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D. D.
Officers of the General Committee in Carriages.
Reader of the Declaration of Independence,
Hon. Henry J. Coggeshall.
Little Falls Band.
Chief Engineer Thomas A. Scott and Assistants.
Little Falls Fire Department.
Waterville Cornet Band.
Waterville Fire Department headed by the Chief Engineer and Assistants.
Employés of Wicks, Hughes & Griffiths of Utica.
Frankfort Hose Company.
Frankfort Band.
Hutchinson Light Guards—Captain J. W. Gossin.
Johnstown Band.
Chief Engineer A. Philes and Assistants.
Johnstown Fire Department.
Post Reynolds, G. A. R.—O. P. Clark, Commander.

Delegates from Post Skillin of Rome, Post Ross of
New York Mills and the Waterville Posts.
Canastota Fire Department, with Chief Engineer
Benjamin Rowe and Assistants.
Adams Center Band.
Gloversville Band.
Utica Citizens' Corps, Lieutenant P. J. McQuade.
Watertown Citizens' Corps, Captain C. A. Settle.
Remington Rifle Corps—Captain Brazee.
Grand Army Drum Corps.
Chief Engineer Dimbleby and Assistants.
Utica Fire Department.
Mayor Doolittle and the Common Council in Carriages.
Utica Police and Fire Commissioners in Carriages.

SECOND DIVISION.

Colonel John P. Vidvard and Staff.
Members of the Press in Carriages.
Canastota Band.
Over Two Hundred Decorated Wagons.

The procession was nearly, if not quite two miles in length, and was an hour in passing any given point. The line of march was up Genesee street to Hopper, to Park avenue, to Oneida square, down Genesee to Court, to Varick, to Fayette, to Genesee, to Broad, to Old Fort Schuyler monument. To give some adequate idea of the length of the parade, it is only necessary to say that when the head of the procession had come down Genesee and Court streets and reached State; the rear of it had not yet crossed Genesee street bridge. That the parade was a triumphant success was manifest from the enthusiasm of the spectators. The line of march was a perfect ovation. Not only were yards filled, stoops, windows, balconies, tops of buildings and other available spots on the line occupied; but the sidewalks and even the streets were packed with human beings so that the police and members of the staff found it necessary oft times to clear a path for the procession to move.

The line of march was a long one and the weather very hot and sultry, the hot sun shining directly on the boys in line much of the way. Still all stood it bravely, and marched over the entire advertised route without a grumble or murmur of dissent.

The dedication of the site of old Fort Schuyler took place at the hour advertised—2 P. M. Before that hour Vice-President

Hutchinson, the members of the Oneida Historical Society and invited guests were at the site of the monument, and with Grand Marshal Everts and staff, reviewed the procession as it passed the site at the junction of Main street and Park avenue. It consists of a triangular plot of ground raised in the form of an embankment. At the upper corner is a tall flagstaff. At each of the corners is a large Parrot gun, presented by the State. In the center is a large square stone which marks the spot where the proposed monument is to be erected.

The exercises opened with sentences of scripture, and prayer by Rev. Charles H. Gardner, of Trinity Church.

The new flag adopted by the State Legislature last year was then raised by the Hon. C. W. Hutchinson, vice-president of the Historical Society, by whom it was bought for the occasion, amid applause. He then made a brief address, as follows:

ADDRESS BY VICE-PRESIDENT HUTCHINSON.

The Oneida Historical Society has during its organization corrected many of the errors of tradition which for years had been accepted as matters of historic fact. Their official publications most carefully prepared and revised, have brought out many facts of both local and general interest pertaining to this portion of the State. Its record of the battle of Oriskany and its imposing centennial of August 6, 1877, is now the accepted historic record, and that testimonial to the patriotism and sturdy devotion of the German and Dutch pioneer settlers of this beautiful valley of the Mohawk, in their hand to hand conflict with the British and their tory and savage allies, has awakened new interest in the public mind, to the historic self-sacrifice of our ancestors, and rewritten the story of that pivotal contest of the American Revolution.

That record of 1776 was one of warfare and bloodshed, and its glorious result after eight years of the severest trials, culminated in the success of the American arms; and you most appropriately now are celebrating the one hundred and seventh anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. You have also honored, upon this occasion, by your patriotic tribute to this day, an event, which, while military with name and character, is of great local importance.

For upon the spot upon which we stand old Fort Schuyler was erected during the year 1759. It was peaceful in its history, and protective in its character. Its palisades were erected in order to

afford refuge to the early settlers, and extended from the kill or creek easterly of us, westerly to Second street; from Broad street thence northerly to the Mohawk river.

Its guns commanded the old landing for batteaux in their transit to and from Fort Stanwix, Oneida lake and the great west, a short distance from which was the junction of the great eastern and western trails of the Kamosh-i-o-ni, the confederacy of Five Nations, the famed Iroquois.

This trail crossed the river at a shoal, still distinctly observable, a short distance from this spot, which was called by them Yah-nun-dah-sis, "or the Crossing by the Old Ford." And this is the earliest historic name which designated the present site of the city of Utica.

This fort was erected during that period when the affairs of the American colonies were under the wise direction and counsels of Lord Chatham, and the English government held rule and jurisdiction over this portion of the American continent.

At that period the British ensign floated over this site denoting its nation's power, and commanding obedience to a trans-Atlantic government.

On this bright day, after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-four years, we here stand together, freed from foreign domination, representatives of this great American republic.

And that ensign we now replace by the new flag of the great State of New York, which, with its arms and noble motto, as adopted by the Legislature of 1882, floats from this flag staff. Its pure white ground and the bright emblems are most appropriately representative of the majesty and power of the five millions of people of the great empire State.

This society has now (so far) fulfilled its duty, and now delivers to the city this base, with the confident expectation that the public will feel sufficient interest in this historic spot, to erect a suitable monument to perpetuate its name and record to our posterity.

Hon. H. J. Coggeshall, of Waterville, then read the Declaration of Independence in loud, clear tones, and with good emphasis and inflections.

Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley, of the Reformed Church, then delivered the Oration, which was attentively listened to and often applauded.

FORT SCHUYLER IN HISTORY.

BY REV. DR. ISAAC S. HARTLEY.

Mr. President, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

Beneath these genial skies and amid an atmosphere fairly laden with the music of freedom and joy, and on a day when as a people we took our place among the distinct nationalities of the world, we have here assembled to mark a spot pre-eminently historic to us, the citizens of this emerald city.

There have been periods in our history when, laying aside our usual avocations, we have been called together to consider questions bearing upon our national polity and life. And there have been seasons when, awakened by the din of war and the clash of arms, we have convened to arouse, enlist and equip brave hearts and strong arms for the conflict. But at this hour, though drums beat, bugles sound, flags wave and the measured tread of soldiers in martial array is heard in our midst, we have come to rescue from threatened oblivion the humble site, around which more than a century ago our fathers gathered, and from whence they sallied forth to glorious victory.

America, rich in fertile valleys and noble streams, has none, however, more historic than those which these wooded hills garrison, and where flow yon rapid rippling waters. The great Roman orator tells us that, when he was at Athens, he could scarcely move without meeting some record commemorative of illustrious deeds or of illustrious men. The thundering eloquence of Demosthenes and the divine ethics of Plato were floating in the air. So here; every field, every forest, every acre and yon waters suggest memories dear to every freeman's heart, and such as all true Americans should delight ever to recall.

From the time in which it was known that this beautiful valley led to the great lakes and the extensive prairies of the west, it has been the avenue along which the most valiant forces have moved, as well as the scene for struggles bitter, persistent and sanguinary. True, those of the whites who were the first to thread it from the east were our own Dutch forefathers, and like their fathers were in quest of the trade which made them the most successful mer-

chants in the world; while those who passed in from the west were the missionaries of the cross, who, as they followed its grassy level, held high in air the symbol of their faith. But though the cross and commerce so early entered its verdant gates, only a few years passed ere it witnessed scenes, than which the pages of history nowhere record any more terrible or severe. Here it was where the Five Nations made their home, whose Tekawhogea, or war captain, was always of the Mohawks. First, these confederate tribes were in league for the preservation of their own cabins and hunting grounds. Later, when strengthened by the addition of the Tuscaroras, they formed an alliance with the Dutch. Still later, they became wedded to the English; later still, they were friends of the white man of every nationality.

For more than a century the grand problem that was ever presenting itself to the more aggressive nations of Europe was, shall the vast area of the Iroquois become a dependence; or shall the red man retain his native fields and remain the sole monarch of the western world? The attempts to solve this far-reaching problem have made this valley most historic, and gave to its early people the name of "The Romans of America," while it led the Spartans of classic Greece to be called "The Mohawks of the Old World."

It does not comport with the exercises of the hour that I should sketch, even rudely, the events of which the acreage about us is so suggestive, and which these hills once looked down upon in silent awe. Yet, who in this assembly that knows where he stands can fail to recall the associations so surely connected with the spot, aside from the fact that works were here erected for safety and defense. Over the very area whereon we are now gathered lay the only frequented road through this part of the valley. Some two centuries ago could we have looked down upon this very locality, as did the eagle from his secluded nest, we might have seen Father Ioques with his associate brethren in quest of the wigwams of the Mohawks, to acquaint their dusky tenants with the story of the cross; and a little later, missionaries from our own Dutch church at Albany desiring an acquaintance with the western tribes contemplating their mental and spiritual improvement. Indeed, anterior to this, an Indian delegation went eastward asking from their Albanian friends to be taught anew the Christian truths, that by dying in the Christian faith, they might obtain the Christian reward. We might have seen likewise the brave chiefs of the Iroquois as they journeyed—now for a national council—

now to carry to their captors new tokens of their fidelity and allegiance. In truth, no warrior, no soldier, in war or in peace, no itinerant, no discoverer, nor army of any nationality could move to the right or left without passing the field about us, and thus the site we would this day perpetuate. It was the natural and traditional path. The original trail from the brambles and bushes of the Mohawk here terminated, and also the trail which led from the higher grounds and the thicker forests at the west.

Referring to the topographical features of our immediate neighborhood, in early days, two trails or paths lay on either side of the river; one leading to Fort William at the west, the other to a route by the wooded banks of the Black River and thence to Canada. Along this latter trail the French traveled in their overland incursions aimed at the expulsion of the settlers on our northwestern frontiers. As it branched off some ten miles or so to the northwest towards Fort William, it made a more circuitous route to this part of our State than the trail on the south side of the river; of which our own Genesee street, with its numerous stores and palatial houses is merely the development. A few rods to the east of us a little rivulet flowed, and it still flows bearing the present name of Ballou creek; or, as it was called by our Dutch fathers, *Schwein Fresser Kill*, making its outlet in yonder curve in the broader current of the Mohawk; while a hundred or more feet to the west, on the north bank of the river, Reels creek emptied its babbling waters. Insignificant tributaries to the Mohawk! True, but in their day though secondary streams they had a historic import quite equivalent to the early Tiber, or to the more pellucid current of the Tagus. If the waters of the Adonis were esteemed sacred by the Asiatics, and the Phrygians rendered honors to the Marsyas and the Meander, and the conquering Greek, previous to his ruffling the surface of the Sinde, poured libations into it from golden goblets, every lover of freedom should hold most dear yon streams for the services they have rendered to American growth and to American glory. The meeting of these two humble rivulets, coming down from the cooling springs born in yonder hills, laden with sand and gravel, and entering the river nearly opposite each other, made the Mohawk fordable; and I need hardly say it was the fordableness of the river that constituted the place where we are now assembled the highway of this valley. On the angle of land formed by the south bank of the river, and the west shore of Schwein Fresser Kill the Fort was located, whose site we this day would mark. Consequently it guarded not merely the river itself,

which when in repose reflects the evening star and the blush of morn, but the tortuous travel east and west that led to it. Its site then was most wisely chosen. Its position made it one of the gates of this valley, nor could a friend or enemy pass seeking the east by the Mohawk, or the west by the double trail without paying to it, if demanded, proper tribute.

Remembering, then, where we now stand, how numerous must have been the scenes to which this site has been witness! But when I speak of the scenes with which this place is so surely connected, I have not in mind so much those in which loving peace is so often eloquent, and upon which orators and poets always delight to lavish, and appropriately, their loftiest praises, when

Buried was the bloody hatchet—
Buried was the dreadful war club—
Buried were all war-like weapons,
And the war cry was forgotten—

rather am I thinking of what Avon's bard so truthfully described as

"That son of hell
Whom angry heavens do make their minister,"

of war, savagery, slaughter, rapine, and all that kindred terms so naturally suggest. It is said that a single mound remains, with here and there a ditch, to mark the ancient site of the old city of Verulam. But connect these debris of her former greatness with her history, and the mind instantly becomes moved, and deeply. Once she enjoyed all the rights of Roman citizenship. Here the brave Queen Boadicea defended the Roman army. Here St. Alban received his martyrdom. Here, also Britain knew British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Saxon and Norman dynasties. So when I pause to recall where we are now met, scene after scene passes before me just as great and changing. Indeed, in imagination, I can see the moving to and fro of Indian scout, fired with revenge, learning when and where his inflamed passions shall next be given their sway. I can see the fleeing of bleeding, decimated and homeless families hurrying hither and thither, crimsoning their way with blood, seeking that protection which civilization and only civilization can give and perpetuate. I can see cruel hordes advancing from yonder marshes to scalp, to wound, to kill; and the marching of Saxon forces to check, to conquer and to tame. Nor is it difficult to recall the alternate moving and retreating of Indians, French, Dutch, English, flushed with the hope of speedy victory,

or disheartened and crushed by sudden defeat. For the Caucasian knew this spot, as did the lowly and cruel red man. No doubt it has been the passive observer of many a skirmish, and, it may be, bitter struggle. And as at yonder ford the weaker rested to bathe, so the stronger availed themselves of the pebbled path and hurrying over, sought victory beyond.

Omitting the earlier scenes with which this part of our lovely valley is fairly burdened, let me ask; was it not through the very fields whereon we stand that the sachems so often passed for their peculiar talks to the ancient place of treaties—Albany; that the adventurous Bradstreet crossed with his armament for Oswego; and when its Fort was completed that the motely brigades of Mercer, Schuyler and others marched to occupy and defend it; and that the relief corps of Webb so sluggishly journeyed? Indeed scarce had the rude posts of the stockade settled in their holes ere Prideaux and Johnson reached yon ford with the confederate troops of New England and New Jersey on their way to Niagara; breaking camp at Canajoharie on the 19th, and journeying by this site on the 30th of June. The same was true of other commanders, and other forces bent on kindred missions. As the tides rise and fall, or flood and ebb, so have valorous hosts moved to and fro before this place—now to defeat—now to victory—now to victory—now to defeat. In yonder meadow the gallant Herkimer bivouacked after his glorious victory at Oriskany—that royal struggle which turned the current of the Revolution and ended in our national birth. Beyond a doubt the first water that cooled and cleansed his mortal wound was dipped up from yonder daisied bank. The wily St. Leger also would have rested here had not the brave German assured him, by bullet messages, that the longest way round was the shortest way home. Here Arnold halted in seeking the relief of Fort Stanwix.

Numerous, very numerous, are the associations of this place; nor is there an area in all central New York abounding in memories of men more noble, in events more decisive, or in scenes more thrilling and important.

Referring, as I now am, to some of the events that have made this section of our valley so historic, may I add; few have ever estimated the strategic importance of central New York, and the bearing its topography has exerted upon our national destiny. In the line of hills a little to the south of us, no less than three streams have their rise, which with our own gently flowing Mohawk and the Hudson command nearly one-half the eastern area

of these United States; and by following the course of our streams and valleys we can invade no less than twenty States and two-thirds of the territories of the union. Streams form a nation's natural defense and are her proper highways; so have believed the mighty conquerors of the past, and much later the confederates in our recent war. In no mean sense then, New York State commands the union. Nor can there be but one government on this continent so long as our rivers, valleys and mountains remain as now. The honored President of this society, Horatio Seymour, the sage of Deerfield

Qui decori decus addit avito,

assures us that, in company with General Winfield Scott, from an elevated point near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson rivers, he overlooked the range of highlands which marked their courses; and that the hero of so many battles, stretching out his arm, remarked: "Remember this has been the strategic point in all the wars waged for the control of this continent." And this is simply one of the highlands of our State. Add to it those of which I have just spoken, those wooded summits which the sun first doth gild, and from them we can pass down not merely to our seaboard cities, but to the vast, vast acres which make our reunited and prosperous country.

The Fort that formerly occupied this site was built in 1759; more than forty years after the erection of Forts Ticonderoga and Onondaga, and some forty-seven years after Fort Hunter, the latter being the first Fort erected among the Five Nations. It was merely one in a long chain of similar structures that united the waters of the Hudson with the deeper and bluer waters of our western lakes. On the west, the nearer were Forts Bull and William, with Forts Herkimer and Hendricks at the east. It had its origin in the colonies desiring to strengthen themselves in this valley, and the necessity of supplies and ammunition being conveniently located, as well as shelter for the settlers when threatened or pursued by thirsty and bloody foes.

Under date of July 16, 1755, the lords of trade wrote to Governor Hardy for an opinion as to the best system to be laid down for the defense of the frontiers; for the management of the Indians; what Forts should be built, where located, and the number of troops required to give efficiency to the colonies. Hardy, in replying to this communication, suggested that three Forts should be erected on the northern frontiers; one on the Hudson

river; another at Lake George; a third at or about where Wood creek and South Bay mix their waters; another in the Onondaga country where the general councils of the Six Nations were held; and still another some eighty miles to the west of Oswego. They were not, however, to be equal in extent, nor of the same magnitude. On the contrary, he expressly mentions that some, as Fort Onondaga, need not be very strong, as a picketed one with a number of block-houses would be sufficient. The recommendations of the governor were adopted. So soon, therefore, as authority arrived for their erection they were begun. As General Shirley at this time was in command of the north and western frontier, he undertook the construction of the more needed ones, leaving the less important to be built after the completion of those demanded for strategic purposes. To his honor and magnanimity be it said, not one was located arbitrarily. On the other hand, he not only sought the permission of the Indians, but solicited also their active co-operation. Notably was this true of the Fort built at Oneida. Ere, however, the plans of the government could be carried out, Shirley was superseded by the Earl of Loudon; it was, therefore, under his administration that this particular Fort was built, and from whom also it received, so to say, its charge. Before the Indians yielded their assent to the multiplication of defenses among them, inasmuch as they were desired for the present emergency, and their erection somewhat interfered with their fishing and hunting places, and they who garrisoned them too frequently abused their privilege, it was expressly stipulated that all minor posts should be destroyed, so soon as the war ended.

The size and shape of Fort Schuyler I have yet to learn, as well as the special character of its construction. As Fort Stanwix at Rome was erected the year previous, and at an expense of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, and upon the most true and approved scientific principles of military engineering, it is not probable that the Fort on whose site we are now met was either as costly or extensive. Rather, since the completion of Fort Stanwix gave abundant accommodations for a large garrison, and afforded complete shelter for supplies and fugitives, it is more than probable that it was a simple block-house, with openings for cannon and musket, and palisaded so as to furnish proper protection to all needing it for safety or aggressive warfare. I thus speak, for such was the character of the Forts to the east which occupied similar subordinate positions. In Barber's collection of New York, we are told that the "first building erected within the limits of

Utica was a mud fort, during the old French war. It was situated between Main street and the bank of the river a little eastward of Second street." When Fort Schuyler had accomplished its mission, or the war over, the authorities kept the promise made to the allies, and with other constructions of like character, it was given over to decay.

Following the custom of the day the Fort was named for an officer, at this very period in the active service of his country, Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey. Already had the noble deeds of Peter Schuyler, of Albany, become household words; but as the dash, bravery, heroism and philanthropy of his namesake were daily coming more and more into view, and were commanding the astonishment and admiration of his countrymen, it received his name, simply as a feeble acknowledgment of the services he had already rendered the government, as well as a reminder for further faithfulness, devotion and sacrifice.

That the Fort was called for the Jersey and not for the Albanian Schuyler, we need but recall the custom that prevailed at this day in naming every stockade or defense for an officer then in active service. Unhappily when its foundations were laid Peter Schuyler, of Albany, had been in his grave twenty-five years, while his namesake of New Jersey was in command of the Jersey Blues then garrisoning Oswego. Nor among all the officers in the army was there one more popular, self-sacrificing, or the recipient of higher honors. When others were timid and doubtful, he was bold; when they parleyed and delayed, he was nervous and anxious for action; when the State was unable to pay its troops, he advanced moneys for the same from his private resources; and more especially, when the general government could not and did not ransom her soldiers from captivity, Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, became their deliverer by personally purchasing their redemption, and with no hope of return. Indeed his bravery, patriotism and philanthropy endeared him to the whole country. It is likewise the testimony and tradition of his descendants still living in New Jersey, that it was their ancestor for whom this Fort was called; and at this very hour their choicest heirloom consists of the sword once worn by their noble sire during his campaigns in our valley, when the old block-house first came into being. While Peter Schuyler, of Albany, had frequently given his services to his country, and enjoyed a most enviable reputation among the Indians, he was, however, more a man of peace; in fact, he was offered the honor of knighthood for his civic services. Peter Schuyler, of

New Jersey, was a man of war, and for his military dash and sagacity received the commendation of the English parliament, through William Pitt; while the colonies manifested their gratitude for his great philanthropy by frequently rendering him unwonted honors.

As in studying the early history of this section of our State, we frequently meet with the names Fort Schuyler and Old Fort Schuyler, may I observe in passing, that during the Revolutionary war an attempt was made to give the name of Schuyler to the Fort erected on or near the site of Fort Stanwix, at Rome; while the Fort which we this day would commemorate was alluded to as Old Fort Schuyler. But as these two Forts derived their names from two different indivduals of the same distinguished family, so did they occupy different cites. To repeat, our Fort Schuyler derived its name from Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, and of Indian renown; while the Fort which supplanted Fort Stanwix was called after General Philip Schuyler, of New York, and of Revolutionary memory.

Here an imperfect sketch of the Schuyler family will not be out of place.

The family of Schuyler has always played a most important part in the history of our commonwealth. The first who appears on the historical page was Philip Pietersen Schuyler, a pure Hollander, who came to these western shores in 1650. His ancestral acres lay about the famous old city of Dordrecht. After an honored career, he died on the 9th of May, 1683, O. S. and was buried in the old Dutch church at Albany. His fourth child bore his father's name, nor was he any the less distinguished. He was born at the city of Albany, and after its incorporation became its first mayor, occupying this position from 1686 to 1694. In 1688 he received the commission of major of the militia, and before the close of the year was given command of the Fort in his native city. He was also made a member and, at a later period, became the president of his majesty's council for the province of New York; and for a while acting governor of the colony. He was chief commissioner for Indian affairs, and held that arduous and responsible position many years. To impress the government of Queen Anne with the character of its allies, in 1710 he visited England, taking with him several Iroquois chiefs with whose constituency he was on terms of intimacy. As a token of her respect for the services he had rendered the government, Queen Anne presented him on his return with a silver vase. This was the Schuyler whom the Indians loved to call "Brother Queder." He died in 1724.

The ninth child of Philip Pietersen Schuyler was John, whose son John was the honored father of General Philip Schuyler, the trusted and tried friend of America, and who fought so bravely for her independence. He was baptized, as was his friend Benjamin Franklin, on the day of his birth.

The sixth child of Philip Pietersen was Arent Schuyler, who was born in the city of Albany in 1662. He was given the name of his maternal grandfather. He married Jenneke Teller, November 26th, 1684, and commenced house-keeping on North Pearl street, Albany, as the records read, "in the house where the eagle hangs out." The notarial papers inform us that as his name Arent meant eagle, he hung out in a cage a live eagle, to mark his residence, instead of a door plate. About the year 1693, he removed to New York city. In an Indian deed dated July 13th, 1696, he is styled, "Merchant of the city of New York." Having purchased, however, an extensive tract of land in New Jersey, near Pompton, he removed there perhaps in 1706, and ever afterwards regarded this State as his home. In April, 1710, he purchased an additional farm on New Barbadoes Neck, the present site of Belleville, to which he removed the same year.

As an illustration of the surprises that await the more bold and adventurous, let me relate an incident which, as we shall see, gave him no mean wealth, as well as social influence, in his adopted State. As one of his negroes was plowing, he happened to turn up a greenish heavy stone, which he took to his master, who, discovering that it contained copper, sent it to England for analysis. It was found to possess eighty per cent of this valued metal. Desiring to reward the faithful and thoughtful slave, Schuyler asked him to name three things that he desired most, assuring him that his wishes would be gravely considered. The slave answered first, that he might remain with his master as long as he lived; second, that he might have all the tobacco he could smoke; and third, that he might have a dressing-gown like his master's, with big brass buttons. Schuyler suggested he should ask for something more. After a moment's thought, the negro replied "that he might have a little more tobacco." How true that were the loftiest ambition of some fully gratified, it would end in smoke!

The family of Arent Schuyler consisted of his sons Philip, Casperus, John, Peter, Adoniah, and his daughters Eve and Cornelia. His third son William died in infancy. Peter, his fifth son, the noble man whom we this day would honor, was born on his father's farm in 1710; whether the one at Pompton or Belle-

ville it is difficult to say. Of his early days little is known beyond his receiving a liberal education, and such as qualified him for future usefulness.

His father dying in 1730, and leaving him by his will some seven hundred and sixty acres of land near the Rahway river, on the site of the present city of Elizabeth, led him to make New Jersey his home. He married Mary, daughter of John Walter, of New York, a man of considerable influence and great wealth, who lived at this period in Hanover square in the same city. It appears he had but one child, a daughter named Catharine; to whom, as his will reads, he bequeaths all the residue of his estate, and her heirs and assigns for ever.

But rather than occupy ourselves with the biography of Colonel Schuyler, since he was quite a prominent figure in the struggle in which the colonists were now engaged, let me, though necessarily very imperfectly, review the condition of the country at this time, and as we unfold it, mark the man.

From the hour in which the French had obtained a foot hold on American soil, and had become acquainted with its general character, they coveted to make it a dependency of the French crown. For the accomplishment of this purpose, every known expedient was resorted to from actual purchase, to forcible expulsion. To add efficiency to their design, a chain of Forts was begun to extend from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi; while later they were planted westward as far as the present city of Detroit; thus literally to hem in the colonists, and when the proper hour arrived to take possession of the country. The formal declaration of war, by the powers in Europe in 1744, added to the growing hatred of the contending parties; and laid open our frontier State wider to all the horrors with which they had become already too familiar. Indeed, the atrocities of the French rapidly assumed such proportions, that the province became most clearly impressed with the conviction that their only permanent safety lay in the conquest of Canada, and in making it a tribute to the English realm. With this in view, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed at once the capturing of Louisburg, and particularly it, since all conceded this settlement to be the key to the French occupation. At the same time aid was dispatched to Oswego, the many frontier Forts were strengthened, and measures entered upon to engage the Iroquois in the war now upon the nation. While the colonists were thus paying their attention to the invaders at Cape Breton, all the country, especially that

portion along our northern frontier, was kept in perpetual disturbance, by the actions of the French and their tawny allies.

But to attempt any history of the atrocities of the French at this time, along the frontiers of our State, would be merely a recapitulation of the massacre at Schenectady in 1690, and the still later barbarities of Wyoming and Cherry Valleys. As they were of an uncalled for character they awoke a spirit of determined resistance among the colonies, and spurred them to vigilance and action. Among other results they drew Colonel Peter Schuyler from his Jersey acres, and led him to offer his services to the country. This was in 1746. The records of the acts of the New Jersey legislature for this year contain the following: "For colonel of the forces raised in this province for the intended expedition, it is unanimously recommended his honor, Peter Schyuler, Esq., a gentleman well-known to several members of this board, of good estate and reputation, and very proper to be commissionated for the purpose." Having accepted this high and responsible position, our hero was immediately ordered to proceed to Oswego, to garrison the Fort, and make ready for any service to which he might be summoned. Surrounding himself with the troops he had been able to enlist, on the third of September he embarked at Amboy, en route for Oswego, via the Hudson river and Albany. As the government, however, had failed to furnish the necessary additional force, that was to come from England, Schuyler, after a delay of five months in Albany, was recalled. Though deeply chagrined at the failure of the home government to redeem its promise, and the inefficiency also of those who had the care of colonial affairs, this experience, however, simply brought out some of his more prominent characteristics, and led the authorities to see with whom they were dealing. During his detention at Albany, he informed the New Jersey governor that his men were in want of a surgeon, medicine, shirts, flints, colors, bread and peas. Besides this, unless they soon received their pay, they had threatened to leave; taking with them their arms and ammunition. In Governor Hamilton's reply to their communication, he complimented Colonel Schuyler for the zeal he had shown in his majesty's service; and at the same time gave him assurance that that very day he had ordered for each one of his soldiers a pair of shoes and two speckled shirts. But as the troops felt that this promise of the authorities would be similar to others with which they had become acquainted, Colonel Schuyler, fearing they might desert, advanced from his own private means several

thousand pounds, enough to meet their wants, and to silence all their murmurs. The more important needs of his men having thus been met, Colonel Schuyler was ordered to proceed to Saratoga and await the commands that there would be sent him. Unfortunately, the same experiences that had overtaken him while at Albany were here repeated; and they were met in the same way. In the mean time, articles of peace were signed at Aix la Chapelle, which bringing an end to the war, left Colonel Schuyler nothing to do but to return to New Jersey; where, after a few weeks' delay he found himself engaged once more in his former labors.

Though the war had been officially declared to be at an end, so far, however, as America was concerned, after all nothing really had been gained. On the contrary, the country had greatly suffered, and so had humanity. The boundaries between British and French possessions were yet unsettled; nor had either contestant acknowledged the right of the other to portions of Maine; but more particularly to the basin of the Ohio. With such important questions unadjusted, the opportunities for renewing old hostilities were exceedingly frequent; so much so that even an unprejudiced mind easily discovered them. The following added very much to the accumulating complications. The English government, (under the treaty of Lancaster of 1744) had permitted Virginia to assume the right of territory as far west as the Mississippi. In harmony with this treaty, a large grant of land situated on the Ohio river was given to several individuals of wealth and influence, residing in England and in Virginia. The grantees on taking possession of their property naturally adopted measures for their government and protection. The government in Canada having learned of these proceedings, and regarding them as an intrusion upon French rights, informed the governors of New York and Pennsylvania of the encroachments thus made; and warned them that in case they did not desist, such steps would be taken as the invasion of a domain demanded. His threats receiving no attention, in pursuance of his purpose, the French governor ordered his troops to the town of Picqua, in the valley of the Miami, to demand its surrender with the English traders therein and their effects. The Indians in charge, declaring that the English were their guests, refused; whereupon the French assaulted the town and destroyed the Fort; and to show, it may be, the determination with which they proposed to carry out their measures, the king of the Piankeshaws was sacrificed

and eaten. Thus, in Ohio began anew that flame whose buried fires were once more to illuminate not simply the western frontiers, but the homes and the hearths of all the colonies.

Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, regarding conduct so unprovoked as tantamount to an invasion, in 1753, dispatched Major George Washington with a letter to the commander of the French forces in the Ohio, demanding that he withdraw from the territory of his majesty, and make due explanation for an act so dastardly and cruel. De St. Pierre then the commander of the Ohio, who received this letter, replied that he had acted from instructions given him by the governor general of Canada; still he would forward to him the communication. While the correspondence was progressing, the French increased the difficulties by fitting out an expedition under Duquesne to occupy the Ohio valley; learning which the Indians determined to resist. Two fleet runners passed down this very valley to the home of Sir William Johnson with belts, soliciting his assistance. At the same time an Indian envoy met the French at Niagara, and warned them back. Nothing daunted, however, they pushed on, till they came to the harbor of Erie, where they were again entreated to return. As the speech of Tamacharisson, the half king, brought a reply from the French commander that proved a hurricane to the flames already smoldering, permit me to reproduce the two in their entirety. "Father," said the Indian, "you are disturbers in this land, by taking it away unknown to us and by force. This is our land, and not yours. Father, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between. Therefore the land belongs to neither the one nor the other of you; but the Great Being above allowed it to be a dwelling place for us; so, father, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers, the English."

"Child," replied the French officer, "you talk foolishly; you say the land belongs to you; but not so much of it as the black of your nails is yours. It is my land; and I will have it, let who will stand up against it." What arrogance! What assumption! Who can wonder that such words should quicken, inflame and curdle even Indian blood.

The mission of Washington proving as fruitless as the entreaties of the Indians, on his return to Virginia preparations were immediately made to assert the right of the colonists. As soon as possible a regiment was raised, and under the command of Washington moved for the Ohio; but meeting with defeat

nothing was accomplished. Already had the French advanced as far eastward as the present site of Pittsburg; and aided by a strong force under De Contrecœur possessed themselves of the Fort the Virginians had here erected. It was at this time that the colonists were exhorted to confederacy. Accordingly, on the 19th of June, 1754, a conference of commissioners from every State north of the Potomac met in Albany, to consider a plan which their own needs and the exigency of the hour demanded. It was the opinion of every member of the council, that a union of all the colonies was absolutely required. From this hour the French discovered the English were in earnest; nor were they deceived. The States having become confederated felt their duties and responsibilities. Concerted measures were therefore prepared, not merely to check the advance of the French, but to drive them out of the country. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia immediately voted supplies for the campaign, and many of their valiant sons were soon on the march. The resolves of the colonists quite paralyzed the home government. While, however, it was hesitating, the Duke of Cambridge, early in 1775, sent over General Braddock with a detachment of the army in Ireland, to be used by the colonies as were their needs. One of the first measures adopted by Braddock after his arrival was calling together the several governors, for the double purpose of learning the true condition of affairs, and to agree on some plan for united action. This council convened at Alexandria, in Virginia, April 14, 1755, at which the following four expeditions were agreed upon: The first was to be directed against Fort Duquesne, to be commanded by Braddock in person; the second, to capture Forts Frontenac and Niagara, under General Shirley; the third, to seize Crown Point, under the leadership of General William Johnson; while the last, under Lawrence, the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce this province, according to the English interpretation of its boundaries.

It was now that the martial and patriotic spirit of Colonel Peter Schuyler became again aroused, and that he puts his sword and life at the control of his country. Since his former campaigns had made him quite familiar with frontier life, he was at once ordered to occupy with his regiment Fort Oswego, which he did, reaching it July 20, 1755. As Braddock, however, had just experienced an inglorious defeat, which exposed the State of New Jersey to the inroads of the French hirelings,

in December of the same year, he was instructed to abandon Oswego, return home and prepare for such contingencies, to which it was thought the recent reverses must lead. During the winter, he occupied a block-house on the banks of the Delaware. In the spring, on his return to the north, he was ordered back to Oswego, which, after many delays, he reached July 1, 1756. On his arrival, learning that Montcalm had determined on the invasion of the province, and that he proposed to begin by the reduction of the Fort at Oswego. Colonel Schuyler prepared himself for the threatened conflict. Meanwhile, the provincials, learning through Indian spies of the proposed attack, instructed General Webb to march with the force at his command to Schuyler's relief. He failed to arrive in time. The Fort was attacked with great earnestness and vigor. When the struggle began, Colonel Schuyler was posted with his men some six hundred yards to the westward of the Fort, in a small, unfinished redoubt, used for keeping cattle; and in the afternoon of the same day was busy in cutting down the bushes near the Fort and making fascines. The next morning, Colonel Mercer, the commander of the garrison, was killed. On learning his death, Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales sent for Colonel Schuyler, and, after a council of war, orders were issued to cease firing and prepare for capitulation. Colonel Schuyler opposed the surrender; but being overruled was obliged to yield. It would be difficult to find in all history a more ignominous submission, though it stipulated that the entire garrison should march out with the full honors of war. On razing the Fort, Montcalm immediately returned to Canada, carrying among other prisoners, the brave, uncompromising Colonel Schuyler, the hero of this happy hour.

Though in captivity and in the hands of his enemies, if caring for one's command and mitigating the hard trials of his fellow-countrymen, situated as was he, in providing for their wants, and in aiding the poor Indians who, through this and other disasters to provincial arms, had fallen into French hands, be any indication of loyalty—or true manhood, even in Canada, Colonel Schuyler was none the less active in the interests of his country than when in the field. His military abilities, social position and magnanimity of spirit were soon discovered by the French, and duly acknowledged. Liberties were accorded to him that others had never enjoyed, which he embraced; nor did he ever abuse them. As he loved his country and its flag, so did he love her sons and her wards.

Away from the noise of war and in retirement, he spent his time not in planning new campaigns, nor in devising means for escape; but in visiting, comforting and caring for the unhappy prison soldiers about him, English, American and Indian, who, through the chances of war, had become captives. Fathers and sons, who could illy be spared from their homes, he gladly and promptly ransomed from his private purse; while for the sick he procured unusual attention, knowing no nationality in his ministries of sympathy and love. In fact, during his stay in Canada, he was allowed by the authorities to have a house by himself, whose doors were ever wide open for his countrymen, all of whom were free to visit him; nor were any who sought his kindly counsel or benefactions sent empty away. At this period in his history, he advanced more than twenty thousand livres to secure the release of Indians, personally caring for them until they were able to be returned to their homes. Many provincials received advances in money, far beyond their ability to pay; and when reproved for his liberality, he informed his censors that his silver could not be better bestowed. Noble man! O generous heart! When will others, with far greater means, be moved with similar feelings for our common humanity, and learn this plain lesson, that moneys expended in the interests of those who put their lives at the service of their country, is spent most humanely, most wisely. Let those in our city, whom fortune has favored, give as freely of their accumulations or inheritance as did Colonel Peter Schuyler, for the heroes who have gone forth from the homes about us, and this very hour, not only would many a domestic want be met, but in some one of our streets we should see a monument commemorative of their sacrifice and heroism, as stately, grand and beautiful as any which the sun this day gilds, or which this night the stars silently watch and so gladly look down upon.

In the autumn of 1756, Colonel Schuyler was allowed on parole to leave Montreal and visit the city of New York, bearing a commission from the governor general of Canada to make terms for the exchange of prisoners. He arrived in New York in November; and as his reputation for sympathy, kindness and great philanthropy—all that he had done for the redemption of his captive countrymen had preceded him, he was received with unusual demonstrations of joy. The same evening the city was illuminated, bonfires were kindled on the common, and an elegant entertainment awaited him at the King's Arm Tavern, where the public generally testified their great gratification at his return.

The next day he set out for home. His neighbors and friends welcomed his arrival with cheers and the booming of cannon. On visiting Newark the following day, the roar of cannon again awaited him; the dwellings, also, of the people were illuminated, an honor which they felt pre-eminently due him for his humanity, as well as for his self sacrifice and devotion to his country's interests. On going to Princeton, similar marks of respect and consideration were bestowed. As he entered that now classic town, the citizens went out to meet and escort him to his stopping place; and as he approached, a young lady advancing, thus addressed him:

Dear to each muse, and to my country dear,
Welcome once more to breathe thy native air;
Not half so cheering is the solar ray
To the harsh region of a winter's day;
Not half so grateful fanning breezes rise
When the hot dog-star burns the summer skies;
Cæsar's shore with acclamation rings,
And, welcome *Schuyler*, every shepherd sings;
See for thy brows the laurel is prepared,
And justly deemed a patriot, thy reward;
E'en future ages shall enroll thy name
In sacred annals of immortal fame.

Thus was it whenever he journeyed. The entire State was moved by his presence, and the distinguished in every walk of life strove to do him honor. As many of her private sons could not forget the favors which they had received, no more could the State withhold paying him, on all proper occasions, the honor which his services had so often and nobly won.

But the days of his parole soon passed away. In obedience to his promise, should no exchange be made in his absence, he prepared to return to the city of his captivity. William Pitt, and even the king himself, complimented him for the zeal he had manifested in the service. Still, on the expiration of his parole, neither was able to redeem him. Even his jailer, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, referred to him as "the brave old Peter Schuyler." Leaving, therefore, his home he set out for Montreal, July 1, 1758, arriving there late the same month. Before his departure from New York, General Abercrombie invested him with full powers for such an exchange of prisoners as the interests of the country demanded. To what extent he was able to carry out the commands of his senior officer is not known; but it is known that shortly after his arrival at Montreal he was exchanged for M. De

Noyan, the commandant at Fort Frontenac. Once more then at liberty, he returned home, having been absent nearly six months. But he did not journey thitherward alone; on the contrary, he gathered up such English prisoners as he had been able to exchange, and many also whom he had purchased from their captors with his private funds, paying for the same a very high price. Indeed, it is said on his arriving at Fort Edward, he had in his company no less than eighty-eight men, women and children; among whom was Mrs. Howe of New England, afterwards the heroine of a romance styled, "The Fair Captive." Mr. George W. Schuyler of Ithaca, N. Y., in furnishing me with this interesting incident adds: "while a prisoner Mrs. Howe was sought but not won, by two Canadians, father and son. Her situation was embarrassing, but Colonel Schuyler came to her relief. He secured her from her suitors by buying her of her owner." Unhappily during Colonel Schuyler's captivity the war lost none of its virulence, nor had the nations come to any better understanding of their rights, than if a sword had not been drawn. True, several attempts had been made at invasion, and numerous plans had been proposed for attacking the French and dispossessing them of their lands; but owing to serious disagreements among British and American or provincial officers concerning rank, and the breaking out of small-pox in the army, nothing permanent had been accomplished. The recent advent, however, of William Pitt to the premiership of England gave the colonists new hope, and inspired them with new purposes. On his accession, three expeditions were immediately proposed, one against Louisburg, the second against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, while the third was directed against Fort Duquesne; resulting in the reduction of Louisburg, the occupation of Fort Duquesne, but defeat at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Though the events of the year did not equal the expectations which had been entertained, from the joy and enthusiasm the change in the English ministry had put into the heart of the colonists, the advantages gained were marked and decisive. The acquisition of the island of Cape Breton opened the way to Quebec and up the St. Lawrence; and the success in the west enabled a stronger force to be brought against Canada. It was, therefore, determined to attempt by an overwhelming force once more the subjugation of Canada; and thus close a war which had been so detrimental to the interests of both nations. Now it is that the brave Colonel Schuyler is called again to the front with his Jersey Blues, and with the combined forces of the provinces advances northward.

In this expedition, he shows the same care for his soldiers, and exhibits the same devotion to his country's welfare as in his former campaigns. But without following the army as it moved for the Canadian lines, it need only be said that, this last invasion resulted in the colonists, under Lord Amherst, finding their way to Montreal; in De Vaudreuil surrendering all Canada; and in our hero, Colonel Peter Schuyler, entering victoriously the city, and seeing the flag of St. George float in glorious triumph on the very gates which but a short time before had kept him in captivity. It need hardly be said that peace soon followed, though the treaty for the same was not signed till November, 1762. On the capitulation of Canada, Colonel Schuyler immediately returned to his home on the banks of the Passaic, where after a brief rest, he died, March 7, 1762, in the fifty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a reputation for loyalty, bravery, benevolence and chivalrous honor, unexcelled by any who had been engaged in the conflict now triumphantly closed.

In person, Colonel Schuyler was tall and hardy, rather rough it may be at first view, yet, after a little acqaintance revealing deep and genuine sincerity. In conversation, he was above all artifice, or the traffic of forms; yet he enjoyed friendship with a true relish, and in all the relations, what he seemed to be, he was. A newspaper of the day concludes its reference to his character in these words: "Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them."

Such, friends and fellow-citizens, is a rapid outline of the man, and of his relation to our country, for whom this old Fort was called; nor could it have received a name more honorable, or one that could awaken throughout the entire country more real, genuine love and enthusiasm. It may have been, some officer gave it this name because Colonel Schuyler had ransomed him, and thus returned him to his home. Be this, however, as it may, it was the tribute of the province to a bold, brave, determined, kind and faithful soldier and citizen. I greatly rejoice that our loved city has blended with its origin a name so noble and so historic, and one so free from stain and reproach, that other generations, as well as our own, will delight to respect and invest it with that accumulating glory which at all periods is so fully its due.

I have dwelt too long upon the events with which Colonel Schuyler was associated to think of commenting upon the suggestiveness of the exercises in which we are now engaged. There come to me thoughts upon which I should love to dwell, and that

never can be too frequently alluded to, or too plainly expressed. My friends, we but too feebly estimate the struggle in which many of our honored sires were engaged, the price, the fearful price, that has been paid for our country's liberties, and the great courage, devotion and sacrifice they represent. A nation knows nothing of abiding peace till nerve, muscle, heart, soul, all we hold most dear, have been taxed to their utmost, and its altars have been made crimson with blood. Under a benignant and overruling providence, the peace and prosperity we this day enjoy come from the zeal, faith, courage, consecration and suffering of those who have gone before. In this world, beautiful as it is, peaceful acres represent the price of blood. Would to God that we might remember this truth, not for vain glory, but to honor such as we this day recall, to thank, to reward, to perpetuate. I trust that the time has forever passed when the tread of marshalled men shall again shake this continent, and this beautiful valley shall again resound with the notes of war, either for aggression or defense. Our inheritance to-day is peace. Being therefore peace, our only ambition should be to keep it, guard it most jealously and sacredly; to be known and remembered for the multitude of our virtues, and for the noble aspirations of sanctified and cultivated genius. And the more so, since to attain this no city need be sacked, no fields devasted, nor blood shed, not even a tear fall. Next to suffering and dying for freedom, is the noble duty to preserve it. The old Jewish rabbi was right when he said that, were the sea ink and the land parchment, the former could not be able to describe, nor the latter to comprise all the praise of liberty. Liberty is the mother of every virtue and the best nurse of genius. The immortal Burke, in one of his impassioned sentences, asks, what is liberty without wisdom and without virtue? We answer it is nothing. It is a vessel without a rudder, a charter without a seal. Virtuous liberty should be our aim, as it has been the desire of all who have coveted its wealth, and who have sought its establishment. Every country that submits to be a land of slaves, deserves to be a land of ruin. An Italian poet once signalized his love of imperial Rome in these noble words: "Eternal gods! may that day be the last on which I forget the happiness of Rome." So should we think, and so should we say. He who is unwilling to imperil his life, if need be, at the summons of holy freedom, does not merit life. He who sincerely loves his country leaves the fragrance of a good name to many ages. But I can not say what I would. I close, then, by remarking that it

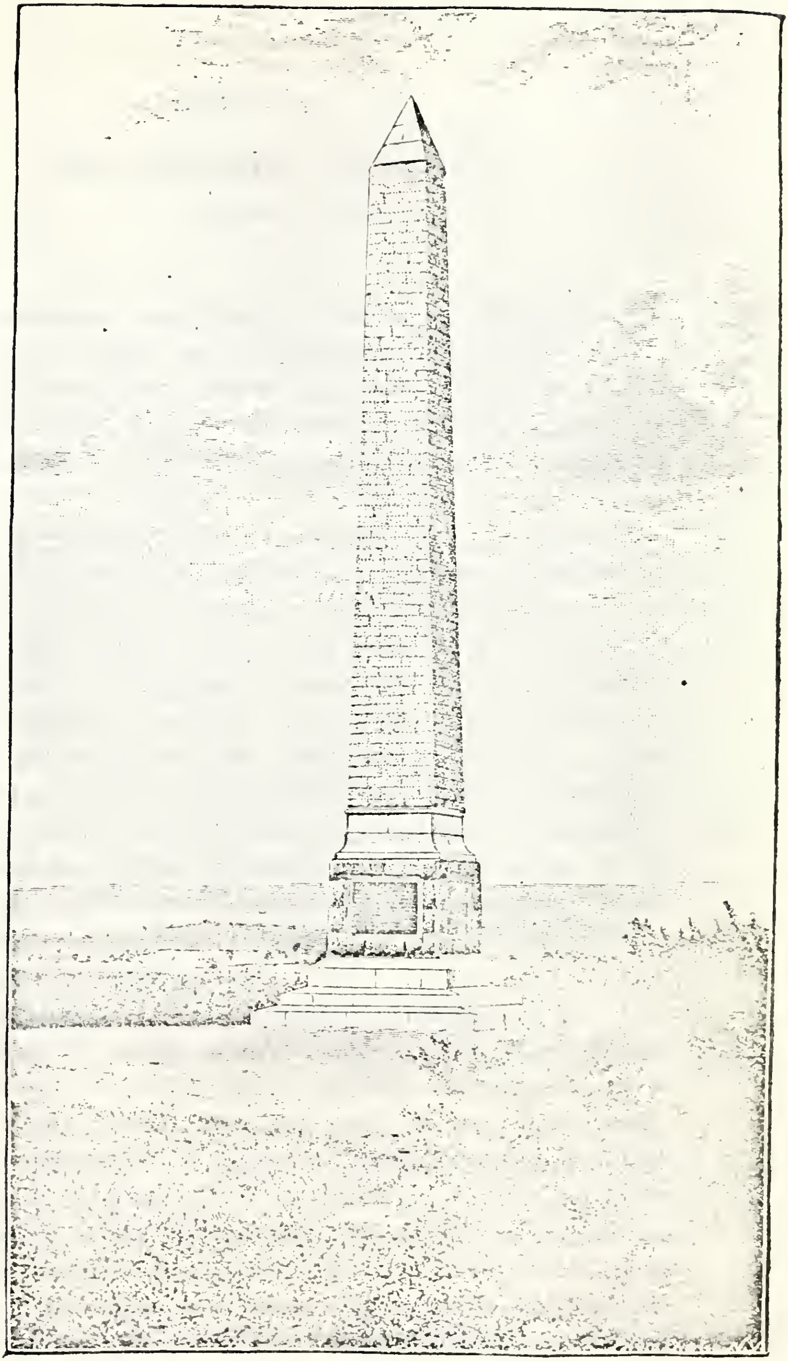
is written of Cicero, when he arrived at Athens, he desired to be immediately led to the tomb of Archimedes, no doubt to abandon himself to the inspirations which such a classic spot would so naturally excite. Let me say, however, at this hour, to all such as desire to lend themselves to the higher inspirations of valor, courage, faithfulness, zeal, philanthropy and all that goes to make up the honored citizen, the noble patriot, the brave soldier, the modest and unassuming philanthropist, come and visit this triangular site; and as you walk about its grassy sides, and gaze upon these warlike trophies that are to mark it, remember, it is thus that a grateful people would hallow the memory of their tried servants; and especially, that this city would forever embalm in her purest affections and patriotic memories the name of Colonel Peter Schuyler; he for whom its first structure was called, and which had it received his good old Dutch name would have stirred the proudest remembrances in every loyal heart, and such, in truth, as no African city, though rich in narrative and radiant with classic fame and glory, could possibly awaken.

One more period and I shall have finished. As a most fitting sequel to my remarks, and to commemorate also this happy occasion, there will now be flung to the breeze the first flag, bearing on a swan white field the original State arms, as reconstructed under the laws of 1882, and now the adopted insignia and banner of our noble commonwealth. As it rises up yonder staff, and unfolds itself to be caught and waved and kissed again and again by the passing wind, let it receive with its suggestive emblems, that joyful salutation from you and from me also, which its first appearance in our midst, and among the broad acres in our State, so properly merits.

Hail imperial Banner! speed thy virgin way,
Utica first doth greet thee—this thy bridal day.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. J. J. Enmegahbowh, an Ojibway Indian missionary, in his native tongue.

Throughout the exercises, there were black clouds in the sky, and frequent flashes of lightning, but no rain fell, and at 3 P. M. the sky was again bright and clear.



THE ORISKANY MONUMENT.

DEDICATION OF

THE ORISKANY MONUMENT,

August 6, 1884.

The monument erected by the Oneida Historical Society to mark the spot where one hundred and seven years before the battle of Oriskany was fought and General Herkimer fell, was dedicated August 6, 1884. The exercises were appropriate and successful in every way. The day was fine, and the attendance good.

The little village of Oriskany and people living in the neighborhood joined in the spirit of the day and welcomed the visitors by numerous and profuse decorations of bunting and evergreen.

When the exercises began there were about six thousand persons present. They came not only from Utica and Rome and intermediate points, but from points east of Utica and in the northern part of the county. They came in the cars, in canal steamboats, carryalls, hacks, carriages and wagons. They came on foot, on wheels and on horseback by hundreds and thousands. The fences surrounding the fields in the neighborhood of the monument, were lined with vehicles of every description. As the sun shone brightly, every tree and bush was surrounded by a group eager to enjoy the shade.

The monument is fully described in the address of Hon. John F. Seymour. It stands on a hill naturally terraced, which commands a most beautiful view of the Mohawk valley for ten or fifteen miles east and west, and nearly as many miles north. Directly opposite the monument is the little village of Floyd Corners, and the white spire of its church gleams from among the trees. Many of the visitors came early in the morning, and as the exercises did not begin till 2 P. M., they seated themselves at the foot of the monument or on the edges of the terraces enjoying the view up and down the valley. To the dwellers in cities whose

range of vision is hemmed in by brick walls, the scene was a very inviting one. The elevation is so great that although there was but little shade, a cool breeze mollified the effects of the heat. In the foreground the boats on the canal, the numerous trains passing on the Central road, and the long line of visitors trudging their way up the hill from the boats and cars, formed a scene of animation. The green hills on the opposite side of the valley, thickly sprinkled with shady groves, and studded here and there with the white of farm houses and the red of farm barns, formed a fitting back ground to this scene of life. The blue hills on the extreme right and left completed the picture. From the railroad or canal where many of the visitors landed, the picture was scarcely less grand. On the top of the hill 100 feet high, rises the massive monument, its tall obelisk piercing the sky.

In the immediate vicinity of the monument the scene was a stirring one. Near the road the ladies of St. Peter's Church, Oriskany, had a large tent, in which they served refreshments to the hungry crowd.

The exercises were held on the north or shady side of the monument. Two large American flags were draped above the roster tablet, and bouquets ornamented the tables on the platform.

At 2.30 P. M., in the absence of Hon. Horatio Seymour, president of the Oneida Historical Society, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, its vice-president, called the assemblage to order.

The exercises were opened by the singing of "Des ist der Tag des Herrn," (It is the Lord's own day,) by the Utica Maennerchor, under the direction of Professor C. Sutorius.

An appropriate prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. James H. Taylor, of Rome.

Mr. Roberts then introduced Hon. John F. Seymour as the chairman of the committee on the building of the monument, who, he said, had labored with zeal, persistence and discretion, and to whom more than to any other single person, the credit is due for the finished work.

PRESENTATION ADDRESS.

BY JOHN F. SEYMOUR,

Chairman of the Committee on Monument.

Mr. President and Members of the Oneida Historical Society :

Soon after the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, in 1877, the Oneida Historical Society took measures to buy land, prepare plans and make contracts for the building of a monument to the memory of General Herkimer and his compatriots who were engaged with him in that battle.

For this purpose a special committee was appointed by the Society consisting of Alexander Seward, S. N. D. North, C. W. Hutchinson, S. G. Visscher, and myself, as chairman.

Many of the facts connected with this undertaking have already appeared in an interesting "Story of a Monument," from the pen of Mr. S. N. D. North, published in the present August number of the *Magazine of American History*. It is not my purpose to repeat them but to commend the August number of that magazine to your attention for its pleasant and instructive reading.

As some of you may not see that magazine, I must mention some facts which are essential to an understanding of our report.

You have before you the result of our efforts, in a monument, the top of which is 190 feet above the level of the water in the Erie canal in the valley below you. The pedestal and shaft of this monment are 85 feet high, built upon a foundation which is 105 feet above the level of the canal. This foundation was built by Mr. William Jones, of Utica, a master mason, who has had the supervision of the whole of the work. Large as the pedestal and shaft appear, they contain less stone than the foundation beneath them. This foundation has a base of 24 feet and 4 inches square, with a top 20 feet and 2 inches square, and is laid in Portland and Howe's Cave cement 13 feet deep in the ground.

The stone used for the foundation, for the shaft and for the backing of the granite pedestal is the limestone of the valley of the Mohawk and of Onondaga county, the gift of the people of this State to your Society for the purposes of this monument. It is all laid in the best of Portland and Howe's Cave cement and

with Schoharie sand. The pedestal is of granite, from the Mt. Waldo Granite works of Maine. It is 19 feet high, 20 feet square at its base and 8 feet 3 inches square at its top. Upon this pedestal rests an obelisk 66 feet high. All of the masonry above the foundation is the work of Alexander Pirnie, of Remsen. On each side of the die of the pedestal is a bronze tablet six feet wide and four and a half feet high. Two of the bronzes, in bas relief, tell their own story, of the wounded general directing the battle, and the mortal conflict between the Indian and the white man. Of the two remaining tablets, one is a dedication written by Professor Edward North, of Hamilton College, and the other is a roster containing the names of all those engaged in the battle on our side, as far as we can ascertain them—only 250 out of 800—thus telling the deadly character of the conflict.*

These tablets are the work of the National Fine Art Foundry, of the city of New York, carried on by Judge Maurice J. Power, who united with the Mt. Waldo Granite Works in the design and contract for the monument, dated July 4, 1882, and that contract was approved by the Society and ordered signed by your Recording Secretary, October 11, 1882.

The Mt. Waldo Granite Works and the National Fine Art Foundry, have been paid in full, save a small sum kept back to secure the fulfillment of their contract. We bought of Mr. William Ringrose five acres, (lacking thirteen rods,) of this battlefield, including the site of the monument, and have paid for the same; but by our contract we are under obligation to fence it, and there are some unsettled accounts, and the accounts of the committee have not been audited, so that we can not state that everything is closed up. The cost of the land, and material, and labor, and fence, will not be less than $12,000.

We are ready to give an account of our stewardship, and our work is so nearly completed that we think this anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany should mark the dedication of this monument, and of the park which surrounds it.

It is proper to state that the resolution of the Continental Congress of 1777, was the foundation of our success in obtaining assistance from the General Government, as well as from the State of New York. That resolution was in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor and Council of New York, be

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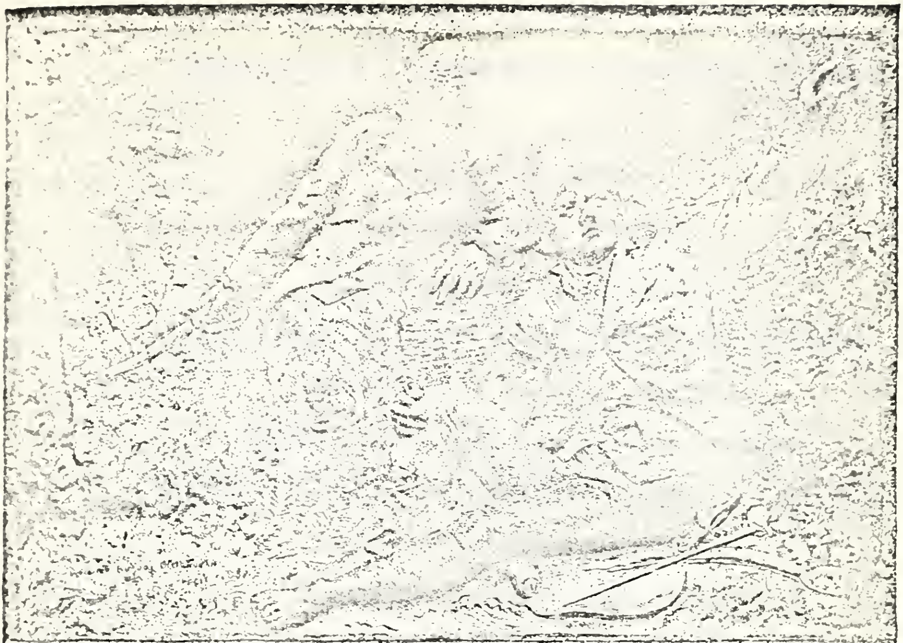
*For the accompanying engravings of the pictorial tablets, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, the accomplished editress of the *Magazine of American History*. For Roster see Appendix.



HERKIMER DIRECTING THE ORISKANY BATTLE

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION ON BRONZE TABLET.

HERE WAS FOUGHT

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY,

ON THE 6TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1777.

HERE BRITISH INVASION WAS CHECKED AND THWARTED.

HERE GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER,

INTREPID LEADER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES,

THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED KEPT COMMAND OF THE FIGHT

'TILL THE ENEMY HAD FLED.

THE LIFE-BLOOD OF MORE THAN

TWO HUNDRED PATRIOT HEROES

MADE THIS BATTLE GROUND

SACRED FOREVER.

THIS MONUMENT WAS BUILT

A. D. 1883, IN THE YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE 107,

BY GRATEFUL DWELLERS IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY,

UNDER THE DIRECTION

OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AIDED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

AND THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

desired to erect a monument at Continental expense, of the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late Brigadier General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, in the State of New York, and was killed fighting gallantly in defense of the liberties of these States."

There was no Oneida county then, and nothing here save a wilderness. When we recall the poverty of that Continental Congress, its empty treasury, its worthless paper, its half-clad, half-fed soldiers, the destitution of women and children, in which New York shared, we do not wonder that this resolution effected nothing at that time.

Dire necessity and the struggle for the living, compelled a postponement of this tribute to the dead, until, at last, our independence won, the tide of emigration crowding into and through this valley, compelled the making of stage roads, the grand Erie canal, the New York Central Railroad, and the telegraphic lines, all of which you see in the valley below you, monuments themselves of the enterprise of the people who constructed them, but not monuments for the dead. Congress slept over the resolution of 1777, and for many years resisted all awakenings in that direction. But after a time Historical Societies were formed, and among them, in 1876, our own appeared, and united her efforts with those of others in arousing the attention of our people to the important military history of New York.

The approach of the Centennial years of the Republic gave power to these efforts, and early in the year 1877, at the request of citizens of Rome, this Society called a public meeting at Utica to organize a proper celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, upon its hundredth anniversary.

This celebration was instituted by our Society, and invitations to it sent out broadcast, and such a response came up from every direction as was never before heard in this section of the State. Seventy-five thousand people appeared as by magic, and covered these hills "to honor the courage and devotion displayed here one hundred years ago." The speakers who addressed this great crowd of people, appealed to them "to see that the graves of dead patriots were marked by monuments."

In answer to these appeals and in compliance with the wishes of our citizens, the Oneida Historical Society undertook to build the Oriskany Monument. Brief as the time has been since our successful undertaking commenced, there were those present at the Centennial who were greatly interested, but who have now passed

away. I will mention two councilors of the Society, the venerable Pomroy Jones, the Historian of Oneida County, who has died within a few days—and the benevolent Theodore S. Faxton—who, immediately after the Centennial, volunteered a contribution of $200 to the President of the Society. Also, the lamented Senator Webster Wagner, whose sad death is still fresh in the memory of our people, and whose generous subscription of $250 is the largest of the contributions obtained by the indefatigable Simms.

Through the efforts of our representatives and friends in and out of Congress, the General Government finally honored the resolution of the Continental Congress of 1777, by appropriating $500 with interest, making $4,100, which sum was placed in the hands of this Society. The Legislature of our State seconded this movement by appropriating $3,000 conditional upon the raising of an equal sum by private subscription, and added the gift of the limestone in the Utica weigh lock.

There was collected by J. R. Simms, $1,024. Other private subscriptions amounted to $3,743.37, making a total of receipts paid to the treasurer, $11,867.37, and there are some accounts not collected. With this money your committee purchased and paid for the land upon which we are assembled to-day, including the site of the monument.

We broadened the purpose and scope of this monument, as in our subscription paper we had promised to do. It is not only a monument to the memory of brave General Herkimer, but also to the memory of his brave associates in the Battle of Oriskany. And now when the morning sun gilds the church spire in the village of Floyd, which you see on the hills across the valley, the roster of men of the Battle of Oriskany salutes the memory of General Floyd, and may well say you are justly immortal as one of the signers of the declaration of independence; we also are immortal as among the makers of that independence. Our people were not ungrateful; they were poor, but they stamped upon their homes the names of their benefactors—look beyond Floyd and you will see the town of Steuben; look south and you see the town of Kirkland, and its college named after General Hamilton.

I dare not attempt to mention the names of those whose patriotism and generosity have enabled us to build this monument. They will be found in the records of the Oneida Historical Society. To all we return our sincere thanks; but I am sure I shall be pardoned if I make mention of the late Jeptha R. Simms, of Fort Plain, who, before others had moved in this matter, commenced soliciting

dollar subscriptions, and with great pains and many steps gathered one thousand and twenty-four dollars, and paid them over to our treasurer, Mr. Robert S. Williams. A record of the names of the dollar subscribers, with a statement of larger sums, was filed by him in the library of the Historical Society.

And I must not fail to mention here that when we found ourselves in want of money to pay for the roster tablet and for the bas-relief tablet of the combat between the Indian and the white man, an appeal was made by your President to some of our German citizens in New York. They at once sent him more than the sum required. We no longer call those tablets bas-relief, but *high* relief.

Before closing this imperfect account of our work, I desire to thank the people residing in the vicinity of this monument for their uniform kindness and interest, and I only make known the wishes of you all when I express the hope that they may continue their interest, and be with you the protectors of this monument.

And now, Mr. President, it only remains for us to commit to you and to the Oneida Historical Society the sacred care and keeping of this monument and these grounds.

Mr. Roberts in accepting the monument, spoke briefly as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ELLIS H. ROBERTS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

A duty and privilege long since recognized are now consummated. The battle of Oriskany is commemorated by a lasting token on its historic site, and the heroism of those who fought and fell on this ground, is told to all whose eyes shall turn hither while time records the passing years. For a century the story of the share of the Mohawk valley in the creation of the Republic, was preserved chiefly in local tradition and in the sybilline leaves of personal narrative or buried in ponderous chronicles. Seven years ago the scenes of the bloodiest battle of the Revolution were strongly drawn upon the original stage, and the actors took their place forever as real and as enduring as the river which flows yonder, as the valley which stretches beneath us, as the hills which crown this landscape.

This monument stands at the gateway which nature has provided on the pathway across the continent. It overlooks the

waters which mark the channel of traffic and of power. This is our Thermopylae, our Marathon. No sturdier courage, no more profound consecration, no nobler cause decorates the historic pass of Thessaly, or that scene where

> "The mountains look on Marathon
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

Here are the gates where foreign invasion received its first vital check when the fate of the continent was trembling in the balance. This is the sacred altar where one of the earliest and bloodiest sacrifices was made for American independence. Along this valley the red men had kept their confederacy, born of their necessities and their aspirations, and prophecy of a grander union yet to be. Into this valley flowed the tides of migration from all the chief countries of Europe. They formed the complex ranks of the brave army which Herkimer held against the flower of the British forces and their savage allies. The distinction of our commonwealth has its roots just here. To its soil union as well as freedom is native. Its population has always been the resultant of various streams with the strongest qualities of different races. They gathered where the Almighty had placed the channels of movement for traffic and for peoples, and the seat of commanding power. This was not Virginia and it was not New England. It was the embryo of the Empire State. It was the natural key to the original union, formed by its rivers and by its mountains. Strife and battle followed its waters; victory perched upon its hills and national life was nurtured in its valleys.

In the center of New York this monument rises, solid, impressive, majestic in its memories and its teachings, in honor of some of the earliest and most useful martyrs to national independence, to blood precious both as sacrifice and as pledge of the broad humanity which must include all races—English and German, but also whatever else is best and richest in the old world or the new. Yonder at its feet run the messengers of the commerce of this continent not only but of all lands. The industry of millions passes daily along these channels. The lightning flashes upon these wires whatever wealth or progress or prosperity or power thinks or purposes or dreams. Nature laid deep foundations, and drew its loveliest background, as if to make the place and scenery befit the grand event which was here enacted, and add to this granite structure rare comeliness and grandeur.

The battle of Oriskany was one of the turning points in the

military operations of the Revolution. St. Leger's defeat led to the surrender of Burgoyne. Both together encouraged the French to become our efficient allies. This proud shaft proclaims the profound and far-reaching meaning of that original conflict in the wilderness. It was a struggle, often hand to hand, for an independent Republic, now by the grace of God, free, great, continental, challenging the respect and admiration of mankind.

On far eastern plains great events have been commemorated by like columns, by

> "The tapering monument, the Egyptian's pride,
> And wonder of the world, whose spiky top
> Has wounded the thick cloud."

The waves of change have carried three of Egypt's imperial obelisks to three chief cities of modern nations. Paris, London, and New York study the strange characters traced upon the historic monoliths. The monuments survive the dynasties which erected them. The events, the men, even the nation live anew in alien lands in the records of the sculptured rock.

This imposing structure recalls the valor and the virtue of the common people. It crystalizes an initial chapter in our national life into this beautiful landscape. Like the event which it commemorates it is here the dominant feature. It rises above the signs of industry and commerce and intercommunication. So may patriotism, so may devotion to humanity, so may far-reaching regard for the future to remote generations, stand supreme in the breasts of the hundreds of millions who in and through the Mohawk valley are to sustain the pillars of the Republic.

Not here and now can fitting thanks be rendered to the members of the committee who have so diligently and wisely and tastefully performed a task which has awaited a century for such architects. They have well used the contributions of nation and State and generous citizens. Their work is their best commendation.

And now, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Oneida Historical Society, in the absence of that eminent statesman and beloved citizen who has himself done so much towards the achievement we now celebrate, it is my official duty, as it is a profound pleasure, to accept the costly and precious gift which you commit to its care and keeping.

> "Time shall not sweep this monument away,
> Time the destroyer ; no, nor dank decay.
> This not alone heroic ashes holds ;
> Our country's glory this earth-shrine enfolds."

Mr. Roberts closed by reading the following letter:

LETTER FROM EX-GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

CAZENOVIA, August 2, 1884.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry I can not attend the meeting of the Oneida Historical Society on Wednesday next, when the Oriskany monument will be given over to its care, by the committee which has had charge of its construction. It will be an object of great interest for many reasons. It will be in full view from the great line of travel between the eastern and western sections of our country. It will recall to a multitude of minds an event of peculiar interest, not only on account of the character of the combatants, but of its great importance, as it was the first check to the invasion of Burgoyne's army, which threatened such disastrous results to our fathers in the Revolutionary struggle. The defeat of the British in this campaign has ever been regarded by historical and military writers as the turning point in the Revolutionary war. It will excite hereafter other interests. It was deep in the forests which overshadowed so much of our country when the battle with savages was fought. Its scene could only be reached by toilsome marches through a rude wilderness. Now the vast expanse between the Atlantic and Pacific coast is traversed by thousands of miles of railroad, which unite our great country by swift methods of intercourse. This monument not only reminds our people of past events, but it will also be suggestive with regard to their growth and greatness in the future. It will quicken feelings of patriotism through many coming years. I think there are but few monuments in our land which will recall more interesting memories of the past, or which will excite more interest with regard to the future. I congratulate the society upon the successful completion of the monument. I am sure all of its members feel that they have been more than repaid for their exertions to secure its erection.

I am respectfully yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To Hon. E. H. ROBERTS, vice-president of Oneida Historical Society.

The announcement was made that the only special invitations issued for this gathering were to the President of the United States and the Governor of New York. Mr. Cleveland's response, which was read by S. G. Visscher, of Rome, a member of the committee, was as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, ALBANY, July 24, 1884.

S. N. D. North, Esq., Secretary, &c.

DEAR SIR: I have received your invitation to be present at the dedication of the Oriskany monument on the 6th day of August next.

I should be very glad to be present, but expect about that time to leave the city for a short and much needed vacation, and up to the time of leaving I must be closely confined to the capital by official duties.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Visscher also read the following dispatch from Maurice J. Power, contractor for the tablets of the monument:

NEW YORK, August 6, 1884.

Hon. John F. Seymour:

I greatly regret my inability to be present at the dedication of the monument. Please present my congratulations to the committee on the successful achievement of their undertaking which completes Governor Seymour's long patriotic endeavor to erect an artistic and enduring memorial on the ground made sacred by the infinite sacrifice of Herkimer and his men.

MAURICE J. POWER.

The Utica Maennerchor then sang "Wo ist das Deutschen Vaterland?" (Where is the German's fatherland,) with good effect.

The dedicatory oration was then delivered by Hon. William Dorsheimer, of New York, and evoked frequent and hearty applause.

DEDICATORY ORATION.

BY HON. WILLIAM DORSHEIMER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You have assembled here to day to witness the completion of an undertaking long contemplated. On the 4th of October, 1777, the Continental Congress, then in session at Yorktown, Pennsylvania, passed a resolution in this language:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor and council of New York be desired to erect a monument at Continental expense, of the value of five hundred dollars to the memory of the late Brigadier Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county in the State of New York, and was killed fighting gallantly in defense of the liberty of these States." This resolution was transmitted to George Clinton, Governor, and to the council of the State of New York by John Hancock, President of Congress. In his letter Hancock said: "every mark of distinction shown to the memory of such illustrious men as offer up their lives for the liberty and happiness of the country, reflects real honor on those who pay the grateful tribute; and by holding up to others the prospects of fame and immortality, will animate them to tread in the same path." The resolution of Congress was not acted upon by the government of the State.

In 1827 Governor Dewitt Clinton in his annual message to the legislature called attention to this matter. After reciting the resolution of the Continental Congress he used the following language: "At the most critical period of the Revolutionary war, when the State was nearly surrounded with hostile forces, and when destroying armies were penetrating it in various directions, the gallant Herkimer fell on the field of battle, at the head of his patriotic neighbors. This exhibition of heroic virtue attracted the distinguished notice of Congress, but the situation of the times presented obstacles to an immediate compliance with their resolve. As there can be no reason for further delay I hope that this subject will occupy your early attention."

A bill was reported in accordance with the governor's suggestion, but the legislature adjourned without taking final action upon it. The following year, 1828, Governor Clinton renewed the subject, but a number of similar projects were suggested so that probably the bill became loaded down, to use a somewhat technical phrase, and it failed to pass.

Here the matter rested until after the celebration of the centennial of the battle of Oriskany. Soon after which event the Oneida Historical Society was organized, and the work of collecting the necessary funds was begun. As I understand it, some assistance has been given by the federal government and some by the State, and a considerable part has been subscribed by the residents in the Mohawk valley, in whose history the battle of Oriskany is the most memorable event. Last autumn Mr. Horatio Seymour, of whose connection with this and other patriotic undertakings I shall have further occasion to speak, wrote to a gentleman in New York, who, although not descended from the German settlers in this region, was still of German origin, and asked him to present the subject to the German citizens of New York, with the view of obtaining subscriptions to complete the fund which was needed. The suggestion of Governor Seymour was acted upon and substantial subscriptions were promptly made by prominent residents of New York. Among those to whom application was made was Oswald Ottendorfer editor of the *Staats Zeitung.* Mr. Ottendorfer at once exhibited a great interest in the matter. He placed himself in direct communication with the committee and gave all the additional money that was necessary to complete the work. In this generous act Mrs. Ottendorfer took part. This lady has since died, but she has left in New York the memory of many acts of benevolence and patriotism.

It was appropriate that the Germans, now active in the life of our State, should take part in the erection of this monument, for, as has been before remarked, it was upon this field that the colonists of German descent made their most important contributions to the cause of American independence. It is agreeable to the pride of men to find that their kinsmen have wrought out great deeds in the past. The acts done here; the suffering here endured; the deeds of valor here performed; the sacrifices here completed, are of an importance second in value to no other achievements in the war of the Revolution.

It was the aim of the English cabinet to cut off New England from the other colonies. The New England provinces were the

most populous and the wealthiest. The settlers there had all or nearly all been of the same race, and there was, perhaps, less difference of opinion there as to the merits of the controversy than in New York and in some of the southern colonies. If Lake Champlain and the Hudson could be seized, intercourse between New England and New York and the regions to the south would, considering England's command of the sea, be difficult, and for the purpose of military operations, perhaps impossible. The plan of campaign was that the main army should descend Lake Champlain, and that an auxiliary force under Colonel St. Leger should enter the Mohawk valley at its head and gather to it the warriors of the Six Nations and the English sympathizers among the inhabitants of the region. St. Leger was then to march to Albany and make a junction with Burgoyne. It was a part of the plan that Lord Howe should ascend the Hudson and unite his troops with the other columns. Burgoyne swept in triumph through Lake Champlain. Ticonderoga fell almost without a blow. He reached the upper Hudson. All that was needed was a victory here.

It is now seen that the success of all the operations depended upon the success with which St. Leger should perform his part of them, for there was no way in which the British army could be secure of its supplies unless it could draw upon the resources of this fertile country. The British ministry, it appears, fully realized this, and General Burgoyne afterwards indicated that he might have succeeded if St. Leger had come to his aid. But Congress and colonial generals seemed to have but a slight appreciation of the importance of St. Leger's movements. No reinforcements were sent to Fort Stanwix, which was the principal defensive position in the valley. It had been permitted to fall into decay. Its garrison consisted of seven hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who was a native of Albany and only twenty-eight years old, but who had served with distinction in Montgomery's expedition to Quebec. This force was stationed at Fort Stanwix with no reference to St. Leger's expedition, for when it occupied the fort in April no one in the colonies knew the British plan of campaign. Even after the enemy's purpose was known, Congress took no further action to defend the valley. General Schuyler understood the situation, but when after the battle of Oriskany he sent Arnold here in command of a considerable detachment, his officers accused him of treason. There was, however, inducement enough for the patriots to defend their homes. They were threatened with the

familiar horrors of Indian warfare and also with the hatreds of civil strife. The greater part of the Indians sympathized with England, and a large part of the settlers were either English or of English descent. Sir William Johnson had passed his life here, and had long exercised a potent sway over all the inhabitants, both whites and Indians. Therefore, many of the people stood to the British crown. But there was in the valley a body of men who naturally were enemies to the English king. These were the Germans. They had come from the Palatinate, and had been driven from their homes by the armies of Louis the Fourteenth. They settled here about 1725. It was thought desirable that they should be located on the upper Mohawk, in the Indian country, to defend the settlements at the east, because they were accustomed to have their houses burned.

A leader among these emigrants was a certain John Jost Herkimer. His name was properly spelled Herchheimer, the ending of the name clearly showing its Rhenish origin; but it had been anglicized, a process to which many other German names have been compelled to submit. He was the father of General Nicholas Herkimer. The year before, on the 5th of September, General Nicholas Herkimer had been appointed brigadier general of the militia of the county of Tryon. This commission was issued by the New York convention then in session at Fishkill. Upon Herkimer therefore depended the resistance which the inhabitants were to make to St. Leger's advance. He was about forty-eight years old. He was a man of substantial character, sound judgment and of general popularity. He had no military knowledge or experience whatever, but the event proved that he had the valor and coolness which are the very foundations of soldierly qualities.

As soon as St. Leger appeared at Oswego, Herkimer issued a proclamation to the people of the Mohawk valley calling them to arms. They gathered together at Fort Dayton near the mouth of West Canada creek. When one reads the roster of Oriskany he learns that most of those who obeyed the call were the children of the German emigrants, but among them were men of English, Irish, Welsh and French blood and a considerable number of Scotchmen who lived in Cherry Valley. St. Leger invested Fort Stanwix on the 3d of August. Under his command were Sir John Johnson, a native of the valley; Colonel John Butler, brother-in-law to Sir John; and more important, Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks, and a man of remarkable endowments both

of mind and character. There was no delay in the patriot camp, they knew it was better to meet the savages at the gate. On the 4th of August, Herkimer began his march at the head of eight hundred men. That day he crossed the Mohawk river, near where Utica now is, and on the afternoon of the 5th he reached Whitestown. An Indian woman, the widow of Sir William Johnson, had seen the gathering at Fort Dayton, and sent St. Leger timely notice of Herkimer's expedition. He at once sent forward the tories and Indians to arrest Herkimer's progress. According to the method of Indian warfare they made an ambuscade here in yonder ravine, and in the woods which then covered these slopes. On the morning of the 6th, Herkimer's men were marching in careless order, not apprehensive of peril, when suddenly the forest was filled with savage shouts and ablaze with the deadly flames of battle. One can imagine how dismayed those farmers were. But they did not give way as Braddock's regulars had done. Better that those shouts of hell should fall upon men's ears; here in the forest far away from the women and children on the farms below. Better to fight here, to die here, if only the tide of war could thus be stayed and those they loved saved from torture, and a fate far worse than death, and so the German farmers set themselves to work. It was well they had so little knowledge of the usual methods of war. They knew no discipline the loss of which could embarrass them. They took post behind the trees and fought as their enemies fought. Herkimer was wounded soon, his white horse was killed, and so he told them to put his saddle across a fallen tree, and he sat upon it and smoked his pipe and directed the fight. A few fled, a few were captured, but most remained. For five long hours the contest lasted. In the midst of it a thunder storm burst upon the struggling hosts. More than two hundred of the patriots were wounded or dead, and still the Mohawk settlers held their ground. At last the savages lost heart, and suddenly gave way, leaving the field in Herkimer's hands. In truth those steadfast Germans had wrought a noble deed. They had shown the qualities of their race. They are brothers of those who have followed Gustavus and Frederick and Blucher and Moltke.

The farms below were safe; safe were wives and children, and the land, too, was saved, for here a blow, fatal to the invader, had been struck; a blow of far reaching and world wide consequences. The battle was destructive to St. Leger's purpose. It excited the enthusiasm of the country. The news came to Washington and

to Congress, giving them encouragement at a time of depression and anxiety, and a strong column, under the command of General Arnold, was dispatched to the valley to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix. St. Leger did not wait long for Arnold's coming, and on the 22d of August he raised the siege and retired to Oswego. His expedition had ended in complete disaster. He lost his equipment and most of his artillery.

I have briefly and summarily brought to your minds events, the details of which have been lately presented to you with complete clearness and learning. I have done so in order that they may appear in their proper relation to other events.

A few days after the battle of Oriskany, Bennington was fought; on the 6th of September at Stillwater, Burgoyne's advance was arrested, and on the 17th of October, at Schuylerville, he surrendered. The capture of Burgoyne led to the most important results. Franklin had for some time vainly urged the cause of the colonies at the French court; but France was not too eager to encounter England's power. These victories gave new force to Franklin's diplomacy, and presently his persuasions and the generous example of LaFayette prevailed. France became our ally and sent both fleets and armies to our aid. The queen, herself a German princess, was specially interested in our cause, and under her patronage the first French fleet was fitted out. You who live here, therefore, are thus associated with the history of one of the greatest of the European states.

The American alliance brought grave consequences to France. The Frenchmen learned from us lessons which they soon sought to apply at home. Forces were introduced into the politics of France which caused internal dissensions, overthrew the monarchy and brought the king and queen and the chiefs of the nobility to the scaffold. Just as the waters which flow from these hills contribute to the floods of the Hudson and the sea, so have the historic acts of your ancestors added to the mighty and destructive tides of European revolutions and wars.

The people of this valley have ever since lived in the path of memorable events. The Hudson and the Mohawk open the only pass south of the St. Lawrence through the Alleghany mountains. Here began the internal commerce of the country. The statesmen of New York soon realized the duty which their situation devolved upon them. The future of the State could not be accomplished through the imperfect channels of lakes and rivers, and so an artificial waterway was designed and constructed. Many of the men

who did this work lived here. Prominent among them was Henry Seymour, the first of his family to win the distinction in our State which the name has ever since worn. This enterprise was not conceived in any narrow or in any merely utilitarian spirit. It was announced in the act of the Legislature which called it into being, as a work which would strengthen the union of the States and contribute to their strength in war as well as to their commerce in peace.

But the most hopeful imagination could hardly have foreseen the results both material and moral which the construction of the Erie canal produced. It has been a source of wealth to our cities. As soon as it was finished New York sprang from the second to the first place. It has ever since poured into her lap the harvests of the west. One might compare its waters to those fabled springs which the Spanish adventurer sought and which were to give mankind perennial youth. But the moral results have been far more remarkable. The Mississippi empties into the Gulf, and when sectional divisions arose between the States and divided them sharply into north and south by a line which ran from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, it was the common opinion in the rebelling communities that the States of the northwest were firmly bound by the Mississippi to a confederation with the south, which could not be broken. But the Mississippi no longer flowed to the Gulf. The genius of New York had turned it out of its channel, and its waters found the seas through the highlands and the palisades, and when the hour of trial came, the northwest was seen to be bound to the east by bonds stronger than any which nature had made.

Through this valley potent influences have gone out to all the Western countries. Not only throngs of emigrants, Americans and foreigners, but other forces more powerful perhaps than living men. You have sent to them examples of government; methods of creating great corporations and forms for their management; new modes of legal procedure and new systems of judicial organization.

There is now no English speaking community which has not upon its statute books the very language of laws which were first framed here. The most distinguished of your citizens is fond of calling to mind that the waters which fall upon the hills of New York flow into many States. Some into the St. Lawrence, others into the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware and the Mississippi. And so those living waters which carry civilization

and freedom with them, have gathered here and flowed forth to remote lands and distant peoples.

New York has never been contented nor much occupied with interests exclusively her own. Her representatives in the national councils are never called upon to protect her interests, nor to ask that her welfare shall be regarded at the expense of other communities. She has found her prosperity, as she has found her greatness, in the general good. No harvests will ripen upon the upper Mississippi, no cotton will mature at its mouth, no herds of cattle will grow fat in Colorado or Dakota without adding to her wealth. No disaster can come upon the most distant of the sisterhood without injury to her.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I will not conclude my observations without reference to a topic which seems to me to be peculiarly appropriate to this time and place. It used to be remarked that New Yorkers were indifferent to the history of their State. Our writers did not seem to be interested in our annals as the men of letters in New England were in their history. This had not always been the case. At the beginning of the century, Washington Irving had delighted his countrymen by a humorous narrative of early Dutch history, and he had afterwards peopled the banks of the Hudson and the recesses of the Catskills, with quaint characters and attached to the mountains and the river weird and fantastic traditions. Cooper had found new fields for romance upon Lake George and in the neighboring county of Otsego. Among the Indians of this region he had also found characters new to letters, which have excited and which still excite, the wonder of young imaginations in every civilized country.

But afterwards, there came a time when local interest seemed to fade away. Whether this was because of the immigration of strangers from New England and from Europe, or whether because we were occupied with business, it is difficult to say. It suffices for my purpose to point out the indifference which New York showed to her history, by far the most eventful of any American community. Lately the public feeling has greatly changed. There is no longer any reason to complain of a lack of appreciation by the people of New York of the events in which their ancestors took part. I think this change is mainly due to the efforts of a gentleman who lives in this county, and who certainly has been the leader in the revival of historic interest. It is hardly necessary for me to mention the name of him whom I have in mind. Horatio Seymour has in his own career perpetuated

the influence and the command which the people of the Mohawk valley have always had. He has recounted with an eloquence and learning which no one else possesses, the events of which this country has been the theater. He has impressed the lessons of them upon your minds by powerful and beautiful illustrations. He remains among you to-day a sharer in the patriotic enthusiasm which he has done the most to evoke. God grant that he may long be spared to enjoy the respect which is felt for him everywhere, but especially here where it has grown up despite the adverse influences of party strife and political differences. Your pride and affections are not with the dead alone. You are inspired by the eloquence and taught by the example of living men.

Gentlemen of the Oneida Historical Society: Your work is completed. To-day you dedicate this structure to the memories it perpetuates and the lessons which it teaches. May it realize the wish that Hancock expressed, and "by holding up to others the prospects of fame and immortality animate them to tread the same path." It will be for the people of the Mohawk valley to remember the trials endured here, the triumphs won here, and to emulate the example here wrought out. May this people be always in the van as their fathers were, and may there always be among them great leaders in the history of our land.

The Old Utica band then played a medley of national airs, "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," and "Yankee Doodle."

The Utica Maennerchor followed in a pleasing selection, "Schlaf Wohl."

Otto E. C. Guelich was then introduced as the representative of the German societies of the Mohawk valley. He was cordially received and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF O. E. C. GUELICH.

Supreme peace reigns now on these hills. From this monument of the brave deeds of those who more than a century ago, laid the foundation of the liberty, the symbols of which now tower at our side, we now look down upon a scene of peaceful quiet and thriving industry.

And these are the same hills and yon is the same romantic Mohawk valley where once brother fought against brother, and

this brother in union with savage tribes. Here brother spilt the blood of brother, and on this same spot pioneers of liberty broke the yoke of the proud Briton, and if they had to purchase it with their lives, still undaunted they fought, and the banner of liberty which now protects these realms, was the glorious result. In vain would it be, even if time permitted us, to repeat what history tells us about the bloody feuds which commenced in the Revolution in Tryon county. Let us only briefly refer to the declaration which in the spring of 1775 was conceived at Johnstown and widely distributed and circulated by the tories, in which their opposition to the Continental Congress became evident; and how, soon after, the committee of the Revolutionary party at Palatine on May 18th, directed a letter and petition to Albany, in which they expressed their fears and mistrust against the sentiments of the declaration of the tories, referring in strong terms to the spirit of strife and murder awakened by this declaration in the breasts of their allies, the Indians—and requesting, nay begging, urgently for ammunition and guns.

It is not our aim to describe the events, which in consequence of this declaration crowded upon history: the bloody feuds, the deeds of horror, murder and arson, the sufferings and endurances of the heroes of the Revolution up to the time of the engagement at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. All these events we will have to pass, and can only remember their actors in brief as the heroes of liberty, animated by the highest impulses.

These men of the Mohawk valley, mostly Germans and Dutch, or of German and Dutch descent, did not ask how great the sacrifice. They knew the bloodthirsty, cunning and treacherous deceit of the savage hordes. They knew of the union of their chief Brant with Guy Johnson, whose deeds of horror hardly find their equal in the annals of history. They were well aware of the fact that England's powerful money, distributed by English agents, tried to overpower the whole Six Nations.

They knew all this, and still their valor did not pale, but with prophetic eye looking toward victory they overcame all difficulties. Therefore, we Germans born from these heroes, feel our bosoms swell with just pride, and our hearts fill with glad gratitude in remembrance of the brave deeds of our ancestors, who were willing not only to sacrifice all their possessions but their very lives on the altar of liberty. Their guiding star was justice and right; and their actions showed that wise counsel and good judgment were mingled with the enthusiasm of the heroes.

Time does not permit us any attempt to describe the heroic endurance of the champions for liberty during the next bitter two years. Here were Sir John Johnson with his family, Colonel Claus with his family, with 700 Indians, 400 regulars and 600 tories, awaiting Butler's arrival from Niagara, to open the high council of war, which in their estimation, should destroy the last ray of hope for the Revolutionists. Already the arrival of General Burgoyne, with his numerous army of 7,500 well disciplined men, a host of Canadians and a great number of Indians from Ticonderoga, had compelled the Americans, under General St. Clair, to forsake the fort and to retire with their few 4,000 to Fort Edward.

It was the intention of General St. Leger to take possession of this fort, as well as of Fort Stanwix, while both were protected by only a small garrison, and from there to push on to Johnstown, there to make his headquarters, and in unison with General Burgoyne to make flank movements, and thus to cut off the American army.

This was the decree of the high council at Oswego, and the plan of action was diligently and secretly communicated to those of the inhabitants who favored the British cause. Amidst these difficult surroundings General Nicolaus Herchkeimer issued on July 17, 1777, his proclamation for calling out recruits to defend liberty's sacred rights.

Every male of sound health between the ages of 16 and 50 was called upon to take up arms for the good cause, and all weak and aged to also equip themselves and remain behind for the protection of the women and children, and those who did not obey the proclamation were to be placed under guard, and arms given to them, that they might be attached to the general army and brought against the enemy. Not much time was to be lost, because already on the 30th of July, Thomas Spencer wrote: "Within four days the royal troops expect to be before Fort Stanwix. The time is short and precious; rise and come to the defense!" They knew not the regular training of a soldier, they had no experience of war, but were full of love for liberty and animated by the highest impulse to protect their homes and their loved ones. Such were the warriors which General Herchkeimer led against the enemy. Fraught with sufferings was the way he led them through forests and ravines, through the Mohawk valley, which we see down below us, up to the theater of war. Civilization had not progressed so far yet, and all these fields and valleys were then still in their original state of uncultivation, only well known to the

Indians. They knew every nook and corner of the Mohawk valley, every ravine and every hiding place from where they could break in upon the unsuspecting, bringing death and destruction with them.

Under these difficulties General Herchkeimer and his small body of men traversed the valley before us, till he came to this spot.

Scarcely had the first division reached the hill, when from out the surrounding thicket, as if ascending from the depths of the earth, arose Brant's savage hordes. With their terrible war-cry, which chilled the blood in the hearts of the bravest, these dusky devils, in all their naked wildness, broke upon the army of General Herchkeimer, like a horde of demons broke loose from Satan's kingdom. Armed with tomahawk and battle-ax, they fell upon the unsuspectingly advancing body of our ancestors.

Colonel Visscher's regiment at the time of this attack, was still on the east side of the hill, so that the army was divided into two parts, and before the troops could be rallied together the Indians were upon them. Their only alternative was to fight the best way possible. And they did fight, the soldiers seeking protection behind the trees in the thickets of the forest, from where they could reach the Indians with their bullets. But these, when they noticed that their antagonists were all posted singly, waited their opportunity, when the soldiers were loading their rifles, and broke upon them unawares, cutting them down with their tomahawks. As soon as General Herchkeimer noticed this, he ordered his men to go in parties of two and alternately load and shoot.

This stratagem had soon the desired result, for already the Indians began to fall back before the steady and well directed fire of the soldiers, when suddenly Major Watts with a detachment of "Johnson's Greens" appeared on the scene. The arrival of these former fugitives from the country stirred up the blood in the heart of each of our German heroes, and with renewed strength and fresh valor, they seek vengeance, and as if inspired by some heavenly power they throw themselves in the battle. And now louder and louder roars the battle, hotter and hotter waxes the strife, but above the howling and roaring, God, the Almighty, hears the prayer of his children bleeding for liberty and fighting to break the bonds of slavery's shame.

"Urgeist des Lebens, des Weltballs Regierer,
Der die milliarden der Sterne schuf,
Du der Nationen Allmachtiger Fuehrer,
Hoer Dein Kinder Verzweiflungs-ruf."

This was the prayer of the poet who filled the hearts of our forefathers with that spirit of liberty, which led them to overcome all difficulty, in liberty's sacred cause; and with sword and fire to break tyranny's bonds, not caring, whether like Samson, in its fall, it would crush them also. Onward! Onward! was their cry, if to destruction! Liberty is dawning through the cloud. Is it not true, that on the same spot where we stand, brother had to fight brother in league with savage hordes—and we, who are standing now on the ground where the ashes and bones of our forefathers rest, slain in their struggle for that liberty in which we glory, let us remember the blood that flowed on these green fields, and while we glory in that supreme feeling of liberty, let us think of those whose valor and spirit saved us from bondage. Their names, engraved upon this monument, will live in the hearts of the thankful people of these realms long after our own spirits have flown to those unknown grounds from whence there is no return.

The Spartans were ready to fight in the shadow of the arms of their enemies—but was the valor of these warriors for liberty less than that of the Spartans?

Can history show a braver man than General Herchkeimer, when his horse having been shot from under him and his leg shattered to pieces by a ball, he sits calmly on the saddle, which from the back of his valiant charger has been transferred to the ground, smoking his pipe and giving his orders to his little troop of heroes, whose valor and bravery brought the turning point of the great Revolution? Let us therefore remember their endurance and their victories, for they created for their children and their children's children, for the oppressed of all the universe an asylum of liberty.

Himmelhoch sei der erhoben
Der Beim Krachen einer Welt
Bei der elemente Toben
Wie ein Gott sich aufrecht haelt.

The exercises concluded with the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by Williamsón Spruce, whose ringing voice was heard by all. The crowd then slowly dispersed.

EXTRACTS FROM S. G. VISSCHER.

The following appropriate and suggestive passages by Mr. Visscher, one of the monument committee, are taken from an article published at the time of the dedication, in the *Roman Citizen:*

The monument which we have erected will speak to coming ages a mass of useful truth, such as no other mode of transmitting facts can furnish. Its foundation, laid deep in the soil, and cemented with ingredients which, when applied, are as yielding and pliable as man's generous nature, have become as hard and unyielding as the stones which they unite; and furnish a fit emblem of the government which is of the people, for the people, and by the people; but which will resist any encroachments upon its rights, as rocks resists the billows and the sky.

This is the first memorial in the Mohawk valley which is erected to mark a battle field. Not far to the north of us is a pile, standing in the midst of the rocks and shades of its forest home, which speaks with quiet but eloquent force to the upturned face, of one who came to us from the army of Frederick the Great, with its splendid equipage and matchless discipline, to partake of the hard fare, and labor in the unequal conflict, which gave us our liberty. Like a large proportion of the men who fought at Oriskany, he was a German; and the modest mausoleum which covers his remains is a fit companion of the one whose foundation is under our feet. Green be the memory and honored the name of Baron Steuben.

Away back in the distant ages, when the morning stars sang together, some of the striking and important events of history were commemorated in the land of the chosen race by the erection of monuments. In the book of Genesis, we have two accounts of Jacob erecting them, and subsequently Joshua and Samuel did the same, to commemorate a signal victory over the Philistines. We can very appropriately quote the language of Israel's Great Judge, to show our warrant, if one is needed, for performing the pious as well as patriotic work which is before us this day. "Then Samuel took a stone and set it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of the place Eben-Ezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us."—*1st Samuel vii.* 12. And Egypt, old Egypt, the land of mystery and the cradle of the race, now a dismembered fragment of its ancient glory, and until quite recently

held in the grasp of a rapacious and revengeful mob, how numerous and stately are her landmarks, which everywhere rise in gloomy grandeur in the land of the Nile. One of them, a stately old link which connects the present with the long past, has been brought to our shores, and stands upon our own soil; an imperishable monolith, whose curious but interesting hieroglyphics reveal to us something of the heart of the Pharaohs, and the polity of the most remarkable people of antiquity. And over other lands, the highest civilization, the broadest culture, and the truest patriotism, are told us by the voiceless but stately sentinels, around whose apex the eternal sunshine settles, as the halo about the head of the divinity whose sleepless eyes witnessed their erection.

The contemplation of this work animates anew the interest we all feel, in the memory of the fathers of the Revolution. We can never tire of the story which gave us our freedom, and established a government which challenges the admiration of the world. We love to think of the eight hundred who braved the dangers and endured the sufferings which make the spot we stand upon so sacred to us all. We will not sit in judgment upon their military skill nor criticise mistakes which true hearted men may make, by yielding to hasty and impulsive counsel; nor recall the heated colloquy which perhaps led to some disaster; but look back of all that, to the patriotism which prompted, and the impetuous chivalry of the commander who moved onward regardless of consequences, at a critical juncture, to relieve the gallant little garrison which was holding its own against the merciless horde of savages, and tories, worse than savages, which invested Fort Stanwix.

* * * * * * * *

The patriotic spirits who watched and waited for seven long years for their enemies to withdraw from the land, did more by patience, forbearance, and suffering, than by agressive violence on hotly contested battle fields. Indeed there were very few sanguinary conflicts, although the battle of Saratoga is classed as one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. It was Putnam leaving his plow in the furrow, seizing his weapons, and jumping upon his horse to take part in the erection of works upon Bunker Hill; and Washington at Valley Forge, with tracks of blood from shoeless feet upon the snow crust; and hunger and want on every side, with a worthless currency, added to the constant apprehensions of treachery, which ended finally in the treason of Arnold. It was Marion subsisting upon roots in the forests of the

Carolinas, and Sumpter bivouacking in the swamps of the Santee. It was the spirit of the brave Herkimer, with Gansevoort and Willett, and the families of Sammons, Klock, Fonda, Snell, Veeder, Wagner, Wemple, Dievendorf, Vrooman, Starin, Bellinger, Clyde, Clemmens, De Graff, Dunkel, Frey, Fox, Gray, Merkley, Roof, Seeber, Woolover, and others, more than space will allow me to mention, whose names, however diverse from modern orthography, appear upon one of the tablets of this monument, furnishing imperfectly but substantially the Roster of Oriskany; families who flew from one stockade fort to another, went to church with their guns and ammunition ready for any emergency which might call for their use, in a struggle hand to hand with their oppressors, who finally achieved our independence.

And now, having achieved it, and for so long a time enjoyed its blessings, what shall we do to perpetuate and strengthen it? These stones laid one upon another will finally crumble to dust, and the thousand memories of this and the years past, filled as they have been with patriotic utterances, will be forgotten. But the monument of Horace, who sang the praises of the golden age, will live while time lasts. "I have builded a monument," he wrote, "more lasting than brass, and more sublime than the regal elevation of the Pyramids, which neither the wasting shower, the unavailing north wind, or an innumerable succession of years and the flight of seasons, shall be able to demolish."* Was he forecasting in this singularly prophetic language the destiny of our Republic? If so, we have something to do to make good his words and give practical shape to these stirring sentences.

---

*Exegi monumentum aere perennius, Regalique situ pyramidum altus. Quod non imber edax, non Aquillo impotens. Possit diuere aut innumerabilis, Annorum series et fuga temporum.

APPENDIX.

THE ORISKANY ROSTER,

AS INSCRIBED ON THE BRONZE TABLET.

Brigadier General.
Nicolaus Herchheimer.
Colonels.
Peter Bellinger,
Ebenezer Cox,
Jacob G. Klock,
Frederick Visscher.
Lieut. Colonels.
Friedrich Bellinger,
Samuel Campbell,
Peter Wagner,
Heinrich Walrath.
Brigade Major.
Johann Frey.
Majors.
John Blevin,
John Eisenlord,
Enos Klappsattel,
John Newkirk,
Wilhelm Sieber.
Harmanus Van Slyck.
Surgeons.
Dr. Wilhelm Petry,
Dr. Moses Younglove.
Captains.
Jacob Baumann,
George H. Bell,
Johann Brodbeck,
Adam Copeman,
John James Davis,
Wilhelm Deichert,
Johann Demuth,
Heinrich Diefendorf,
Andreas Dillenbach,
Christoph P. Fox,
Christoph W. Fox,
Jacob Gardinier,
Christian Haus,
Friedrich Helmer,
Georg Herchheimer,
Samuel Pettingall,
Nicolaus Rector,
Jacob Sieber,
John Visscher,
Robert Yates.
Lieutenants.
Joseph Bailey,
Robert Campbell,
Samuel Clyde,
Samuel Gardinier,
Samuel Gray,
Peter Groot,
Jost Haus,
Georg Helmer,
Peter Loucks,
Daniel McMaster,
Dietrich M. Petrie.
Han Jost Petrie,
Wilhelm Petrie,
Richard Putman,
Abram D. Quackenbush,
Johann Jost Scholl,
Jeremiah Swart,
Heinrich Timmermann,
Martin C. Van Alstyne,
Jacob Voltz,
Peter Wagner, Jr.
Privates.
Jacob Alter,
Abram Arndt.
Melchert Bauder.
Jacob Baumann.
Adam Bellinger,
Johann Bellinger,
Wilhelm P. Bellinger,
George Henry Bell,
Joseph Bell,
Nicholas Bell,
Peter Berge,
Samuel Billington,

Johann Boyer,
Major Blauwaldt,
Naome Brooks,
Jacob Clemens,
Samuel Cone,
Peter Covenhoven,
Isaak Covenhoven,
John Cook,
William Cox,
Jacob Collier,
Andrew Cunningham,
Benjamin Davis,
Martinus Davis,
Thomas Davy,
Johann Dachstadter,
Heindrich Decker,
Emanuel DeGraaf.
Georg Deichert,
Johann Deichert,
Peter S. Deichert,
Johann Diefendorf.
Peter Dorn,
Garret Dunckel,
Nicolaus Dunckel,
Peter Dunckel,
Peter Ehle,
William Ehle.
Jacob Empie,
Johann Eyster,
Jacob Fehling,
Heinrich Fehling,
Heinrich N. Fehling,
Conrad Voltz,
Peter Voltz,
Adam Fonda.
Karl Fox,
Christoph Fox.
Friedrich Fox,
Peter Fox,
Wilhelm Fox,
Valentin Froelich,
Samuel Gardinier,
Georg Goertner,
——— Graves,
Nicholaus Gray,
Silas Gray,
Lorenz Gross,
Conrad Hahn,
William Hall,
Marcus Hand,
Heinrich Harter,
Johann A. Harter,
Johann Adam Helmer,
——— Hiller,
Christian Hufnagel,
Abel Hunt,
John Huyck,
Judah Jones,
Andreas Keller,
Jacob Keller,
Solomon Keller,
Adam Kessler,
Jacob Kessler,
Johann Kessler,
Conrad Kilts,
Peter Kilts,
Jacob Klapsattel,
John J. Klock,
Richard Kopernell,
Georg Kraus,
Robert Kraus,
Francis Lighthall,
George Lighthall.
George Lindner,
Heinrich Lohnus,
Solomon Longshore,
Conrad Mauer,
——— Mauer,
——— Mauer,
Jacob Merkel,
Wilhelm Merkel,
Jacob Meyer,
Jost Meyer,
Adam Müller,
Heinrich Müller,
Jelles Müller,
Johann P. Müller,
David Murray,
Christian Nellis,
Johann D. Nellis,
Phillip Nellis,
Peter Nestel,
Garret Newkirk,
Friedrich Eyer,
Isaak Paris, (Member Prov. Congress,)
Peter Paris,
Johann Petrie,

Johann Marx Petrie,
Joseph Petrie,
Cornelius Philips,
Nicolaus Pickard,
Adam Price,
Martinus Putman,
Jacob Radner,
Georg Raspnor,
Friedrich Rasbach,
Marx Rasbach,
Jacob Ritter,
Willard Rose,
Johann Roth,
Johannes Ruf,
Jacob Sammons,
Samson Sammons,
Henry Saunders,
Wilhelm Schaefer,
Johann Schell,
Christian Schell,
Christian Scherer,
Pedagogus Scherer,
——— Schimmel,
Heinrich Scholl,
Georg Schultz,
Johann Schultz,
Thomas Schumacher,
Heinrich Seitz,
Peter Seitz,
Adolph Sieber,
Adolph Sieber, Jr.,
Rudolph Siebert,
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John Van Antwerp,
George Van Deusen,
Cornelius Van Horn,
Henry Van Horn,
Nicholaus Van Slyke,
Hendrick Veeder,
Harmon Visscher,
Georg Wagner,
Jacob Wagner,
Johann Wagner,
Johann Wagner,
Garret Walrath,
Jacob Walrath,
Georg Walter,
Jacob Weber,
Peter J. Weber,
Peter Westermann,
Michael Wiedrich,
Abram Wohlhoefer,
Johann Wohlhoefer,
Peter Wohlhoefer,
Richard Wohlhoefer,
Lorenz Wrenkle,
Robert Yates,
Nicholaus Yerdon,
Jacob Yonker,
Heinrich Zimmermann,
Jacob Zimmermann,
Conrad Zimmermann,
Capt. Han Yerry Tewahangaraghkan, Indian officer,
Lt. Colonel Louis Atyataronghta, Indian officer.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE ORISKANY MONUMENT.

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Amount carried forward,	———	$6,372 50

Amount brought forward,		$6,372 50
William Hovey, Oriskany,	$5 00	
Mr. Zimmerman, Dunkirk,	5 00	
Ezra Graves, Herkimer,	4 87	
		14 87
		$6,387 37

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Amount carried forward,	$771 00	$6,387 37

Amount brought forward,	$771 00	$6,387 37
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		1,024 00

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State of New York,	3,000 00
Oswald Ottendorfer and Family, Anna Ottendorfer, Edward Uhl, Emma Schalk, Annie Woerrishoffer, Nettie Woerrishoffer, Henry Villard, George Wolfram, August Belmont, Wm. Dorsheimer, Steinway & Sons, S. Schlesinger, and J. & L. Sommerhoff, New York, per Oswald Ottendorfer and Wm. Dorsheimer,	1,356 00
German Associations, of Utica, per O. E. C. Guelich,	43 50
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Received for Stone sold,	92 25
Total,	$12,103 12

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies regarding Colonial New York, by Douglas Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881: 1881.
7. Semi Centennial of the City of Utica and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof: 1884.
10. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.

Addresses Before the Society Since April, 1881.

1881. May 31.—Early History of Mohawk Valley: Rev. Dr. Lintner. Read by C. W. Hutchinson.

December 7.—Golden Age of Whitesboro: D. E. Wager.

1882. January 10.—New York Historical Society. Annual Address: Dr. M. M. Bagg.

February to May.—Golden Age of Whitesboro: D. E. Wager.

1883. January 9.—A Long Lost Point in History. Annual Address: L. W. Ledyard.

April 10.—Extracts from Journal of a first Sandwich Island Missionary: Mrs. Maria S. Loomis. Read by A. Seward.

May 8.—Political Poem: John H. Lothrop. Read by M. M. Bagg.

June 5.—Antiquities of Onondaga: Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.

September 11.—Eulogy on George P. Marsh: Rev. Dr. S. G. Brown.

October 9.—Familiar Talk about Mexico: Dr. E. Hutchinson.

November 13.—The Streets of Utica: L. M. Taylor.

December 11.—Cannibalism: C. W. Darling.

1884. January 15.—Social System of our New York Indians. Annual Address: Rev. Dr. Charles Hawley.

February 12.—Ancient Utica: Geo. C. Sawyer.

March 31.—Memorial of S. Wells Williams: T. W. Seward.

Extracts from Military Journal of Col. Frederick Visscher: S. G. Visscher.

April 28.—Col. John Brown: Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof.

November 24.—Fort Stanwix and other Forts at Rome: D. E. Wager.

1885. January 13.—The Greek Idea of the State. Annual Address: Prof. Edward North.

TRANSACTIONS

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CONTENTS.

PAGE.

1. Annual Address—Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois. By Prof. A. G. HOPKINS, - - - - - 5

2. The Streets of Utica. By L. M. TAYLOR, - - - 29

3. The Utica Water Works. By THOMAS HOPPER, - - 47

4. Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome. By D. E. WAGER, - - - - - - - 65

5. Memorial of S. Wells Williams. By THOMAS W. SEWARD, 78

6. The Utica High School. By M. M. BAGG, - - 87

7. List of the Birds of Oneida County. By W. L. RALPH and EGBERT BAGG, - - - - - - 101

8. Publications of the Society, - - - - 148

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EARLY PROTESTANT MISSIONS AMONG THE IROQUOIS.

BY PROFESSOR A. G. HOPKINS OF HAMILTON COLLEGE.

[Delivered Before the Society, January 12, 1886.]

Gentlemen of the Oneida Historical Society:

I am to attempt this evening to tell the story of early Protestant missions to the Iroquois. The facts are meager, scattered and often obscure. No series of detailed reports like the relations of the Jesuit fathers has preserved the story. The fragments of it that are left are scattered and buried in a mass of mercantile and political documents. The story of the Jesuit missions has been already told, and so long as hearts are capable of being thrilled by the record of noble deeds, that story can never lose its interest. There was Brebeuf, the founder of the Huron mission, a very lion for courage, of noble birth, heroic temper and ardent piety. There was Garnier, also of noble birth; gentle, pious, mystical, a martyr, like Brebeuf, to his self-sacrificing zeal. There, too, was Jogues, a gentle nature and a finished scholar; naturally timid, but bold under the inspiration of his faith, going back to his savage torturers with a courage nobler than that of Regulus, to found the "mission of the martyrs," and to meet a cruel death. These men and others like them form a galaxy of heroes which will not pale in comparison with any other catalogue of patriots, saints or martyrs. The story of the Protestant missions furnishes no such heroic record of suffering and death. Indeed we must admit at the outset that it is a story in which the prelude and the promise are abundant, but the results very meager. We must also admit that the considerations which gave birth to Protestant missions were not of the noblest and most inspiring order, but were largely commercial and political. And this was true also to a certain extent of the Jesuit missions. At the outset, the Jesuits undoubtedly entered upon their labors prompted only by a holy and religious zeal. But afterward the missions were prosecuted with a political purpose, and the French government made use of

the Jesuits to fasten their grasp upon the Iroquois and upon the country south of the lakes. The Five Nations were the stake for which the French and English, during nearly a century, played their desperate game. The stake was a noble one. A superior intelligence, a marked political and military instinct, an insatiable passion for conquest and a merciless spirit in the conduct of war. had rendered the name of the Iroquois dreaded wherever it was known, and had made them the dominant power in North America. By a series of aggressive wars, they had exterminated, or rendered tributary to themselves, or incorporated in their own body, all of the native tribes east of the Mississippi. In 1663, when the Mohegans wished to build a fort, they first obtained the consent of the Mohawks. In 1751, when the Susquehannas wished to receive a missionary, they first asked permission from the Mohawks, and for years the sight of a Mohawk in New England was followed by a shout of terror, "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!" and the frightened natives fled for shelter. They were for years the terror and the scourge of the French settlements in Canada, and had their anger been aroused against the Dutch or English, they might have swept the whole colony into the Atlantic. To gain the Iroquois, therefore, was the end that taxed the powers of the rival nations. The French played their game with patience, adroitness and courage, availing themselves of every influence, appealing to noble and ignoble passions, and enlisting in their service even the terrors of the unseen world. The English, on the other hand, acted with stupidity, irresolution, procrastination, deserving to lose, yet fated to win.

The Jesuit fathers had labored among the Iroquois for at least half a century, before the English made any definite attempt at mission work; and it was the political influence of the Jesuits which first aroused the colonial governors to the necessity of exerting some counteracting influence upon the Iroquois. In 1687, Governor Dongan in his report, speaking of the Five Nations, said: "I suffer no Christians to converse with them anywhere but at Albany, and that not without my license." He adds that the French for many years had had missionaries among the Iroquois; had converted many to the Christian faith; and had induced six or seven hundred of them to remove to Canada, "to the great prejudice of this government." Governor Dongan is spoken of as "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manners, though a professed papist." He was the nephew of the notorious Tyreonnel, deputy governor of Ireland under James the Second, and

Dongan was appointed to office by James with the express purpose of extending the Catholic religion in the colonies. But though a zealous Catholic, Dongan was also a loyal Englishman, and he saw with indignation and alarm the encroachments of the French on the territory south of the lakes. In the year 1686, Governor Dongan and the Marquis De Nonville exchanged frequent letters, in which, under cover of courteous language, strong rivalry and bitterness of feeling were shown. They each asserted with considerable warmth, that their royal masters were extremely zealous for the progress of the true religion among the pagans. The question of spiritual good to the natives, however, was largely a subterfuge. The real interests at stake were first, the control of this powerful and warlike confederacy, and second, the question of territorial rights. The French denied that the English had any claim whatever to the land or the people of the Five Nations—a statement which Governor Dongan treated rather cavalierly. "You tell me of your having had missionaries among them," he writes to De Nonville. "It is a very charitable act; but I suppose that gives no just right to the government of a country. Father Bryare writes that the King of China never goes anywhere without two Jesuits with him. I wonder why you do not make a like pretense to that kingdom."

The persistent intrigues of the French and the constant desertions of the Iroquois to Canada finally led Dongan to attempt to prohibit all intercourse on the part of the Iroquois with the Jesuit fathers. He urged upon the committee of trade the absolute necessity of having five or six English priests sent over at once. He also wishes the Canadian governor to caution Lamberville—the Jesuit missionary to the Onondagas—to confine his activities strictly to his priestly functions, and that those of the Iroquois who had become Catholics and were living in Canada should not attempt to draw others after them, "for if they do," said he, "and I can catch any of them, I shall handle them very severely." But that which terminated the Jesuit missions to the Iroquois was the treachery of the French themselves. The ceaseless wars of the Iroquois with other tribes, and their inveterate hatred of the French—dating from their first conflict with Champlain in 1609—had exposed the Jesuit missions in other quarters to the wrath of the confederacy, and had caused their ruin. The constant cry on the part of the French, both officials and ecclesiastics, was, that the mission could never succeed until the Iroquois were either completely humbled or destroyed. As

tributary to this end, a thoroughly organized campaign was meditated, and Louis XIV had directed that prisoners taken from the Five Nations should be sent over (Shades of the Iroquois!) to labor in his galleys. De Nonville, in his zeal to carry out his majesty's orders, anticipated the verdict of war, and treacherously seized a number of the chiefs of the Five Nations who had been induced to attend what they supposed to be a friendly interview. At this act of folly and treachery the wrath of the Iroquois burst forth. Lamberville, the Jesuit father, had lived for twenty years among the Onondagas. He had won their confidence, and they were willing, generously, to believe that he was not implicated in the treachery of his countrymen. And instead of dispatching him with the tomahawk, as belonging to a faithless and a hated race, he was conducted by trusty guides through the forest, and sent on his way in safety. "Thus," says Brodhead, "the French missions among the Iroquois were closed, by an act of the Canadian governor, the insanity of which was hardly relieved by the self-denying virtues of those faithful devotees, who had labored so long to spread Christianity through western New York." For twenty-five years the Iroquois were left without any regular religious instruction by resident missionaries from either Catholics or Protestants. Yet during all of this time the necessity of Protestant missions to the Iroquois was constantly before the minds of the public. The question is a prominent one in all the correspondence of the time. It was emphasized in the letters of the colonial governors by Fletcher, and the Earl of Bellamont and Nanfan, by Robert Livingstone and Lord Cornbury. It was discussed by the assembly of New York and by the lords of trade. Nothing apparently was of more urgent interest or importance. Among the instructions to the Earl of Bellamont was this: "To devise the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of the Indians to the Christian religion." It was not, as we have seen, a mere question of pious interest in the spiritual welfare of a savage. It was a question for the soldier and the statesman, as well as for ecclesiastics. The two bribes constantly presented to the Iroquois to secure their quiet and confidence, were first, presents, and second, the promise of a teacher of the Christian religion. In 1696 the lords of trade in their report, say that "the converting of the Mohawks and others of the Five Nations is of the greatest importance imaginable." In 1698 the Earl of Bellamont urged that three hundred pounds per annum of the money paid on the charter corporation for the conversion of infidels,

might be used to encourage Protestant divines to instruct the Five Nations. In the same year Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius, after an official visit to Canada, reported that "if the court of England do not take to heart the instruction and conversion of the Indians the Five Nations will not fail to be lost." In 1700, Robert Livingstone, in giving his opinion as to the principal causes of the desertion of the Iroquois to Canada, mentions, "Our neglect of sending missionaries among them to instruct them in the Christian faith." One important end aimed at by the English was the return of the Iroquois—several hundred in number—who had been tempted away to Canada by the Jesuits, and were known as "praying Indians;" and to secure this object also the religious teacher was the bribe which was offered. These "praying Indians" promised Captain Schuyler in 1698 that "they would return to their former habitations if my Lord Bellamont would take care that they might be furnished with good teachers or ministers to instruct them in the Christian faith, that having been the only cause which did induce them to desert this government."

In 1700 some of the "praying Indians," in an interview at Albany were urged by the commissioner to return to their homes. The Indians replied in substance and with suitable irony, "When we were with you we heard no talk of converting us to the Christian faith. We are glad that you are now so piously inclined. If you had begun a little sooner we might never have deserted our native country."

Meanwhile the Iroquois were clamoring for missionaries. How genuine this interest may have been will of course admit of a liberal doubt. Still they felt that they had not been fairly treated. The missionaries had been promised, and they wanted the promise made good. The Mohawks expressed to Colonel Schuyler their surprise that the English could not send one minister to instruct them, while the French could send so many Jesuits to their Indians. The Earl of Bellamont was probably doing the best that he could to make good his promise. "The want of two ministers," he wrote in 1700, "has done us a vast deal of prejudice with the Indians. I can find none in this country that will go among them, and that are qualified for such a charge." A few months later Bellamont wrote to the lords of trade urging them "to send over two ministers as soon as possibly can be, or we shall hazard the loss of our Indians; they press for ministers above all things whatsoever." Bellamont was also very clear and intelligent as to the kind of men who were needed. "They ought to be young men,

or they never will be able to learn the Indian tongue. They must be men of sober and exemplary lives and good scholars." Yet the difficulty was to find men of any kind for the service. There was no Church of England minister at Albany, and only one in New York. Even a quarter of a century later Governor Burnet wrote that in the province of New York there were not Church of England ministers in half the counties, and that no record of christenings or burials was possible. But while all of this agitation and urgent correspondence was going on, some feeble and perhaps doubtful efforts were made in other quarters toward missions among the Iroquois. During the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Rev. Godfrey Dellius, the Dutch minister at Albany, is said to have been very successful in converting many of them to the true religion, "in which," says a document of 1691, "they are very devout and desirous to have a minister settled among them for their pious comfort and instruction." The real name of this gentleman seems to have been Dell, but in accordance with the scholastic customs of the times, he had given a classical termination to his name, and was known as Dellius. There is nothing to indicate that the labors of Mr. Dellius were very zealous or very successful among the Mohawks. He was unwilling to live in their country; he had little familiarity with their language, and he doubtless contented himself for the most part with baptizing and teaching the children, and giving what Christian instruction he could to the Indians who resorted frequently and in considerable numbers to Albany. Indeed there were grave suspicions that Mr. Dellius was quite as shrewd in the management of worldly as of spiritual affairs. He forfeited the confidence of the people of Albany; the Earl of Bellamont did not hesitate openly and constantly to denounce him as a rascal, and when Joseph and Henry, two of his own converts, came forward and charged him with intrigue and deception in getting possession of some of their lands, he discreetly abandoned his ecclesiastical labors and fled over sea.

After the departure of Mr. Dellius, the Indians, by no means discouraged by their experience, continued to affirm their preference for the Protestant faith and to urge their request for a resident missionary. The Earl of Bellamont was eager and active in his efforts to bring this about. He was affluent in promises. He had sent to England for ministers; he was expecting them very soon. The case was one which required constant vigilance and delicate management. The French were ceaseless in their intrigues.

The arguments which they used were food for the hungry and clothing for the naked. Against these powerful attractions and temptations, the colonial governors had nothing to oppose but hopes and promises, and the miserable, exasperating policy of the British government which doled out its presents to the Indians in the most niggardly manner.

But until these promises could be made good, another Dutch clergyman was to stand in the gap and carry on the work which Dellius had in a manner begun. This was Rev. Bernard Freeman, of Schenectady, who was apparently settled there by the Earl of Bellamont in 1700. His lordship was hopeful of much good from this arrangement. Mr. Freeman would be near the Mohawks; and as the Indians passed through Schenectady on their way to Albany he would take pains to teach them. He was diligently applying himself to learn the language, and Bellamont hoped that in a year's time he would be able to preach to them. He also promised that another minister—a learned and able young man—would settle in their country before winter. For about five years Mr. Freeman labored with the Indians faithfully and with some success. He was spoken of in after years, as having "acquired more skill in the language of the Iroquois than any Dutch minister that has been in this country." He translated a great part of the liturgy into the Indian tongue—in particular, morning and evening prayers, the litany, the creed of Athanasius, besides several portions of the Old and New Testaments. When he read the litany to the Indians "they were mightily affected with it." By his fidelity he won the approval of the Earl of Bellamont, and shortly after he began his work he wrote to Bellamont that there were thirty-six of the Mohawks who had embraced the Christian faith, "ten of whom by the grace of God are brought over through my means, for I found but twenty-six." Mr. Freeman also won the confidence and regard of the Indians, for in 1710, when there seemed to be an immediate prospect of the appointment of two missionaries to the Iroquois they begged that Mr. Freeman, who was then at Flatbush, might be one of those sent. But even while Mr. Freeman was at Schenectady the Indians were hardly satisfied with the provisions made for their religious instruction. Schenectady was only a place of transit; Albany was the terminus of their travels, where they remained some time to trade. They asked, therefore, that a minister might be established at Albany, also. In response to the request Bellamont promised that he would engage Rev. Mr. Lydius, the Dutch minister at Albany, who would

study their language "that he might the better serve them in the work of the gospel." He hoped in a short time to have the Bible translated for the Five Nations, and their children taught to read. Mr. Lydius was allowed by the council of New York a salary of sixty pounds a year for his work in instructing the Indians, and apparently labored in this way for about eight years. His death in 1710 left the Five Nations without any one to act as their teacher or missionary. Though Mr. Lydius is spoken of as a good and pious man, and though he seems to have labored with commendable zeal, yet the number of converts had apparently not increased. In 1700 Mr. Freeman had reported thirty-six. In 1710 Rev. Thomas Barclay wrote to the society for the propagation of the gospel that there were among the Indians "about thirty communicants, and of the Dutch church, but so ignorant and scandalous that they can scarce be reputed Christians." Indeed, as we might expect, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had discovered that the assent of the Indians to the truths of the Christian religion was too often formal and meaningless. With a stolid indifference they nodded or grunted their acceptance of whatever was said to them, too indolent to argue or object.

We have noticed that mission work has thus far been carried on only upon the skirts of the Five Nations, or as the Indians came to Schenectady or Albany for the purpose of trade. The inducements for a permanent residence in the Iroquois country were anything but flattering. The perquisites of the position were not only the most offensive surroundings, but also constant peril to life from violent and drunken Indians, as well as from the French. The fastidious Earl of Bellamont affirmed that the Indians were not tidy in their persons; that their table manners were not nice; and that their food was loathsome to the last degree. Without a fort it was impossible to prevail upon a minister to live among the Indians. So Bellamont told the lords of trade; so he told the Five Nations. The same state of affairs, however, continued for several years longer. The Iroquois kept asking for resident missionaries, and missionaries were promised with unfailing regularity. In 1709 Robert Hunter received his instructions as colonial governor of New York, and among them there appears the traditional and familiar item, that he is to "make provision for the maintenance of some ministers to inhabit among the Five Nations of Indians." From this time on, there seems to be some growth in the project of sending Protestant missionaries to the Iroquois. I have given no account in this narrative of the Mission of Rev.

Mr. Moor to the Five Nations, because though heralded at considerable length, it was utterly fruitless. Mr. Moor came to this country in 1704. His services had been secured, as we are told, "not without a great deal of pains and time spent to that purpose." He was to have one hundred pounds a year; a little house was to be built for him; twenty pounds beside were allowed to furnish the house, and ten or fifteen pounds for books. He was also to be provided with the luxury of two servants to attend upon him. The queen herself was to allow him twenty pounds, and to encourage him and all similar volunteers, there was held out the prospect of a benefice in England after a certain number of years' service. Mr. Moor, on his arrival, was directed by Lord Cornbury to proceed to Albany. He visited the Mohawks in the autumn of 1704. They were not ready to receive him, and with his return to Albany his mission came to an end. The failure of his enterprise was charged upon the fur traders. They were opposed to the introduction of religion among the Indians, probably because it tended to wean them from the hunter's life, and so to interfere with the trade.

In 1710 an incident occurred, which, though its purpose was entirely political, seems naturally to have awakened some interest in the minds of the English, in the attempt to civilize and Christianize the Five Nations. The Indians were somewhat disposed to compare the English and the French to the disadvantage of the former, saying that the King of France ruled part of a continent, while the Queen of England governed only a small island. Colonel Peter Schuyler was a man whose influence over the Indians and knowledge of their character has never been surpassed, and in order to impress the natives with the wealth and power of the English government, in 1710 he persuaded five of the Iroquois sachems to accompany him, and sailed with them to England. Their appearance and the impression which they produced has been described by many writers. Their visit was commemorated by Steele in *Tattler* and by Addison in the *Spectator*. They were stared at by the crowd; they were feted and dined; they had an audience with the queen, and in fine, they produced a sensation which has not been surpassed by any of the savages of later times, not even excepting Cetewayo himself. The Indians seem to have taken advantage of this visit to make a personal and public application that missionaries might be sent among them. And though the delegation was composed only of Mohawks, yet on their return the application was ratified by the sachems of the

Five Nations in an interview with Governor Hunter. In 1711 the contract was made for building forts in the countries of the Mohawks and Onondagas. Several months later Governor Hunter wrote that the buildings were well advanced, and that it was high time to think of missionaries for the service. In October, 1712, the missionary for the Mohawks had arrived. The theory was pretty well established by this time, as Colonel Heathcote had expressed it, that the missionaries to the Indians must be men who could endure hardship, who were able and willing to live with the Indians, in their own country, and according to their way and manner. On the 14th of November, 1712, an interview was held between the commissioners of Indian affairs and the sachems of the Mohawks. Rev. Mr. Andrews, the newly arrived missionary, was also present, and Rev. Thomas Barclay, minister of the English church in Albany. Mr. Andrews told the Indians "that in response to their request he had left his dearest friends and relatives and undergone a very tedious and dangerous voyage to come over to them and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion." The sachem of the upper castle of the Mohawks welcomed Mr. Andrews with thanks to the queen, and taking his hand pledged him protection and encouragement in his work. Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem, who had been to England with Colonel Schuyler, and who afterward fell bravely fighting in the battle of Lake George, was also present. He welcomed Mr. Andrews cordially, and thanked him for his coming. With a little apprehension, which was doubtless born of past experience, he begged that none of their land should be clandestinely bought from them, and that they might not be subjected to the hardship of paying tithes, like the converts of the Jesuits in Canada. Indeed the Iroquois had heard strange stories of the treatment of the Catholic Indians, and they had an amusing though pathetic fear of ecclesiastical power. "When we are instructed in the Christian religion," they said, "let not such severities be used as the Jesuits do in Canada, who whip their proselytes with an iron chain, cut the women's hair off, put the men in prison, and when the men commit any filthy sin the priest takes his opportunity, and beats them when they are asleep." Mr. Andrews assured them that he had not come to take their lands, nor to lay any burdens upon them, but to instruct them in the true religion. The commissioners promised to provide sleighs and horses to convey the goods of Mr. Andrews to the Mohawk country, and to pay the charge for transportation.

The Mohawks already had a little chapel made of bark, and as early as 1701 they had petitioned the Earl of Bellamont for a larger and more substantial building, which he had promised. It had never been built, however, and Mr. Andrews doubtless conducted public service with the meager advantages which the bark shanty afforded. What his success or what his discouragements may have been, we can only imagine. We are told in one place that "he had not greater success among the natives than his predecessor." The statement seems to refer to Mr. Moor, whose ludicrous missionary campaign among the Mohawks we have already noticed; and if such be the comparison intended, the success of Mr. Andrews was of a character so doubtful and microscopic that it was scarcely worth recording. He doubtless experienced the same difficulties which were so formidable half a century later, and which ever since have operated so unfavorably to any attempts to educate or Christianize the Indians. One of these difficulties was their unsettled condition of life; the fact that they were wedded to the roaming life of the hunter, so that during considerable portions of the year the men were absent from home. A second obstacle was their insatiable passion for strong drink. It may be also, that "the lust of the eyes and the pride of life," even as within the borders of civilization, were a bar to the best results. Governor Hunter urged them in 1714 to give ear to the "good and pious man" who was laboring for their welfare; but when they considered what fine clothes the Christians have when they go to church, and that "we can not purchase Sunday clothes but would be obliged to go to church in an old bear skin or a deer skin," some of them concluded to put off going to church until goods were cheaper. Mr. Andrews remained among the Mohawks until the year 1719. Rev. John Stuart, "the last missionary to the Mohawks," speaking of Mr. Andrews, says that "he soon abandoned the place." Yet Governor Hunter writing to the lords of trade in 1718, nearly seven years after the contract had been made to build the forts says: "The fort was built and there has been a garrison and a missionary there ever since it was built." It is possible that the fort was not built at once after issuing the contract, and that therefore Mr. Andrews' term of service was relatively shortened, and as he was the first, so he was for many years the last Protestant missionary who resided among the Mohawks. For many years afterwards the society for propagating the gospel was content with imitating the policy of the government and allowing a small stipend to their clergyman at Albany,

to act as missionary to the Mohawks, in which capacity he did them very little good. In the year 1712 Rev. Peter Van Driesen became pastor of the Dutch church at Albany. Soon after entering upon his work, he was requested by the Mohawks to continue in the same service toward them which his predecessors, Dellius and Lydius had rendered. In a petition to Governor Burnet in 1722 Mr Van Driesen claimed that he had performed this service ever since his settlement with the exception of the time when Mr. Andrews was in the field; and he begged his excellency to assist him in his services, the cost of which he had thus far borne himself. Governor Burnet was the son of that large-minded and eminently distinguished English churchman, who is best known perhaps as the author of the "History of the Reformation" and the "History of His Own Times." His predecessors such as Sloughter, Ingoldsby, Fletcher, Cornbury, had been military men. William Burnet had been bred to civil life; is said to have been polite, sociable and intelligent, and we may fairly suppose that some portion of the devout and Catholic spirit of the father had fallen upon the son. We know but little of what his influence may have been upon mission work among the Iroquois; but in his order, granting a license to Mr. Van Driesen to build "a public meeting house in the Mohawk country for the solemn worship of God," we may recognize a spirit at least somewhat different from that of the trader or mere soldier. When Mr. Van Driesen ceased his ministration to the Mohawks is not exactly clear; but so far as appears they were left without any religious instruction for a period of nearly fifteen years. In the conferences with the Indians during this period, nothing is said on either side with regard to missionaries. They ask for the blacksmith and the armorer, but not the preacher. They complain that goods are too dear; that the traders swindle them; and that rum, which is their ruin, is altogether too abundant and too poor. In a report on the state of the British plantations in America in 1721, the commissioners lament that "our zeal for propagating the Christian faith in parts beyond the seas, hath not hitherto, much enlarged the pale of the British church amongst those poor infidels, or in any sort contributed to promote the interests of the state in America." In a memorial to Governor Burnet in 1724 Mr. Colden took occasion to contrast the indifference of the English with the missionary zeal of the French. The zeal of the Jesuits overcame all obstacles. They were beginning to regain some of their former influence among the Five Nations. The Mohawks had again begun to desert their homes

and to live near Montreal, and sachems of the Iroquois appeared in Albany, wearing the crucifix upon their breasts. Although Robert Livingstone had written as early as 1703 that not only the Mohawks, but also the Senecas and Onondagas were ready to be instructed in the Christian faith, yet among the poor savages themselves there was some confusion and uncertainty on the subject. Among the Onondagas in 1702, half of the tribe were inclined to have a French Jesuit for their teacher, and the other half opposed to it, and rather inclined to have a Protestant minister. The chief sachem of the Onondagas, in his bewilderment, said to the French and English: "You both tell us to be Christians; you make us so mad we know not which side to choose." And then, with a practical inference that the tree may be known by its fruits, he adds: "I will speak no more of praying or of Christianity, but we are come to this conclusion; those that sell their goods the cheapest, whether English or French of them we will have a minister."

After the close of Mr. Van Driesen's occasional ministrations to the Mohawks, we hear no more of mission work among them until 1736. In this year, in Lieutenant Governor Clark's report to the lords of trade, among the acts reported as approved by him is this: "An act for paying sixty pounds to Mr. Barclay." This was Rev. Henry Barclay, son of Thomas Barclay, the first Episcopal minister in the city of Albany. Governor Clark adds that Mr. Barclay "had applied himself to the learning of the Indian language; had taught the Indian children to read and write and brought many others over to the Christian religion." He was appointed catechist to the Mohawks in 1736; shortly afterward he went to England and took orders; was appointed missionary to Albany and Fort Hunter in 1738 and continued his labors there and among the Mohawks until 1746. He had many difficulties to contend with. He had no interpreter; his support was scanty; his life was frequently in danger and the Jesuits were constantly intriguing with the Mohawks. Yet at his departure his congregation consisted of five hundred Indians of whom more than eighty were regular communicants, which was more than double the number he found at his first coming. Chief Justice Smith in speaking of the labors of Mr. Barclay and of what he regarded as a mistaken policy of the missionary society, said: "If the English society for propagating the gospel instead of maintaining missionaries in rich Christian congregations along the continent, expended half the amount of their annual contributions on

evangelists among the heathen, besides the unspeakable religious benefits that would accrue to the natives, such a proceeding would conduce greatly to the safety of our colonies and his majesty's service." During the residence of Mr. Barclay among the Mohawks and in return for his services in "daily preaching good things" to them, the tribe presented him with a piece of land "very conveniently situated near the garrison." This piece of land Mr. Barclay claimed he had purchased, and he laid out a considerable sum of money in building upon it. Probably the claim was true. But unfortunately, on the departure of Mr. Barclay, some question arose as to the title of the property. The Mohawks insisted that they had no intention of alienating the land, but designed it as a "glebe for his use while he lived among them as a missionary, and afterwards, for the use of his successors." The complaint was still standing and the case unsettled at least eight years later. Such cases of misunderstanding, which were certainly very unfortunate in connection with the growing jealousy of the Iroquois at the intrusion of foreigners, must have contributed somewhat toward nullifying the effect of Christian instruction. Yet the Mohawks begged Governor Clinton to furnish them at once with another teacher, but to provide "that no person whatsoever be admitted to buy one foot of our flats either at the Mohawks or at Canajoharie."

In the year 1748 the people of New England became interested in missions to the Iroquois, and Messrs. Spencer, Woodbridge and Hawley visited the Mohawks. Mr. Spencer, who went among the Mohawks in 1748, remained but a short time, and it is only recorded of him that he could not surmount the obstacles which he encountered. In 1752, in the "old south meeting house" of Boston, Rev. Gideon Hawley was publicly set apart to the work of an evangelist among the western Indians. He entered upon the work at Stockbridge under the patronage of Jonathan Edwards. A few families of the Iroquois from the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras were in the habit of coming to Stockbridge for the sake of Christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. Mr. Hawley was their schoolmaster and preached to them on the Sabbath. Even the great theologian sometimes addressed the simple children of the forest. A strange sight it must have been to see that profound and extraordinary man, accustomed to grapple with the most abstruse problems in philosophy and religion laying aside the language of the schools and speaking the truths of the gospel to untutored savages in the simplest terms. "To Indians,"

says Mr. Hawley, "he was a very plain and practical preacher. His sentences were concise and full of meaning, and his delivery was grave and natural." Mr. Hawley made a short visit to the Mohawk country in the fall of 1752. After being deserted by his Indian guide, and losing his way in the midst of a dreadful storm, he arrived at Albany; pushed on from there to the homes of the Mohawks; spent apparently but one night with them, gave a few presents to the children, invited the Indians to Stockbridge and started home. At Albany he found Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, the successor in the Episcopal church of Rev. Henry Barclay. Mr. Ogilvie held the title of missionary to the Mohawks, and as such a salary was allowed him. He made his residence however in Albany, being regarded as chaplain of the fort. He spent little of his time with the Indians, and therefore he could do them but little good. Mr. Ogilvie is described by a lady who had often seen him at the home of Colonel Schuyler, as a man singularly prepossessing in his appearance, his address and manners entirely those of a gentleman, his reading extensive, his powers of conversation fine, and his knowledge of life thorough. He was a man of letters and society, and evidently more at home in the atmosphere of Albany than on the Mohawk flats.

After Mr. Hawley's return to Stockbridge and in view of the evident desire of the Mohawks for Christian instruction, it was agreed that he, together with Deacon Timothy Woodbridge, should set out again for the Indian country. Their departure on a mission to plant Christianity in a wilderness, "one hundred miles beyond any settlement of Christian people," awakened the interest of the whole town, and Jonathan Edwards, with his wife and others, accompanied them some distance into the woods. They left Albany on Friday, May 25, 1753, intending to pay their respects to Colonel Johnson and obtain his approval of their mission, and on the evening of the same day they were welcomed by the colonel in person at the gate of his stately mansion, which stood on rising ground, a little distance from the river. On Sunday, the 27th, they held a meeting at the Mohawk village, where Mr. Hawley preached. It was hardly a New England Sabbath, and the good parson was a little shocked at what he saw. "Those who are in the meeting behave devoutly in time of service; but without, they are at play. I have been at their meetings when the boys through the service, and even, at the celebration of the Lord's supper, have been playing bat and ball around the house of God. Coming out of the meeting we observed the lower orders at all sorts of recreation."

About this time, or a little earlier, the colonial officials began to urge once more the appointment of missionaries to the Iroquois. In 1751 Mr. Colden wrote to Governor Clinton saying that it would be of "great use to have missionary preachers settled in as many places as there can be funds found for their subsistence;" and he hoped that the societies in England for propagating the gospel would contribute to their utmost abilities. In 1754 Lieutenant Governor De Lancey wrote to the lords of trade that the Mohawks of the upper castle desired a church; that he should try to raise the funds, and if successful, would order a church built, which would serve as a fort also. The Mohawks wanted a church with a bell in it, "which, together with putting a stop to the selling of rum, will tend to make us religious." Colonel Johnson, in 1754, was also of the opinion that young men of learning should be sent to reside among the Onondagas, Senecas and Mohawks, to serve as interpreters, school masters and catechists. William Johnson was appointed by Governor Clinton to the charge of Indian affairs in 1746. No man since the time of Colonel Peter Schuyler had understood the Indian character better, or been able to manage them with more adroitness. No one ever enjoyed the confidence of the Indians more completely. He adopted their dress and used their language. No person before him, said Mr. Colden, had ever gained such influence with the Indians. His residence among the Mohawks had given him peculiar advantages in many respects. He had become the most considerable Indian trader, and since his appointment, most of the Indians who formerly came to Albany to trade got their supplies from Colonel Johnson. Though receiving no salary he had grown wealthy, like his great army of successors in modern times; and and when Rev. Gideon Hawley visited him in 1765, he found him living like a mediæval baron in a "very superb and elegant edifice," surrounded with little buildings for the accommodation of his Indian clients.

Though hardly a man of practical religious life himself, yet both from a political and religious point of view he appreciated the necessity of securing and encouraging missions to the Indians. He insisted from the outset on "a steady and uniform method of conduct and a religious regard to our engagements with the Indians." He urged that "every castle should be provided with a worthy person in the character of a minister of the gospel." "Two proper persons of unblemished characters" should be sent to the Oneidas and Onondagas, and from the success achieved

among the Mohawks he argued that much could be done among the other tribes. The French influence was still a source of great alarm, and "missionaries of approved character, abilities and zeal" should be sent to subvert that influence. It was charged that the French told the Indians that "the English were the people who crucified Jesus Christ;" and that "the books used by our missionaries were written by the devil." It was naturally true that the French made much of the failure of the English to send missionaries to the Iroquois, and claimed that it was due to indifference and irreligion. Much was expected from Sir William Johnson's interest in this matter. Colonel Babcock, in language somewhat rhetorical as well as biblical, thought that the career of Johnson was quite as remarkable as that of Joseph in the Old Testament, and that the preservation of his life was a clear proof that he was intended by Providence to lay the foundations of civilization and Christianity among the Indians. Falling into the biblical, historical and rhetorical strain once more, Colonel Babcock likened the labors of Johnson to those of Peter the Great among the Muscovites, and thought that like Solomon he might lay in the Mohawk country the foundations of a temple more useful than the splendid temple at Jerusalem; and that the queens of the Senecas, Oneidas and Mohawks might join with the Queen of Sheba in exclaiming that the half had not been told them.

But these pictures were rather highly colored, and there were serious difficulties in the way of making any progress in matters civil or religious. Not the least among these was the inordinate passion of the Indians for strong drink. It was the same condition of things which caused a protest against the English opium trade, and which has recently evoked an indignant remonstrance from the missionary societies of Germany. As far back as 1686 the difficulty was a serious one, and the Governor of Canada remonstrated with Governor Dongan as follows: "Think you, sir, that religion will progress while your merchants supply rum in abundance which converts the savages into demons?" Dongan parried the thrust for the time by deploring the evil of drunkenness, "Though certainly," he said, "our rum doth as little hurt as your brandy, and in the opinion of Christians, is much more wholesome." He admitted that to keep the Indians temperate was a "good and Christian performance; but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and very Turkish." But the evil had since then grown to frightful proportions. Johnson pro-

tested against it. The Indians begged that the sale of liquors might be prohibited except at Albany or Oswego, since they were powerless to resist it when brought to them. The traders went everywhere and always took rum. Some took nothing but rum, and their profits were enormous. In Samuel Kirkland's journal for 1769, speaking of the manner of celebrating Christmas day on the Mohawk, he says: "They generally assemble for reading prayers or divine service, but after, they eat, drink and make merry. Drinking, swearing, fighting and frolicking are not only allowed, but seem to be essential to the joy of the day." In 1755 Johnson urged upon Lieutenant Governor DeLancey the passage of an act of legislature prohibiting the sale of rum to Indians. Even as late as 1770 Johnson "knew of no law for restraining the sale of that pernicious liquor even during public business," and thought that the matter required immediate attention of the American legislature.

But while the Indians were complaining that rum was too abundant and missionaries too few; and while Sir William Johnson was saying that from the scarcity of clergymen or of funds, the society was unable to send any missionaries to the Iroquois; and while Dr. Inglis and the lords of trade and Sir William Johnson and others were corresponding and suggesting and devising; and while, above all, various men of wisdom and of rank were employing their valuable time and their superior abilities in the consideration of such gigantic schemes as the appointment of a bishop for America, a plan which, according to our biblical authority, Colonel Babcock, would shut out the Presbyterians, "those splenetic and frightened enthusiasts," who were "tucking and squeezing in every possible crevice they can, their missionaries to the Indians"—while all this was going on, a young man from Princeton College had undertaken on his own behalf, to carry the gospel to the Six Nations.

Samuel Kirkland had pursued his preparatory studies at the school of Dr. Wheelock at Lebanon, where he doubtless had as his companions a number of Indian youth, and learned something of the Mohawk language. In 1761, at the age of twenty, having apparently just finished his studies at Lebanon, he visited Sir William Johnson, who approved of his purpose of learning the Mohawk speech, in the hope that he might be "of vast service to them as a clergyman." In 1764 Kirkland started on his mission to the Senecas—the most distant of the Iroquois—the most numerous and powerful, and almost if not entirely lacking in any

knowledge of Christianity. After spending a year and a half among the Senecas—a period of hardship and danger, in which his motives were misinterpreted and his life threatened, barely escaping the fate of Jogues and Garniér—he returned to the borders of civilization. At Lebanon he was formally set apart to the work of the ministry, and by the Connecticut Board of the Scottish Missionary Society was sent as missionary to the Oneidas.

In the year 1768 David Avery is found engaged in missionary work at Fort Stanwix. He interested himself actively in the temporal as well as the religious welfare of the Indians. He joined his fellow missionary, Jacob Johnson, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, remonstrating against any action on the part of the officers of the crown which would tend to dispossess the Indians of their lands, since this would largely frustrate the design of propagating the gospel among them. He urgently solicited the coöperation of Sir William in recommending the gospel to the chiefs of the Five Nations as he met them for consultation at Fort Stanwix. Mr. Avery's remonstrance, which certainly seems well intended and philanthropic, aroused the ire of Johnson, since he found the Indians animated by the same spirit as that which prompted the letter, and this caused great difficulty in gaining their assent to the boundary line which was then under discussion. Sir William's anger blazed forth in a letter to General Gage, in which he denounces the missionaries in substance as intruding meddlers—a letter which makes us somewhat skeptical as to the genuine nature of Sir William's religious zeal. He refrained, however, from any violent measures with the mission work, lest the Indians should resent such a course, and therefore treated them, as he says, with "silent contempt." After his return from Fort Stanwix Mr. Avery was graduated at Yale College, and in 1771 was sent to assist Samuel Kirkland in his labors among the Oneidas. But after spending one year with Mr. Kirkland, the state of his health made it necessary for him to abandon the field.

There is much in this period which it would be interesting to dwell upon; upon Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, which played such an important part in missionary work among the Iroquois, which attracted so much interest in England, securing the practical sympathy of Lord Dartmouth and the Countess of Huntington, a school which finally grew into Dartmouth College, though at one time it seemed likely that its permanent home would be in New York State; upon Joseph Brant, his education, religious work and military exploits; upon Sampson Occum, the

Indian preacher—the first Indian, probably, who had visited England since the Mohawk sachems with Colonel Schuyler. Surely the English must have noticed some progress between 1710 and 1766; some difference between the Indian sachems of the time of Queen Anne and the Indian clergyman of the time of George III. All of this, which it would be interesting to dwell upon, must be omitted. The labors of Kirkland have been too often the subject of eulogy and are too much a part of our local history to require, in this connection, any detailed narrative. For forty-four years he labored with the Oneidas as their pastor, their teacher, their guardian and friend. His name is to be grouped with those of Brainerd and John Eliot—one of the brightest exponents of the missionary spirit which the history of the church can furnish. Were Kirkland's labors successful? We can not measure the good he may have done, nor is such a life of self-denial to be narrowly estimated by tangible result. A writer in 1792 takes a pessimistic view of the Indian, and says that "he was never intended to live in a state of civil society." "Rev. Mr. Kirkland," he adds, "who acts as missionary among the Oneidas, has taken all the pains that man can take; but his whole flock are Indians still, and like the bear which you can muffle and lead out to dance to the sound of music, becomes again a bear when his muffler is removed and the music ceases. The Indians will attend public worship and sing extremely well, following Mr. Kirkland's notes, but whenever the service is over they wrap themselves in their blankets and either stand like cattle on the sunny side of a house, or lie before a fire." We must estimate life somewhat by the noble purposes which it has in view. Mr. Kirkland's services, both to the church and to the state, were manifold, and not extravagantly has it been said of him, that considering his varied labor and services during the revolutionary war, he "seems deserving of no less honor from his countrymen than many a military hero crowned with blood-bought laurels."

But we have anticipated a little, and I must tax your patience a few moments longer in order to recite the last act in this somewhat uneventful drama. The society for propagating the gospel had had no missionary resident among the Mohawks since the time of Mr. Andrews. The constant and urgent representations of Sir William Johnson and others finally culminated in an elaborate memorial, in which the matter was brought to the attention of the English government, as well as the society for propagating the gospel. This paper, which was drawn up by Rev. Charles Inglis,

with the coöperation of Sir William Johnson, enters with great detail into the importance of mission work among the Indians. In view of the claims of humanity; in view of political advantage; in view of the dangers from French intrigue; in view of the frequently expressed desire of the Indians for religious teachers; the memorial urges that the society should enter upon the work. The great expense connected with the scheme, and the great advantages to be reaped, made it desirable that the "government should interfere in this matter and attempt the conversion of the Iroquois." The paper touches casually upon the condition of things among the Oneidas, "many of whom," we are told, "profess Christianity, being instructed partly by French Jesuits, partly by a dissenting teacher lately sent among them, but chiefly by the society's missionaries to the Mohawks." In his zeal for the spiritual good of the natives, Mr. Inglis very naturally did not fail to discover in the Indians a decided preference for clergymen of the Church of England, as compared with dissenting ministers. "The solemnity of our worship is more pleasing to them." "The gloomy cast of the dissenting teachers and their mode of worship, are forbidding and disagreeable to the Indians." Mr. Inglis admits that this is a "delicate point," but yet is decidedly of the opinion that the Iroquois should be converted by clergymen of the Church of England. In response to such appeals as these, in 1770 Rev. John Stuart was appointed missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. He reached Johnson Hall in November, 1770, and learned of one obstacle to his work before he had even begun it. "The Mohawks," wrote Sir William Johnson, "are almost all abroad on their winter hunt, and he can not enter upon his mission with effect for some little time." The time of his enforced delay, however, was spent in acquiring the language. On Christmas day, 1770, he preached his first sermon at Canajoharie. In April, 1771, he was "learning the Indian language;" was "much esteemed by the white people;" and "the Indians seemed pleased with his work." "In 1774 he was able to read the liturgy, etc., to his flock, and converse tolerably well with them on common subjects in their own language." He found, however, great difficulty in conveying to them "any distinct ideas on divine subjects," since he had no interpreter; and for the same reason "could but seldom preach to them." He undertook a translation of a part of the New Testament, and with the assistance, it is said, of Brandt, prepared a Mohawk translation of St. Mark's gospel, an exposition of the catechism, and a history of the Bible. The work of in-

structing the Indians was attended with great difficulties. There were no elementary books. The alphabet was taught by means of little scraps of paper, since the primer of Colonel Claus had not then been prepared. Mr. Stuart won the respect and confidence of all who knew him. Sir William Johnson often spoke of him in terms of high regard, and that large-hearted and noble-minded woman, Mrs. Schuyler, felt for him the "utmost veneration." Mrs. Grant, in her memoirs, says that he "labored among the Indians with apostolic zeal, and with the same disregard for the things of this world." "Perfectly calculated for his austere and uncourtly duties, he was wholly devoted to them, and scarce cast a look back on the world which he had forsaken." But in the year 1775, only five years after Stuart had begun his work, there were heard the first rumblings of that convulsion which was to result in sundering the colonies from the mother country, and in the upheaval of a new republic. Like most of the clergy of the established church, Mr. Stuart was uncompromising in his loyalty to the crown. Amid the hostilities which followed, his work among the Mohawks was interrupted, his residence destroyed, and his removal became necessary. In those times of excitement, suspicion fell upon him, and he finally left the country and established himself in Canada. Mr. Stuart enjoyed the distinction of being known as "the last missionary to the Mohawks." At the close of the war in 1784 Mr. Kirkland resumed missionary work among the Oneidas. But the war had left ruin in its train. Whatever habits of industry the Indians had formed were broken up. The schools and churches were in ruins. The Indians were losing heart at the rapid increase and encroachments of the whites. Their numbers were diminished; their morals corrupt; their prowess and importance very much broken. Civilization had been "instrumental in multiplying their miseries by teaching them vices they knew not before." In 1792 the Iroquois were living on reservations, and their whole number was estimated at but six thousand, of whom but one thousand were warriors.

It has been a pleasing fancy with some historians to trace resemblance between the native American Indians and the early Germans. Yet such parallels are too often deceptive and superficial. The Teutonic race has proven its vigor and dominant power by a constant and wonderful increase; while the Indian tribes have constantly tended toward extinction. And now that the descendants of the early Germans had come upon the stage, the mere

hunter and warrior was righteously doomed to abandon his rude home and his broad but unproductive hunting grounds, and make room for a race possessing in the highest degree a genius for labor, for law and for civilization. And so the curtain falls upon the story of early Protestant missions to the Iroquois. Though the labors of the Protestant missionaries can not bear comparison with those of the Jesuits, yet they were marked by great hardship and self-denial. And now we shall raise the question, "what did it all amount to?" Very little truly, if we measure it by the number of converts, or the founding of schools and churches, or the establishment of civil institutions. So far as the foreign missionary societies were concerned, it was a history of indifference and procrastination and famous illustration of how not to do a thing which was all the time clamoring to be done. The Dutch clergymen Dellius, Lydius, Freeman preaching to the Indians as best they could at Schenectady or Albany; Thomas Barclay preaching once a month to the Indians at Schenectady; Mr. Andrews, spending seven years in faithful labor in the Indian country; after fifteen years Henry Barclay working for eight years with some success; twenty-four years later Mr. Stuart spending five years with the Mohawks. The time covered is nearly one hundred years and the clerical procession which files down through the century is in point of numbers, a feeble one we must admit. Freeman, Andrews, Stuart and possibly Henry Barclay are the only ones whose example seems at all inspiring. And above them all in the voluntary and apostolic character of his labors, we must place Kirkland. True, neither Kirkland, nor the others made many converts. Yet we must remember that their purpose was "to wean the savage from his barbarism and penetrate his heart with the truth of Christianity." What was said of Eliot was true of Kirkland: "If he had been disposed to hurry the Indians to baptism, as the Catholics in South America had done, or had bribed them to a profession by giving them coats and shirts, he could long ago have collected hundreds or thousand under the name of churches." "But" said he "we have not learned as yet the art of coining Christians, or putting Christ's name and image upon base metal." What did it all amount to? Great deeds and noble lives are not to be weighed like merchandise, nor does any man do a truly heroic deed, by sitting down first narrowly to calculate the profit and loss. He flings himself with a noble self-forgetfulness into the place where danger or duty call. "They wrong man

greatly," says Carlyle, "who say that he is seduced by ease. Difficulty, abnegation martyrdom, death, are the allurements which act on the heart of man. Not happiness, but something higher." The history of Protestant missions to the Indians has added a luster to many a page of our annals. Our history is brighter and more inspiring—our ideals of manhood nobler, because of such names as Eliot, and Brainerd and Kirkland. Perhaps it was all a miserable failure, if measured by results; yet who would blot out those pages from our history? The work is largely undone, or perhaps was never fairly done; yet the record of those noble lives remains a permanent and blessed inheritance.

THE STREETS OF UTICA.

BY L. M. TAYLOR.

The daring pioneers who penetrated the dense wilderness which once covered the surface of the State of New York, and having reached the spot where our fair city now stands, proposed to settle, lay their hands upon the forest, subdue it, and make homes for themselves and their descendants, found themselves confronted by a pressing need—the need of roads. After the log cabin, a practicable road became an absolute necessity.

The region round about—indeed the whole State—was traversed by paths or trails which reached from point to point by routes more or less direct, as direct as possible, consistent with the obligation to keep on firm land, skirt swamps, and reach streams at points where they could be most easily forded. The great labor required to transform a bridle-path into a tolerable roadway was quite beyond the resources of the first settlers. Those of them who had come to stay, who fully meant to transform a patch of this wild forest into arable land and a productive farm had really, whether they realized it or not, consecrated themselves to life-long toil, endurance and privation, so exacting and severe as to be almost inconceivable to this generation. Having really no time to devote to making or improving the approaches to their several "plants" they did as little as could be made to answer. To this end these paths, where it was possible, were appropriated, cut out, cleared of underbrush, trees felled, where it was not easier to go around them, their bodies trimmed and laid side by side, making the inevitable "corduroy" across the bog and morass, and thus an open way was secured, wide enough and level enough to permit the rough, strongly built wagon of the period to be pulled through without other mishap than an occasional "*set*," after a rain, or the slightly less occasional *upset* if the load proved a little top-heavy.

From year to year as new comers increased the number of workers these roads would be improved by paring down the stumps which were still standing in the middle of the traveled

way, grubbing out roots, and sometimes, though rarely, doing a little earth work. In their best estate these were miserable apologies for roads, tolerable only under stress of dire necessity, but for long years they were the only ones possible hereabouts.

At the advent of the present century the territory embraced within the corporate limits of the present city of Utica, had few roads of any sort, and those were mainly of the kind just described.

There was the "River Road" skirting the Mohawk, keeping far enough from it to be safe from its inundations. There was a road leading from the River Road back into the Slayton Bush region, now known as East street. There was another leading off southerly from the River Road not quite identical with the present position of Third street. There was the "Genesee Road" absorbed bodily afterwards by Genesee street. Another reaching off southwesterly, and now, with slight alteration, known as York street. Still another, which now, as the "Champlin Road," forms part of the western boundary of the city; and one forming part of our southern boundary which was known as the "Slayton Road" until the city made it "Pleasant street." This River Road, with the four roads leading southerly from it, from East to York street, inclusive, constitute the frame, upon, over and between which the present city has been built, and let us see how it grew.

Starting with the year 1800, when Utica was part of Whitestown, and had been living two years under its first village charter. Perhaps the act of incorporation itself may have contributed to give it an impetus, which from some source it seems to have received—for the little hamlet clustered mainly around the foot of Genesee street began to put itself on record as an enterprising community.

On February 23d of this year, "A map of Lot No. 95, Cosby's manor, made for Gerrit Boon, Esq., and others," was filed in the County Clerk's office. It had been surveyed in 1798, and was the first map of real estate placed in the office. It represented the property bounded east by the Genesee road, north by the Whitesboro road, and westerly by a line running one hundred feet westerly of Seneca street, or the westerly line of Lot No. 95. It had delineated upon it a street identical with Seneca street. Another parallel with this which would have been a little east of where Hotel street is now, and a pair of cross streets uniting these two, but extending no farther either way. None of these streets

were named, and no part of the plan survives and has come down to us except Seneca street. December 19th of the same year "A Map of Town Lots at Old Fort Schuyler, Herkimer County," &c., made for John R. Bleecker in 1797, was filed. It represented the Bleecker property from Division east to Third street, and as far south as Broad street, having Water and Main streets, and First, Second and Third streets, the three last being unnamed. John street does not appear at all. Although this map is subsequently supplanted by another, its allotment is essentially maintained.

This year too, the Seneca Road Company was incorporated to construct a turnpike from Utica to Canandaigua. They were required to clear a road six rods wide of all trees, except such as were left for ornament, to turnpike a roadway twenty-eight feet wide, with twenty-inch crown, covered with broken stone or gravel twenty feet wide fifteen inches deep in the centre, and nine inches at the side, with numerous requirements calculated to secure a good road, and to complete the same within five years. They did it, and did it well. A good-for-nothing, or very poor road, was speedily transformed into what was for the time an extraordinary highway. Its achievement was an extraordinary performance. It tapped the stream of travel and transportation which passed up the river to the Portage at Rome, and thence by water to and up the lake west. It was by far the shorter, quicker, and pleasanter route. It took hold on popular favor, and became speedily notorious. It was *The Great Seneca Turnpike.* It was dotted with hotels, swarming with post coaches, traveling carriages and loaded wagons, and from end to end alive with business. Utica from a way station became the terminal and distributing point. I often wonder whether the architects of the Seneca road had any idea of how well they were building for the village of Utica. We should erect a monument inscribed with the names of Benj. Walker, Jedediah Sanger and their associates in the Seneca road, as "The men who made Utica possible."

In 1805 the village of Utica attained its second charter. The streets or roads I have mentioned would seem to be still rambling around at their own sweet will; mentioned in deeds as being the boundary lines of real estate—dotted along their course with private residences, but unsurveyed, undefined. But in 1806 the whole subject was taken properly in hand, and surveys were ordered of all the roads in the town of Whitestown, which of course embraced Utica. These surveys included the River Road

and those just mentioned as running southerly from it. Let us retrace, as a curiosity, this survey over the present map of Utica. It began at the Herkimer county line, and its lines remain to-day unchanged to near the Starch Factory bridge. From this point to the Mohawk Valley Mills its lines have been entirely obliterated, first by the encroachment upon it of the Erie canal, and again by the removal of Broad street quite away from the canal to create a frontage available for manufacturing purposes. The Skenandoa Mill is built largely in the old River Road, as is also a portion of the main building of the Mohawk Valley. From this mill to the east line of the residence of the late A. E. Culver, the south line remains; from the same point to the east line of the Bleecker property, within the premises now occupied by LeRoy, Shattuck & Head, the north line remains. From this point the north line ran northerly of the present northerly line of Broad street, through the little boat-yard, across what is now the mouth of the "big basin," but was then a deep ravine, turned northerly at Third street, and thence westerly, the south line reappearing in the present southerly line of Main street; proceeding westerly it crossed Genesee street, and continues as the present southerly line of Whitesboro street to Seneca street, from which point the lines of Whitesboro street to Potter's bridge, Varick street to Court, Court to Whitesboro again, and Whitesboro to the city line, are identical with the lines of the old River road. The record of this survey is illustrated by frequent reference to buildings with which and with whose occupants the admirable work of Dr. Bagg has made the present generation familiar. How far the line passed from Schwartz's house—from N. Butler's shop—from Daniel Budlong's house—from Barnard Coon's, David P. Hoyt's Apollos Cooper's and William Smith's houses—and from an apple tree "near J. S. Kip's"—is duly set forth. A curious thing about this record is, that between East street and the Champlin road no mention is made of any other road or street which it crossed or passed, although five such were included in the general survey Mr. Gifford was at the time making—and the Seneca road had been two years open its entire length—and he proceeded right along from Genesee to Seneca street as if in crossing the deep bay in Whitesboro street opposite the old York house, his road, uniformly sixty-six feet wide, could have a northern side. It seems hardly possible to account for its extreme "crookedness." Bleecker and Fayette streets stretch in a straight line a distance which from parallel points, the old Road takes sixteen courses to accomplish.

Beyond the evident purpose, in making the detour from Potter's bridge to the Globe Mills, to secure a favorable crossing of Nail creek, the reasons for the general waywardness of this road are not apparent.

In this year, 1806, Hotel and Seneca, from the River road to the Seneca road were regularly laid out; Washington, from the River road to a point opposite the southernmost corner of the Presbyterian meeting-house, and Third street from the River road to Slayton's Bush; Liberty street from the Seneca road to Seneca street. The same year James S. Kip filed a map of part of Lot No. 96, in Cosby's manor, which started Broadway and carried it to within a few feet of Fayette street, and carried Liberty street across the property. You see Whitesboro street and its neighborhood are preparing to receive a brilliant future with open arms.

In 1809 the representatives of Rutger Bleecker filed another map of their property, which set it out to one tier of lots south of Catharine street; from Genesee to Third street, on which John street first appears south of Broad. In this year the Commissioners of Highways laid out Broad street from Genesee to Third, First street from Broad to the river, Second street from ——— to the river, Third street from Main to Broad, and Water street from First across Genesee street to a short distance west of Division street.

In 1808 Liberty street was put on record from Seneca street to the Whitesboro road, at "Captain Potter's," and thence on to intersect the Whitesboro road opposite the west end of the Lunatic Asylum. The latter portion of this is now known as Whitesboro street from Potter's bridge west. You see this made a short cut across the great bend in the River road which ran around by the Globe Mills.

In 1810 First street was continued southerly from Broad to Bridge street; Broad street was continued easterly from Third street to the east line of the Bleecker property, and Catharine was made a public street from the Seneca turnpike to Third street.

Heretofore, during the first ten or twelve years of the corporate existence of the village of Utica there had been but few comparatively small parcels of land allotted and laid out in streets, and these with no general plan. The Bleeckers had already filed two maps—the second spreading out a little farther than the first, at the edges—evidently feeling their way; and as yet having no clear apprehension that provision should be made for a much larger population. But now an event occurred which had a marked

effect on the beauty and growth of the future city. The Bleecker family owned three great lots in Cosby's Manor, which occupied (on Broad street for instance) the whole distance from Genesee street to a point some distance east of Mohawk street, and extended about three miles back from the river—over and beyond Steel's Hill, in fact. They employed Charles C. Brodhead to survey all that part of their property which lay within the present limits of the city of Utica—allot it—and define the boundaries of all the streets by stone monuments. It was carefully and skillfully done, and the result was the map of the Bleecker property, filed in 1811. No document in the County Clerk's office is so well known or has been so much consulted.

Of the streets on this map, Water, Main, Broad, First, Second, Third, Mohawk, Dock and Beaver, were so named for obvious reasons; the names Catharine, Bleecker, Elizabeth, Mary, Blandina, Rutger and John, were all found in the Bleecker family. South was the southernmost street represented on the map, and West street, though now as nearly in the middle of the city as it could well be placed, was laid along the west line of the property. The lots at each end of Chancellor Square originally fronted on the square itself, and could only be approached *through* it. This was remedied later by laying Academy street across the west or "Utica Academy" end, and Kent street across the east end, which took its name from Chancellor Kent, as did also the square itself. Bridge street connected the lower or Miller's bridge with the Seneca turnpike. Chancellor Lansing is understood to have furnished a name to Lansing street. In subsequent subdivisions of parts of this property new streets were added. Every city has a Franklin and Fulton street as a matter of course. Market street had once *the* market on its border, when Utica had but one. and Culver street was named after an old, honored resident, Abraham Culver. John Post, the famous owner of the "Post purchase," gave name to Post street—an act which he doubtless regrets if he can look down upon it to-day. This completes the nomenclature of the Bleecker streets, except Jay—which was named after Governor Jay—Burnet and Montgomery, upon which I can throw no light.

This Bleecker map is a historical document of curious interest. It divided the entire space between the river and Rutger street into fifty feet lots. It stopped John, First and Second at Rutger, and made one block of the entire space between Rutger and South, West and Third. This block was divided into what were called

"long lots," fronting Rutger and extending through to South, a distance of 666 feet. South of South street were four farms, called "farm lots," reaching to the Slayton road, and containing about one hundred acres each. This map partitioned the whole property between the four representatives of Rutger Bleecker, viz.: John R. Bleecker, Blandina Dudley, Maria Miller and Elizabeth Brinckerhoff, and the shares of each were distinguished by colors.

Beginning at the foot of Genesee street, by the bridge is a tier of fifty feet lots fronting the north side of Water street and extending back to the river, about seventy-five feet. Twenty-two of these lots reach a point just opposite the west end of the Central freight house, where now, for the first time, Dock street is inserted, and follows the line of the river across Bridge street to the east line of the property. Along the north line of Dock street there are thirty-four more of the fifty feet lots rearing on the river. Of these lots on Water street no heir was permitted to take more than one lot in a place, and along Dock street no more than two. Coming south the property is partitioned in larger parcels, reaching to one-fourth of a block, until, west of Second and South of Jay and east of Second and South of Mary, the heirs take by whole blocks. It is impossible to study this map without reaching the conviction that the representatives of Rutger Bleecker in 1811, deemed the river lots fronting on Water and Dock streets the most valuable property they owned. The business was then in fact done on the river; canals, much more railroads, were not dreamed of. It wanted but little effort of the imagination to picture Water and Dock streets in the not distant future lined with wharves and storehouses, with a river full of boats on the one side and streets alive with drays on the other.

To-day there is, I believe, on Dock street, a little powder-house, placed presumably where its explosion would be least likely to harm anybody. A few weeks since, standing on Miller's bridge, and looking thoughtfully up and down the line of this once valuable property, I saw four tramps quietly sleeping in the warm sunlight—on the green turf—in the middle of Dock street—the only sign of life on that thoroughfare!

The study of this map always suggests the question: "Why were John, First and Second streets stopped at Rutger?" Mrs. Benjamin Tibbitts, of Albany, once assured me that it was the intention of the four representatives of Mr. Bleecker, when this map was made, to all build on Rutger street, and live at Utica.

As matter of fact, there is a lot 198 feet front adjoining West street, which went to Mrs. Brinckerhoff; another of the same size, fronting the head of John street, set off to Mrs. Miller; one fronting the head of First street, taken by Mrs. Dudley, and one opposite Second, which went to Mr. Bleecker. Mrs. Miller built the mansion which is now the residence of ex-Senator Conkling; Mrs. Dudley built a temporary structure on her lot and put a tenant in it. "The whole scheme, however, was abandoned," said Mrs. Tibbitts, "because the location of the Erie canal across the plain sloping from Rutger to Broad streets, with its high bridges, had so marred the beauty of the place."

What unexpected changes are wrought by the whirligig of time! River lots are at present of no account, while the farms south of South street, which on the plain theory on which this map is constructed, were quite beyond any possible use for city purposes, are really to-day thickly populated, and a very valuable part of the city. I doubt whether the whole unoccupied property on this map, farms and all, was worth as much in 1811 as these farms alone would be to-day—the bare land—without a building upon them.

The example of the Bleeckers—in laying out and fixing boundaries of lands, streets and lots in large parcels, quite in advance of any immediate demand for it—was followed by other large owners of real estate. Farms from time to time were allotted, marketed and gradually transformed into thickly settled streets. Whole books of maps, which constitute the record of this growth and advance, are filed in the County Clerk's office. To trace the history of these would be quite beyond the limits of this paper. I propose therefore to go over the names of such of the streets as are likely to possess an interest, and close with some remarks and criticisms on our streets, which I especially had in view in consenting to prepare this paper.

The names of a large number of the streets of Utica are such as are general and common to all cities. Many are selected apparently upon grounds of simple euphony; and many have come down to us as an inheritance from '37, seemingly taken from a New York directory, in which city many of the maps were made. Take the Schuyler farm map—Warren, Green, Wager, Knox, Walnut, Chesnut; the Hamilton farm adjoining—Hickory, Maple, Ash, Oak, &c., they say nothing—mean nothing. It is surprising, looking over the maps, how few of the names upon them have any local significance, or historical value. Those on the earlier maps

are pretty thoroughly gathered up in the "Pioneers of Utica;" what is left are to be culled from a larger field. On the Cooper property, Cornelia street takes its name from Cornelia Graham, wife of E. A. Graham, and daughter of Judge Cooper. The family name goes on Cooper street. Spring is so named from the circumstance that a spring which was utilized to supply the not distant neighborhood with pure and wholesome water, once existed in or near it. Aiken and Mandeville take their names from the two eminent divines of that name, well known to all reasonably old citziens. On the Huntington property, next west—it was owned by Henry Huntington, of Rome, who named his first street north of Fayette, Rome; another he called Henry, after himself; another Brodhead, after Charles C. Brodhead, whom Mr. Huntington held in high esteem. Although the survey of this property was made by John Fish, Mr. Huntington insisted that Mr. Brodhead should be present with his measuring machine, (described by Dr. Bagg,) superintend its use and test all the measurements. Bank street, because the region was known as the "sand-bank." Above the brewery were deep gullies and high sand hills. This was cross-sectioned and graded at great expense—some of the hills were taken off seventeen feet deep to meet the present grade, and St. George's church stands across a sort of ravine which could then have taken in half the church.

The next property west put the name of Mr. Huntington on one of their streets, and named another, as I understand, after a "Fay," who lived at the corner of Fay and Fayette street. This Fay street used to run parallel with State to the Plant farm; it was subsequently cut in two by the Chenango canal—the north end retained the name and was turned to follow the course of the canal; the south end was changed to Hart street.

On the Plant farm, owned by James Plant, he placed his own name on Plant street and that of his wife on Frances.

The only names worthy of mention which occur on the map of the easterly end of the Hamilton farm, are Noyes and Tracy—William Curtis Noyes and Charles and William Tracy—all gentlemen in the best sense of the word—all distinguished lawyers. It is a pleasure to have known them—impossible to forget them. Milton D. Parker, brother-in-law of one of the Tracy's, was once part owner in this property, and gave their names to two of his streets. Let us hope no future Common Council will disturb them!

Variek street is named in honor of Abraham Varick, who owned in

his own right, and associated with A. B. Johnson, large quantities of real estate in and around the city. Garden street was so named because of the existence of the Old Horticultural Garden on its boundary. North and South Hamilton are named from Alexander Hamilton, whose wife was the daughter of General Schuyler. North Hamilton street is on property which Mrs. Hamilton held in her own right. South Hamilton is on land owned by General Schuyler. These are both small streets, but they carry a great name. One feels like lifting his hat as he passes them.

Edward street, from Edward Bright, who once conducted "Bright's Tannery," fronting on this street. Wiley street, which was laid out by — Wiley.

Phillip and Schuyler streets—the two names were furnished by Phillip J. Schuyler, who owned the farm in which they occur, and who is chronicled in the "Pioneers." Jason and Parker streets—the land was owned by Johnson and Varick, and the name of the great stage proprietor fitly rests on two of their streets. Devereux street was laid out and named by Nicholas Devereux. Carnahan is on the same map, and is named after the Rev. James Carnahan, whose history is set out in the "Pioneers." Samuel D. Dakin was in 1836 and 1837 an immense operator here and elsewhere in real estate, and himself laid out and placed his name on Dakin street. The street is too small for the name. The Kemble farm was laid out for C. A. Mann, assignee of Abraham Varick. It had once been owned by Richard Kimball. Mr. Mann thought "Kemble" more euphonious and sufficiently near the real name to answer the purpose of honoring it. Ann street is named after Ann, wife of Abraham Varick. Elm street bordered what was locally known as Elm Grove, hence its name. Steuben street of course carries the name of the Baron. Miller, from Maria Miller, who originally owned the whole farm which it traverses. Howard avenue was named by the late John H. Edmonds, not after the great philanthropist or anybody else, but solely on the ground that he liked the name, and in the same way he furnished the name for Mortimer street. I named Seymour avenue for reasons which go without saying, in the life-long home of Governor Seymour. The family names of Neilson and Tibbits are fitly borne by the two streets of that name. Mrs. Brinckeroff's name is attached to one of the avenues which traverse her farm, and on the back of the other your reader is riding down to posterity. Blandina Dudley furnishes the name appropriately for Dudley street, constructed through a portion of the property once be-

longing to her. Morris street is named after Morris S. Miller, who owned the property when the street was laid out. John H. Edmonds laid out the street through his property, to which he gave the name of Leeds, after, as I understand, the Rev. Mr. Leeds, a former pastor of Grace Church.

Hubbell street carries a family name notorious in the early history of Utica, carefully set forth in Dr. Bagg's work. Just after Louis Kossuth visited Utica, and delivered his address in the pretty little theatre back of the old museum, Warner and Tallman attached his name to the avenue which they had laid through the High School Farm. Next east is Nichols street, named from the circumstance that H. S. Nichols, now of New York, owned the property when it was laid out. Next comes the Devereux Farm. Edmund A. Wetmore and William J. Bacon, as executors under the will of Mary C. Devereux, once controlled her interest in this farm. Two neighboring streets bear respectively the names of Wetmore and Bacon. As this property is largely in my hands, I propose to see to it that these two streets are creditably built up.

I have thus worked around the outskirts trying (in vain) to keep away from Dr. Bagg.

There may be, very likely are, other streets which ought to go into this list, but this must be such monotonous work that I fear you will regard my previous statement that there were comparatively few names of interest attached to our streets, as a decoy to get you quietly to this point.

We live in a beautiful city, we are proud of it, and do not tire of hearing the flattering statement made over and over again, as it is. We have to begin with, amply broad streets, great numbers of them embowered in trees. From the top of Steele's hill Utica looks like a city in a park. We are scheduled as the healthiest city known, or something to that effect, and I shall yield to nobody in my admiration of it, and love for it; yet I think it has been in important particulars neglected, and in others absolutely misused.

Going up Genesee street on the easterly side we see Main, Broad and Bleecker streets coming, of full width, directly into Genesee street. From Bleecker to Hobart, but one other of all the streets in rear is permitted to get into Genesee street on decent terms, and that is Hopper. First there is Elizabeth coming in of full width indeed, but at so short an angle as to shut out all view from Genesee street. There is Devereux street coming down from

Charlotte, narrow, crossing but a single block and connecting with nothing behind. Then comes Carnahan, still narrower, and by sheer accident, striking into Blandina at Charlotte. Then Rebecca, narrowed to a lane, with a crook in it half way to Bridge. Next is Dakin street, another lane, with an elbow in it, which shall permit it to enter both Genesee and Bridge streets at right angles. Anne, a short cut into Bridge; and thence to Hobart nothing. Only as far away as Charlotte street we strike a system of streets set out on the Bleecker map, every one of which ought, in my judgment, to have been brought directly into Genesee street. On the west side it is yet worse. Columbia is pinched up at its mouth so as very much to injure the street and diminish its usefulness. Pearl, like Devereux opposite, reaches but a short distance and unites with nothing. Court, like Elizabeth, reaches Genesee by an angle which completely shuts out the view of Court beyond the turn. Cornelia exactly like Devereux. Cottage better. Then, nothing, as far as Plant street. After Plant, Tracy and Noyes, the inevitable short street and elbow. Now close in rear of this Genesee street frontage from Columbia street to Court, is the Cooper property as regularly and handsomely laid out as the Bleecker property. Cooper and Spring reaching easterly to Broadway, and obliged to reach Genesee via Pearl. And the same may be said of the Huntington property up to Plant street. A person living above the brewery is often obliged to take as many as five courses to get into Genesee street. Suppose in coming down Genesee street from Plant you could pass Kirkland, Brodhead, Cottage, (as laid out west of State), Mandeville, Aiken, Court, Spring and Cooper, coming directly into Genesee, with clear open views through them into west Utica? Or, on the other side, Rutger, Lansing, Blandina, Mary and Elizabeth? There has been a time when all this would have been not only possible, but in many cases easy. Mr. Charles C. Brodhead stated to me that he labored the better part of two days to secure the direct admission of Court street into Genesee, when its accomplishment would cost just $250.

The great cause of this botchwork along our main street is attributable to the very mistaken notion that the frontage on Genesee street is comparatively so very valuable that back streets must be admitted as poor relations, and always at right angles. Are there any more valuable or more beautiful corners in Utica than are furnished by Broad, Catharine, Bleecker and Fayette streets? Just think of Fayette street turning at Seneca street and

coming in through Stewart's store! or Bleecker street by a similar manœuver, through the Oneida National Bank! I once made a map of the Kemble farm for C. A. Mann, which took all the rear streets—Louisa, Leah, Hobart, Gold and Arthur—across the farm to Oneida and Bridge, and tried to have Messrs. Crafts and Pomeroy carry them through to Genesee street, but the land required was deemed too valuable, and it was abandoned, to the injury, I am fully convinced, of all parties, especially of Crafts and Pomeroy. The first map I made of the Plant farm carried Noyes, Tracy, Oswego and three other streets behind it, directly into Genesee street. It made corners just like Bleecker and Fayette street, which Mr. Plant thought he could not afford. The plan was changed, very much, I feel confident, to the pecuniary loss of Mr. Plant. I never think of these two plans—of how much more beautiful and more valuable that whole region would have been—without a feeling of regret akin to guilt. What worse angles can be made than are made in the case of Hotel, Washington and Seneca streets? Yet who would have their directness changed if he could? Of course this grumbling comes late in the day; but what I deem the unwise, nay, shabby treatment which rear property has received at the hands of Genesee street, has, in my judgment, worked great injury to property on and off the street, marred the beauty of all bordering territory, and in the general balance harmed the street.

Another thing which has contributed to interfere with that regularity and directness of streets which is one of the elements of beauty, convenience and value, has been that the city as a whole has grown up without any general plan devised or enforced by any one. It is surprising how little of the city has been laid out by corporate action. A man owns a piece of land more or less, has it surveyed, lays out streets with reference to the shape of his particular property, files his map, and proceeds to sell. The result of this is often confusion. The most as well as the worst of this sort of work was done in 1836–37. In those two wild years large tracts of land in and about Utica were mapped—many times without survey, but from descriptions in the deeds—streets were laid on them, usually without the slightest reference to neighboring property or the character of the land; all being arranged to make the largest number of lots. Quantities more or less would very likely be sold, the titles to such parcels pass, and when the inevitable and terrible crash came it was a work of years to clear up titles if it were indeed possible; and unless the parts sold could

be recovered it was impossible to change the arrangement of the streets, however faulty, or the map however erroneous. As a consequence the city has since grown over many such pieces of land and been obliged to accept the streets as mapped in 1836–37. The Schuyler farm in West Utica, next west of the Globe Mills, is an instance of this. When Mr. Nicholas Devereux bought the larger part of this farm in 1847 it was found impossible to change the streets, and it is now all built up on this enforced arrangement, exactly according to the paper plan, which was drawn in New York by persons who had never seen it. The Hamilton farm, south of this and west of the Chenango canal, extending up to York street was another. It had been divided into two parcels by a line running north and south across it, and two maps made of it as of the Schuyler farm. Some of the eastern part had been sold. The streets could have been immensely improved, but we were obliged to accept the situation without change on the eastern piece, and then of necessity carry the same streets across the western part. The part of the Hamilton farm, east of the Chenango canal, and extending to Frances street, is another instance, and there are many others.

Having introduced the days of 1836, let me improve the occasion by stating some of the incidents of that period, which may be new to some of my listeners. In those days this same Schuyler farm which I have been talking about, was divided into 627 twenty-five foot lots; the Hamilton farm west of the canal into 542; the farm north of and opposite the Lunatic Asylum, extending down across the canal to the Mohawk river, owned by Johnson and Varick, into 983 lots. There is on this map a bend in the river which incloses a long, narrow strip of land, and a street is beautifully laid out along it, with handsome, green lots, all of which, with several hundred others of these lots, are from once to three times a year under six feet of water. The same parties had the land between Steuben and Miller streets, between South and James, mapped into 499 lots. The Smith farm, in East Utica, south of Broad street, was mapped into 1,289 lots; the Stocking farm, from South to and quite over Steele's hill, into 1,414 lots; the Broadway property, from Oneida square to Jewett's, into 575 lots; the Arnold Mason farm, all in the present town of New Hartford, extending from the Chenango canal and Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad up to and on Steele's hill, embracing a portion of the cemetery and valley beyond, into 157 blocks and 6,040 lots; and so on. There is a great deal more.

The river flats, from the ball-grounds to near Schuyler street bridge and across the river to Deerfield were all allotted, and pushed into the whirlpool of speculation. We, once in a while, when real estate has moved up a little, or commands unusually ready sale, hear somebody expressing fear that the days of 1836–37 are coming again. Let me mention two instances for the comfort and solace of such people. Just back of the Plant farm there lays forty-eight acres of land bounded north by Tracy street, east by Frances street, south by the Thorn farm, and west by the Chenango canal. It was bought in 1837 for $3,000, and a mortgage given for the purchase money. It was taken subject to a life lease, which was removed by the payment of $3,000 cash. It was mapped in New York, by a person who never saw it, into 610 twenty-five foot lots. It was then conveyed around among, I think, five persons, in parcels of six or seven lots, until each owned about one-fifth of the whole. They then mortgaged these small parcels to each other in amounts of $5,000 or more, and then exchanged mortgages, and thus in one day covered this forty-eight acres, with about $480,000 of mortgages, without the payment of a dollar in money, all within a few months of the time when it had been purchased for $6,000. If these mortgages had been negotiated—as they were doubtless intended to be—it would have been a great speculation. One of the men engaged in this speculation—very wealthy, so wealthy that he failed for millions—told me at Ballston that the crash came too quick, and the mortgages were not used.

One more instance and I have done: There is a piece of land of about forty acres on the Welsh road next east of the Bagg's Hotel, which was purchased by Robert L. Pell, of New York, in 1837. It was mapped also in New York, and divided into 529 twenty-five foot lots. On this map was Broad, Columbia, South, Louisa, Livingstone and Charlotte streets. Leave out the Livingstone and one might think it in the heart of the city. Many of the lots were sold and paid for at $600 per lot. One man who had purchased and paid cash for two at that price, sued to recover his purchase money, and I was his witness to swear that the lots had at no time been worth more than five dollars apiece. Days of 1837! No, no! People who express fears of a return of 1837 don't know, or don't remember. The crazy fever ended with a terrible crash, as suddenly as a thunderstorm closes its career in midsummer. It ruined armies of people. The whole country stood still for many years engaged mainly in the business of clearing away the wreck. It is now only a remarkable fact in

history and a memory in the minds of those now living who experienced or witnessed its ravages; but it left its impress, as I have described, on the shape of our city—almost always to the city's disadvantage.

Another unavoidable and innocent cause of the irregularity which disfigures some parts of the city is this: The base line of the Bleecker map is Main street, and its streets up to and including South street, are made parallel with Main—the cross streets (like John for instance) being laid at right angles with it. The opening of Fayette street as a real continuation of Bleecker, practically continued this base line into West Utica. Now the "great lot" lines cross Bleecker and Fayette streets at a variation of nine degrees from a right angle. Go west along Bleecker and Fayette streets and you observe the result of this. The Post purchase was a very long and narrow strip of land; Charlotte street, in the middle of this strip, must necessarily follow the lot lines, so of Hotel, Seneca, Washington and Broadway. West of this the Cooper and Huntington estates built from Fayette street with streets at right angles. Farther west the lot lines control again: it results that west of Broadway is a system of streets extending up as far as Tracy street, almost surrounded by streets laid on the lot line system. It is not a matter of vital consequence, but it seems to me a great pity that one system or the other could not have prevailed everywhere. And this brings me to the remark that every city should at an early day take all the vacant real estate in hand and determine, define and lay out the lines of its streets to its outermost limit. It ought not to be tolerated that everybody and anybody who owns a piece of land, large or small, should be permitted to lay streets as he may choose. In this way proper uniformity, width and directness in streets is impossible. A city becomes a sort of patchwork of the embodied notions of people, many of whom have no adequate notion of the ideas which ought to prevail in their work. That is, everybody lays out the city. It appears to me about as bad as that everybody should make the weather. Many thousands of people have lived and died in Utica—vastly more thousands are destined to live and die here. Those have constituted and will constitute a public—*the* public, for whom streets are made, and it appears to me they have a fair, just right, to demand of the city government, that the streets which, for perhaps a life-time they will be obliged to traverse, shall be pleasant, ample and direct thoroughfares. Suppose any one of the early governments had the power or had

obtained the power to lay out the streets of the village to the bounds of their corporate limits, and had exercised with reasonable intelligence, does any one believe Genesee street to-day, from Bleecker street south for about a mile, would on both sides have an immediate border land of the most irregular, ill-advised, inconvenient streets, not only embarassing communication, but shutting out all vision? Look at the map and see how many streets begin anywhere and end nowhere. Would they have been possible? Of course, no!

This, nobody knows better than I, is now remediless, and it is, perhaps, to no purpose that I express my groan over it, but no consideration of the streets of Utica can leave it out.

There is one more thing about which I wish to say something in this paper. I refer to a practice, grown quite common, on the part of the common council, of changing the names of streets. This is often done, without petition and without reason. When a street of the city is represented on a map, the map filed and deeds passed of land fronting on it, its name ought never to be changed except for reasons so imperative as to be hardly conceivable. Even in the case of two streets having the same name, it is better to distinguish them by the addition of east, west, north or south. It embarrasses the searching of titles, leads to error, confuses the public, and does no good whatever. Here is East street, one of the oldest in the city, a mile and a half long, with a frontage on both sides the whole distance which has been sold in greater or smaller parcels, and in the deeds it all fronts East street. How many persons in Utica really know that by act of the corporation it is now "Tilden avenue"—everybody yet *calls* it East street. Nichols street is laid out and sold from Broad to Albany three-quarters of a mile. Above Albany is a short street called Webster avenue—the common council have made the tail wag the dog, and called it *all* Webster avenue. Carnahan is changed to Blandina—why? It does not help Blandina street in any particular—removes an honored name, which was of right there and works only mischief.

George and Rebecca are changed to South. This was Hopper property—names of the family were on the street by the plainest right and propriety. Every inch of property has been sold, much of it over and over again, as being on George and Rebecca streets—why change it? Parisian boulevards receive a new name at every turn.

Tibbits street has been changed to Dudley. These two streets

do not connect, are not continuous, have no relation which justifies the change. There are probably fifty deeds of property on Tibbits street all thrown out of joint by this action, that is, if anybody respects it. Besides, Mrs. Tibbits made the street, and had a right to be recognized in the name of it.

In West Utica a little Chestnut street has had its name stolen to make room for Cleveland. Is it the governor? And there is more of the same work; but all this interference with the fixed names of streets is reprehensible, wrong—its effect evil, and only evil. This seems a proper place to protest against it, as I do heartily. Although this paper was not intended to be literally a "history" of the streets of Utica, as seems to have been understood, complete absorption of time has compelled me to change the purpose of it somewhat. It is still, however, mainly a "talk about streets," which I could not defer beyond this evening. However short of what I might perhaps have made it with time I could not command, if it has paid you for your hour of listening, I am satisfied.

THE UTICA WATER WORKS.

BY THOMAS HOPPER,

President, Projector and Builder of the Works.

[Read before the Society, January, 1886.]

At an early period in the history of the village of Utica, the subject of procuring a more wholesome supply of water, than could be obtained from wells, was under the earnest consideration of the five hundred pioneers who had made their new homes near the banks of the Mohawk river, within a radius of a few rods of Bagg's Square.

On the 13th day of April, 1802, the Legislature of the State passed an Act, creating Benjamin Walker, Silas Clark and Robert Bardwell and their associates a body politic, for the purpose of supplying the village of Utica with wholesome water, by means of aqueduct, under the name of the Utica Aqueduct Company; capital, not to exceed five thousand dollars. In pursuance of this Act, the company by means of a log aqueduct, brought water from springs at the foot of the sand bank (now Spring street), where the waters of the several springs were united and taken down through the pasture lots to a point, now, the north corner of Genesee and Liberty streets; and from thence down Genesee street, at a distance of about 18 feet from the north line thereof. Some of the logs are still well preserved, and lying at a depth of nine feet from the surface of the street. This aqueduct continued to supply a part of the inhabitants of the village, until 1834; when the Erie canal was made through Utica, at which time the aqueduct was severed and the supply below cut off. As an auxiliary to these works, and for the better protection of property against fire, in 1805 the trustees of the village ordered three wells to be dug, and fitted with pumps—they were severally placed at the intersection of Hotel with Whitesboro streets, at the corner of Genesee and Liberty streets, and in the center of Genesee street in a line from the west corner of John and Main streets, and the north corner of Genesee and Whitesboro streets. The pump was removed from the last mentioned well about 1822, and a flat stone placed over it perhaps

three feet from the surface of the street. The two other wells were filled up at an earlier period of time. From 1834 to 1842 the inhabitants of the village and city were dependent entirely upon their wells for water.

In 1826, (13th day of April), the Legislature passed an Act incorporating another company of the same name for supplying the village of Utica with water, "The Utica Aqueduct Company, in the County of Oneida." The incorporators were Newell Smith, William Alverson, David P. Hoyt, and their associates. The works contemplated in this Act were not erected.

In 1832, an association was formed; the Articles of Association dated April 3d, 1832. The property of this association was divided into eight shares: three belonged to Apollos Cooper, one to James Sayre, one to Ephraim Hart, one to Dr. T. Pomeroy, one to Julius Spencer, and one to Palmer Townsend. The certificates were drawn in form as follows, to wit:

"Utica Water Works Association, between Apollos Cooper and others, as per deed and articles of association, dated 3d of April, 1832. No. 1. It is hereby certified that Apollos Cooper is proprietor and owner of the Three Shares of the property of the said Association, each share being the eighth part of the whole of said property. Transferable only by the consent of the share or stockholders of said association, as specified in said Articles of Association.

In testimony whereof, the President and Secretary have hereunto set their names, the first day of September, 1833.

(Signed,)

JAMES SAYRE, *Sec'y.* A. COOPER, PRES'T."

This association did not proceed to erect their works until 1834. They then connected the spring on Mr. Middleton's lot above Spring street to a spring north of said street, and from thence laid 2½ inch pipe down through Cornelia street to Fayette street, and from thence down Fayette street, crossing Genesee street to corner of Bleecker street, thence down Genesee street to Catharine street, and from thence to the Greenman building, where it ended. This association served very pure water until 1850, when the works were abandoned.

The Legislature passed an Act May 10th, 1845, to authorize Edward Brodhead (then a citizen of Utica) to supply the city of Utica with pure and wholesome water. Mr. Brodhead made a survey and plans for introducing pure water into the city through

a log aqueduct of six inches bore, from the Starch Factory Creek, on that portion of it on which the large impounding reservoir is located; but not meeting with sufficient encouragement he abandoned the project. He is now an honored citizen of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

UTICA WATER WORKS COMPANY.

INCORPORATED MARCH 31, 1848.

Directors named in the Act: James Watson Williams, Nicholas Devereux, Alfred Munson, Andrew S. Pond, Charles A. Mann, Horatio Seymour, Silas D. Childs, Willard Crafts and Thomas Hopper. [Of these, two are living; Horatio Seymour and Thomas Hopper.] Capital stock, $75,000.

The subscribers were as follows:

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
James Watson Williams,......	45	$1,200 00
Alfred Munson,...............	100	2,500 00
Charles A. Mann,.............	100	2,500 00
Horatio Seymour,............	80	2,000 00
Silas D. Childs,..............	100	2,500 00
Willard Crafts,...............	40	1,000 00
Nicholas Devereux, ...	60	1,500 00
Thomas H. Hubbard,..........	40	1,000 00
Philo Gridley................	40	1,000 00
James Benton,................	4	100 00
John McCall,...........	20	500 00
Michael McQuade,............	4	100 00
Julius A. Spencer, ...	10	250 00
Hugh Crocker, ...	2	50 00
T. E. & A. A. Jones,..........	8	200 00
J. V. P. Gardner,.............	10	250 00
Patrick Cassidy,..............	4	100 00
Robert Jones & Son,..........	2	50 00
John F. Seymour,.............	20	500 00
James Dutton,................	2	50 00
Harvey Barnard,..............	2	50 00
O. B. Matteson...............	40	1,000 00
J. E. Warner & Co.,..........	10	250 00
Charles P. Kirkland,..........	40	1,000 00
Edmund A. Wetmore,.........	20	500 00
Baxter & Hull,...............	12	300 00

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
Price & Dana,	4	100 00
R. W. Sherman,	2	50 00
Theodore P. Ballou,	4	100 00
Alvin White,	4	100 00
Timothy O. Grannis,	2	50 00
William Bristol,	32	800 00
Pomeroy, Walker & Co.,	20	500 00
Alfred Churchill,	40	1,000 00
George Tracy,	4	100 00
John S. Peckham,	2	50 00
James Bidwell,	2	50 00
Stephen Thorn,	20	500 00
James Bryan,	4	100 00
Moses D. Bagg,	10	250 00
William J. Bacon,	10	250 00
Simon V. Oley,	10	250 00
Murdock & Andrews,	16	400 00
Levi Cozzens,	20	500 00
Alfred L. Wells,	10	250 00
Charles Churchill,	4	100 00
Martin Hart,	40	1,000 00
E. B. Langford,	1	25 00
James Klinefelt,	4	100 00
N. White & Sons,	2	50 00
N. H. Morse,	1	25 00
J. C. Bailey,	12	300 00
Thorn & Maynard,	40	1,000 00
James Lewis,	4	100 00
James Mapes,	4	100 00
Orville Orcutt,	4	100 00
Archibald Gardner,	4	100 00
McQuade & Clark,	8	200 00
Chauncey Palmer,	8	200 00
Theodore S. Faxton,	100	2,500 00
David Donaldson,	4	100 00
Sylvester Aylesworth,	1	25 00
Benjamin F. Brooks.	1	25 00
Eaton J. Richardson,	4	100 00
Charles Hurlburt,	4	100 00
D. H. Davidson,	4	100 00
E. S. Brayton,	4	100 00

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
J. L. Pierce,	2	50 00
D. V. W. Golden,	1	25 00
James Dana,	4	100 00
Z. & P. Lyon.	2	50 00
M. M. Ellis,	2	50 00
M. M. Bagg,	1	25 00
Bradford S. Merrell,	2	50 00
Bailey & Brothers,	1	25 00
William Tracy,	8	200 00
Peter Freeman,	6	150 00
William Freeman,	1	25 00
John Miller,	4	100 00
William Brady,	2	50 00
Roberts, Sherman & Colston,	4	100 00
Gilbert A. Foster,	10	250 00
Richard Jackson,	2	50 00
A. J. Williams,	16	400 00
Thomas T. Williams,	1	25 00
D. Timmerman,	1	25 00
John W. Bates,	4	100 00
W. H. Haynes,	1	25 00
Lawrence Morgan,	4	100 00
Joseph Bedbury,	1	25 00
Joseph Nutt,	1	25 00
Paul Keiser,	2	50 00
M. M. Ellis,	4	100 00
Isaac Bond,	4	100 00
William D. Hamlin,	10	250 00
Egbert Bagg,	4	100 00
E. M. Gilbert,	20	500 00
T. R. Walker,	20	500 00
J. Griffiths,	6	150 00
Urbane Dunning,	1	25 00
Norman C. Newell,	4	100 00
Herman Ferry,	8	200 00
Job S. Collins,	2	50 00
William Walcott,	40	1,000 00
John J. Francis,	4	100 00
Peter Clogher,	2	50 00
Luke Wilkins,	4	100 00
William Morris,	20	500 00

NAMES.	SHARES.		AMOUNT.
Ebenezer Leach,...............	20	....	500 00
Martin Bremmer,..............	8	....	200 00
Edward Eames,................	4	....	100 00
John Carton,..................	3	....	75 00
James H. Reed,................	6	....	150 00
Palmer V. Kellogg,...........	8	....	200 00
George Parker, Clinton,.......	10	....	250 00
Edward B. Jones,.............	2	....	50 00
Warnick & Bryan,............	8	....	200 00
H. H. Smith, ...	2	....	50 00
Charles Downer & Co.,........	4	....	100 00
Griffith Williams,............	1	....	25 00
M. B. Debman, ...	1	....	25 00
Pomeroy & Crippen,..........	2	....	50 00
A. N. Pomeroy,...............	2	....	50 00
J. O. Jones,....................	4	....	100 00
Warren Cooley,...............	1	....	25 00
Clark Wilson,.................	8	....	200 00
Edward Seaton,...............	1	....	25 00
Timothy O. Grannis, ...	4	....	100 00
John Beston,..................	20	....	500 00
Isaac Fish, ...	1	...	25 00
Onias P. Miller, Whitestown,...	20	....	500 00
Thomas Hopper,..............	4,048	....	36,250 00

Of these subscribers twenty-six are now living.

The projector of the proposed works submitted the plans, diagrams and specifications in the autumn of 1847, to a meeting of citizens held in Mechanics Hall. Approval was very general for some means being adopted, by which the City might be supplied with pure water, but none favored the works being made by the City in its corporate capacity, and therefore they must be established by individual enterprise, if at all. Seventy-five thousand dollars at that time was a large amount to raise, and for a work for which very grave doubts existed in the minds of many. Some thought it a very wild project, and of doubtful utility; others "had no money to throw away;" and many were of the opinion that the cost had been very much underestimated, and that we were launching ourselves into loss and failure. The directors were of the opinion that a trial had better be made; a subscription book was opened, and presented to the citizens pretty generally

for several months, with the result of $22,000 being subscribed, and there seemed but little prospect of obtaining a much greater sum. At this juncture so many obstacles were presented, that all hope of success was lost, and would have been to this day, probably, but for the energy and perseverance of two of the directors, (Messrs. Wetmore and Devereux.) These gentlemen were unwilling to give up an enterprise so very essential to the welfare of the City, without resorting to the last means for its accomplishment; and they again had an interview with the projector of the works, proposing ways by which the needed capital might be obtained, provided a person could be found to erect the works for a specific sum, and assume the risks of the purchase of land and water privileges, &c.; all to be in accordance with the plans, specifications, &c. They said "they had been diligent in finding such person, but none would think of engaging for a less sum than $150,000, which sum could not possibly be obtained." "They feared the estimate was quite too low;" though they were reassured that the plans and estimates were carefully made, so far as at present could be ascertained. The owners of the land and water privileges to be acquired had been conferred with; some were willing to sell at reasonable prices, but the prices of others could not be favorably entertained. There were about ten miles of these rights to be obtained, which would require many months to perfect titles to, and if the works were to be commenced without delay, the contractor—whoever he might be—would have to assume the risk of getting titles. The result of this interview was a negative answer to the requests then made, but with a promise to meet again soon after further consideration. The next meeting was at Mr. Wetmore's office. The whole matter had been under careful advisement; $53,000 were yet needed, ($22,000 had already been subscribed.) It was the opinion of the directors that the subscribers would prefer to double their amounts of subscriptions to having the enterprise fail of success, and that by canvassing the city thoroughly the remainder might be secured. A few accessions were made, but the prospects were so discouraging, that the matter remained *in statu quo* for some time. In the meantime the originator of the enterprise visited some friends in New York. Fortunately those friends evinced greater confidence in the project than was felt at home, which made it certain that the necessary funds would be forthcoming when wanted; this led to another meeting of the directors, when one of their number submitted a proposition to not only enter into the contract to perform all the

requirements of the plans, specifications, &c., to the full and entire satisfaction of the directors, but would furnish one-half of $75,000. The offer was gladly accepted, when the required sum was at once raised. The contract was entered into on the 21st day of April, 1849.

The plans and specifications required a well to be made in the west branch of the Starch Factory Creek, on Mr. Harvey's farm, with all necessary grates, strainers, &c. A round aqueduct of twelve inches internal diameter, to be constructed of hard burned brick laid in cement, excepting in places subjected to pressure, where ten inch iron pipe was to be laid. Said aqueduct to extend from said well to between High and Chatham streets, where a reservoir was to be built, to be two hundred feet on each street, and two hundred and forty feet in width, and for a depth of ten feet of water; with all necessary wells, pipes, &c. The reservoir to be substantially fenced. The aqueduct to be continued through the reservoir to near its north corner to a twelve inch iron gate; from thence a twelve inch cast iron pipe to centre of Bridge street (now Park avenue,) and from thence a ten inch pipe to the west side of Genesee street (through Dakin street), and from thence an eight inch pipe along west side of Genesee street to Hotel street; thence down Hotel street to Liberty street, and from thence a pipe of six inches bore through Liberty to Genesee street, down west side of Genesee to Catharine street; and from thence across to east side of Genesee street; and from thence down to Main street. A pipe of six inches bore down Bridge street from Dakin street to centre of Chancellor square, and from thence a four inch pipe to Jay street. From these mains the branch pipes to be laid as follows:

Genesee street,....	Dakin to Bleecker,....	3 inch pipe.
Genesee street,....	Catharine to Water,...	4 inch pipe.
Columbia street, ..	Genesee to Varick,.....	5 inch pipe.
Fayette street,....	Genesee to State,......	4 inch pipe.
Hotel street,......	Liberty to Whitesboro,	4 inch pipe.
Whitesboro street,	Genesee to Seneca,.....	3 inch pipe.
Charlotte street,..	Bridge to Bleecker,....	4 inch pipe.
John street,......	Bridge to Bleecker,....	3 inch pipe.
Bleecker street,...	Franklin to 6 Bleecker,.	3 inch pipe.
Elizabeth street,..	Bridge to Kent,.......	3 inch pipe.
Kent street,......	Elizabeth 150 ft. down,.	3 inch pipe.

Franklin street,...	Bleecker 400 ft. down,.	3 inch pipe.
Catharine street,..	Genesee to First,......	3 inch pipe.
Broad street,.....	Genesee to Second,....	3 inch pipe.

Branch pipes to be laid at all intersecting streets. Stop cocks to be set for each of the branch pipes, and other stop cocks to be set as directed. Pipes to be laid for fifty hydrants.

All cast iron pipes to be subjected to three hundred pounds pressure; and the contract, &c., further required that the contractor shall, at his own expense and cost, get and procure to the Water Company, a good and valid right and title to take, use and protect against injuries or nuisances, all the waters flowing from springs or otherwise, into either branch of the Starch Factory Creek, south of the well at Harvey's farm; and also the right to make, lay and construct and repair aqueducts, reservoirs, pipes and other works necessary or proper in the conveying and distribution of the water, according to the design and intention of the contract. The contractor to pay all expenses, costs and damages of every kind and nature, which may be incurred by reason of taking land and water. The evidences to be recorded in the office of the Clerk of Oneida County. The contractor agreeing to construct the works, and every portion thereof, in the most permanent and substantial manner, and at his own expense and cost, furnish all the materials, labor, and other things, for the construction of said works; and have the whole completed and entirely finished by the first day of May, 1850.

In short, the contractor was bound to construct, complete and put the works in full working order, and to keep them in repair for three months after completion; and to warrant all the works and pipes to stand without any failure for one year from the time of completion; also to superintend the works for three months after completion. The superintendence has extended to the more remote period of thirty-five years.

The work on the reservoir was commenced the day after signing the contract; the laying of pipes on the 8th day of May following. As it was the intention to finish the works in course of the year, the construction was pressed with much energy and perseverance. The summer proved very favorable—not a day was lost on account of inclement weather. On the 8th day of November, 1849, the water was let into all the mains, and was flowing from all the hydrants and the works virtually finished, to the full satisfaction of parties contracting.

An Act passed the Legislature March 8, 1850, authorizing the Company, from time to time, to increase their capital stock, in such sums as the directors may deem best, so however that the whole amount, including the present stock, shall not exceed $150,000.

June 30, 1853, the Legislature passed an Act as follows: "The Utica Water Works Company is hereby authorized, by an extension of its pipes and conduits, to supply water to such towns or parts of towns, adjoining the bounds of the City of Utica, as said Company may deem it expedient to supply with water."

This same year a four inch main was laid from the termination of the six inch main, at the corner of Genesee and Main streets, down to the river, running twelve feet from the west wing of the bridge; thence across the river (conforming with its bed) to Deerfield, passing three feet from the north wing of the bridge, and from thence northeasterly through the street, to opposite Shaw's slaughter house, and from thence into the slaughter house yard.

In 1853 also the company increased its capital to $85,000.. The $10,000 was raised principally for the laying four inch mains from the junction of Varick and Columbia streets to the Steam Woolen Mills on Columbia street, and to the Globe Woolen Mills on Court street.

In the fall of 1856, the Company bought the lot on the south corner of Steuben and South streets, for the purpose of boring for water. Richard R. Lansing and others, in 1828, commenced boring for coal on this lot, and run a three inch shaft down about two hundred feet. After the first ten feet (of earth) the boring was through Utica slate. The work was abandoned, and the hole remained plugged until 1836, when George J. Hopper with others resumed the boring and continued on for several weeks; but meeting with no better success, and coming to nothing but slate, again plugged the drill, until the purchase by the Water Company in 1856. An inclosed derrick was erected over the shaft, of thirty-five feet in height; four hundred feet of iron rods were prepared, with all other apparatus for drilling. A spring pole was set, windlass, ropes, &c., in place, and the work of sinking the shaft continued until the cold weather of November, when the boring was ended, purposing to go on again in the spring, but which however was not attempted. The shaft was sunk to a depth of about three hundred and fifty feet. The drill came to nothing but hard slate, until three hundred and forty-five feet down. Here the boring was through black sandstone for about two feet; from this there

came a flow of oil and gas. The gas, when ignited, burned brilliantly from the cylinder in which the debris was raised, until its final escape. Oil was fully apparent. The drill again passed into slate. In corroboration of this statement, Mr. Sweet (then State Engineer), who had visited the oil regions in Pennsylvania in 1849, under the auspices of this State, to make examinations and ascertain the status of that interesting region, came from Albany twice, and on careful examination of the debris drawn from the well, said he "had never met with a more encouraging 'show' for a flow of oil at the same depth of boring;" and was of the opinion, at an increased depth of eighty feet, oil-bearing sandstone would be reached of much greater thickness and perchance a large flow. Further investigation may lead to ulterior results of interest and profit, although well known geological formations do not favor a great outlay in pursuance of finding oil or natural gas in this locality. "Finding," however, is generally the result of search, and particularly so, if searching into the unseen and hidden recesses of the depths below.

In 1854, the directors finding the supply of water (being 800,000 gallons per day from the springs) becoming inadequate for the increasing demand purchased a farm of about forty acres of land, lying southerly of George W. Harvey's farm, from Robert Cook, on which was erected the second reservoir. The bank was made to the height of fifty feet. The water at high water mark covers an area of seven acres; capacity about forty million gallons. This reservoir answered its purpose until 1868, when it was found necessary to make another to meet the constantly increasing demands. Consequently the Company purchased seventeen acres of land, on which the distributing reservoir is built, and at the same time it became necessary to increase the aqueduct capacity from ten inches internal diameter, to two aqueducts of twelve inches each; which, together with distributing pipes through the streets of the city, would give an increased distance of cast iron pipes of about ten miles.

The estimated cost of this new work (which was the actual cost) was $130,000. Whereupon in May (18th), 1868, by an Act of the Legislature, the Common Council of the City of Utica was authorized to make a contract with the Utica Water Works Company, and thereby fix and agree upon a sum to be paid annually to the Company, for a supply of water for the extinguishment of fires; and providing that when such contract is made, the Company shall furnish water to the City in the manner required by the

law. The Company was authorized by the same law, to increase the capital stock to a sum not exceeding $200,000, to be fixed by the directors. A contract was made between the City and the Company, under the law; and the directors resolved to increase the capital stock to $200,000, being an addition of $115,000 to the former capital of $85,000. The balance of $15,000 required for the work was raised by the sale of the bonds of the Company. Confidence at this time was so fully established in the ability of the Company to fulfil any obligations it might deem proper to assume, that no difficulty was encountered in the sale of stock and bonds; but some delay occurred in endeavoring to contract the work. The directors were not willing to assume the responsibilities unless a contract could be made with a responsible party to do the work. No one offered, and there seemed no alternative, but for the former contractor to assume its responsibilities. The contract was entered into, the contractor engaging to put up the whole works, in full accordance and requirement of the plans, specifications, and contract, for the sum of $130,000, and to fully complete the same within one year; all of which was performed to the full satisfaction of the directors and of the Common Council.

This gave about forty million gallons more storage capacity, and eighty feet greater head to the water to the city, or a difference of thirty-five pounds additional pressure to an inch. The reservoir on High street was at this time sold and filled up by the purchaser.

In pursuance of the heretofore mentioned Act of the Legislature, passed May 18th, 1868, the City of Utica entered into a contract with the Utica Water Works Company as follows, viz.: the said Company agreed to furnish water for the said City, for the extinguishment of fires, and to lay and extend its pipes and conduits in the streets designated upon a map and plan presented to the Common Council of said City, by a committee of directors of said Company, on the 20th day of April, 1868, duplicate of which is on file in the office of the City Clerk, and is certified to by Theodore S. Sayre, on behalf of the City Committee, as the map and plan here referred to, and to provide suitable reservoirs to constantly supply said City with sufficient water for the extinguishment of fires: provided said City shall pay therefor the consideration hereinafter mentioned; and also upon the condition that the said Company shall be able, on or before the 15th day of November, 1868, by the sale of stock or otherwise, to raise sufficient money to complete the works contemplated by this contract.

And said City agrees that when the said Company shall have furnished by the said reservoir, and by the pipes and conduits a supply of water in manner and for purposes aforesaid, and so long as they shall continue to supply sufficient water for said purposes, it will pay therefor to the said Company the sum of ten thousand dollars, annually, on the 15th day of November of each and every year, and will also pay one-half of said taxes assessed upon the Company, within the limits of said City, and taxed therein, in excess of $1,000.

If said City shall determine to have said water pipes extended on any street beyond the point designated on said map, the said Company agrees to extend the same to such point as may be designated; the said City agreeing to pay in addition to the sum herein specified, seven per cent upon the cost of said extension, or new work, annually.

The Company agrees that the City may obtain a supply of water for the City Hall and other public buildings, owned or occupied for municipal purposes, without payment of water rents, but subject in other respects to the rules of the Company. The City is to furnish all the hydrants, the Company to put in and connect the same with the pipes; the City agreeing to pay all expenses therefor, excepting the pipes connecting the hydrants with the mains. The Company agrees to erect six fountains and supply them with water, the City to pay the expense thereof.

This much needed and timely accession to the Company's works placed it on a basis most satisfactory to the directors and to the citizens generally. For the present the supply was abundant, and it was hoped would continue so for at least five years to come; but the rapid growth of the City, and consequent demand, again warned the directors that it would be prudent to prepare for larger storage capacity at an early day.

By an Act passed April 7th, 1870, the Utica Water Works Company was authorized to increase its capital stock to a sum not exceeding $400,000, to be fixed from time to time by directors of said Company.

Prior to 1872 one of the directors visited Cedar Lake several times in reference to the possibility of bringing its waters to the reservoirs for City purposes. In the fall of that year the services of Hiram Park were engaged to make surveys and estimates of the quantity of water that could be obtained, and the probable cost of an aqueduct to the distributing reservoir, a distance of ten miles. Mr. Park found the pond to have an area of twenty-two

acres, and estimated the cost of such an undertaking, to its completion, to be $220,000, which was a much larger expense than contemplated, and decided to be unworthy of further consideration. Mr. Park was requested to make a preliminary survey of the Starch Factory Creek. This being done, plans, specifications and estimates were prepared, for the erection of the large impounding reservoir. In the spring of 1873, the services of an engineer was secured to carry through and to take principal supervision of the work; he remained in this position a short time and resigned, not being willing to continue in the responsibilities of so hazardous an undertaking; whereupon the duties fell upon the director who had erected the former works. Since large quantities of material were ordered, and arriving on the ground, and the work in full progress, it was continued until July, when a "strike" was imminent; and as the bank could not be so far completed as to secure it against destruction by the spring floods, the men were dismissed; nor was the work resumed till the spring following, when four hundred men and eighty teams were engaged, and the work hardly pressed until the frosts of winter came upon us, when the bank was to be raised fully ten or twelve feet to be secure. The wheelbarrow men and shovelers were kept at work all winter, but as this would not give the desired security to the banks, it was finally resolved to make a flume through the south end of the bank, twelve feet deep and six feet wide, with two gates, each three by six feet. This, together with twenty inch waste pipe through the bottom of the bank, safely discharged the waters of the spring floods, and the reservoir was finished the following year. This reservoir is three-quarters of a mile in length, with an area of about thirty acres, and a capacity of holding about three hundred million gallons of water. The bank has three hundred feet base, twenty feet across the top, and is seventy feet in height. The cast iron mains connecting this reservoir with the distributing reservoir are twenty inch to East street, the rest of twelve inch internal diameter. The entire cost was $157,000, which sum was provided for by increase of the capital stock of the Company $100,000, and the remainder by issue of its bonds, $57,000. The works heretofore mentioned have given ample supply of water for the uses of the City to this time; and to be fully prepared for all emergencies, the directors resolve to advance with the constant progress of the City, and enlarge and extend the works commensurate with all demands.

In the summer of 1885, titles were fully perfected to the basin lands lying southerly of the south bounds of the distributing

reservoir, and the northerly bound of "Sylvan Glen," containing an area of eighty-one acres. This site for the new reservoir embraces advantages seldom to be obtained at any price. Its supply of water will be from the westerly terminus of the Company's water shed, as it emerges from the deep, rocky forest glen above mentioned.

The full extent of the water shed covers an area of fifteen square miles, and taking in the full northerly slope of the hills lying south and southeasterly of the city. These hills in a distance of twelve miles culminate in twelve hundred feet elevation, sending their waters down through a thousand little rivulets, to the four rocky chasms, from whence they are received, uncontaminated by morass or swamp, into the reservoirs below, ready to be drawn at all times. and under various pressure, by the use of the gates connecting the reservoirs. The waters of this district have not been stored heretofore but in a very limited extent, and are soft and nearly free from lime, which renders them valuable for manufacturing purposes.

In Oneida county the rainfall averages forty inches annually—equal to a volume of 1,858,560,000 gallons. Deduct one-third for evaporation, percolation, &c., &c., and there remains 1,239,040,000, available for domestic purposes. On completion of the new reservoir the storage capacity of the four reservoirs will be 800,000,000 gallons. Add to this 439,040,000 gallons for replenishing the quantity drawn in course of the year, and we have the sum total of available rainfall, as above stated: equal to three million four hundred and fifty thousand gallons per day, or thirty-four gallons per capita for a population of one hundred thousand; and in addition the never-varying subterranean flow at Græfenberg of five hundred thousand gallons per day. Other reservoirs will be made from time to time as may be required.

The works in progress of construction were commenced about the first of September, 1885, under the direction of the President of the Company. The work of laying the twenty-four inch pipes from the south side of the distributing reservoir began the first of September; from thence it extended down through J. W. Miller's farm to the center of James and Mohawk streets; thence westerly through James street to Brinckerhoff avenue to Square street; thence westerly in Square street to Johnson square and West street, a distance of 7,150 feet. From twenty inch valve twenty inch main extend northerly in West street to Rutger street; thence westerly to Hopper street, to Union; down Union

to Blandina, to Genesee; down Genesee, turning through Hotel street, under the canal, to Liberty street; thence to Genesee street, and down Genesee to Whitesboro street; a distance of 6,600 feet. Finished in December, 1885.

The plans further contemplate the laying of a twenty inch main from the twenty inch gate (set for the purpose) from Johnson square, through Hobart street to Genesee; thence to Noyes street, and through Noyes street to Stark street; a distance of 4,500 feet.

In addition to the large mains, about two-and-a-half miles of smaller mains were laid, varying from four to ten inches calibre; and about the same quantity will be laid next year.

Work was commenced on the new reservoir simultaneously with the laying of pipe, and was pushed to the full extent desirable in weather so unpropitious as that of last autumn. This reservoir, when completed, will hold about five hundred million gallons of water. Its bank will be two thousand feet in length, and will have sixty feet elevation from the base line of the reservoir; the sectional lines two hundred and sixty feet at base, slopes of bank one to two, and twenty feet between angles at top. The whole will be constructed of earth, to be taken from the interior of the reservoir, which is abundant and of the very best quality. The bank will only be built this year to a height of forty-five feet, and may be ready for partial filling in July. In connection with this work the distributing reservoir will be enlarged in extent of about two and one-half acres, and deepened sufficiently to give it nearly double its present capacity. These new works will require an outlay of $200,000.

The supply of water to the City is by gravity flow, which is the most economical, reliable and efficient of any system yet adopted. The reservoirs are so connected with conduits that water may be let on for City supply from either, or all, as occasion may require. The usual direct flow, however, is from the distributing reservoir, the surface of which is two hundred feet elevation above the datum line of the City. This gives a pressure of eighty-seven pounds to a square inch, and a flow from the hydrant at Bagg's square of about eighty feet altitude. If in case of a large conflagration a higher flow should be desirable, the gate from the said reservoir would be closed, and the gate to the new reservoir opened, which would give a pressure of one hundred and thirteen pounds to an inch. By closing both these gates and opening the gate at the Starch Factory Creek reservoir the pressure would be raised to one hundred and thirty pounds to a square inch. The

fourth reservoir would give a pressure of two hundred and seventy pounds to an inch, which is beyond the strength of any Water Company's Works to bear. The capital stock of the Company was increased last year to the sum of $400,000.

At the close of this year the aggregate length of the Company's cast iron mains will not vary much from forty-five miles.

The purchase of buildings Nos. 234 and 236 Genesee street, for an office, is the last act worthy of mention.

Officers of the Water Works Company, 1885–1886.

THOMAS HOPPER, *President.*
A. G. BROWER, *Vice President.*
P. V. ROGERS, *Treasurer.*
J. K. CHAMBERLAYNE, *Secretary.*

Board of Directors.

ABRAM G. BROWER,
PUBLIUS V. ROGERS,
CHARLES A. BUTLER,
WILLIAM KERNAN,
C. G. CHURCHILL,
THEODORE S. SAYRE,
HENRY J. WOOD,
THOMAS HOPPER,
J. K. CHAMBERLAYNE.

Since the above account of the Utica Water Works was written it might be interesting to add—that at the present date, October 11th, 1886, the works contemplated are now nearly completed. The banks of the new reservoir are raised to a height of forty-seven feet, on the summit of which a driveway is formed thirty feet in width, from which is revealed many extended landscapes of great beauty and interest. Work was commenced about the first of May with as large a force of men and teams as could be advantageously engaged, and from time to time were increased as needed, generally numbering eighty teams and two hundred and seventy men. The material from which the bank has been entirely made is of the best kind and in great abundance, and enough yet remains for the sixty feet bank, when the time comes for its construction. The area of this reservoir has been extended easterly forty feet, and the depth lowered on an average of about eight feet, thus increasing its capacity to about 400,000,000 of gallons, and when the sixty feet bank shall have been completed it will be

able to store perhaps 600,000,000 gallons. In course of constructing the works, the area of the distributing reservoir was enlarged from eleven to fourteen acres, with an added depth from three to twelve feet, thus nearly doubling its previous capacity. The banks also have been improved by raising the same to a uniform height, widened likewise, and the inner slopes substantially paved. As the rivulets formerly flowing into this reservoir are now all cut off, and their waters empty into the new reservoir, the distributing reservoir receives its supply entirely from the other reservoirs through iron pipes laid for that purpose; the ingress and egress being governed entirely by gates, and at the option of the attendant, water can be drawn from either or all the other reservoirs. The twenty inch iron aqueduct laid between the two large impounding reservoirs is mainly for bringing the surplus waters from the easterly to the westerly (or new) reservoir, or they may be turned into the distributing reservoirs. As the works were virtually finished on the 9th inst., the teams and most of the men which have been connected with the summer's labor were dismissed.

It may be here added also that about four miles of distributing mains have been laid in the city this year, and probably two miles more will be buried before winter, thus aggregating not less than fifty miles of pipes for distribution.

T. H.

ERRATA.—On page 47, for 1834 read 1824.
On page 48, for 1834 to 1842 read 1824 to 1834.

FORTS STANWIX AND BULL AND OTHER FORTS AT ROME.

BY HON. D. E. WAGER.

The French and English commenced settlements on this side of the Atlantic about the same period of time, and for the one hundred and fifty years which followed there were continued rivalries, with an almost constant struggle between the two nations for supremacy on this continent. The English colonists located along the Atlantic seaboard, and pushed their settlements in New York, up the Hudson and along the Mohawk, while the French occupied Canada, and extended their discoveries and possessions westward along and claimed lakes Ontario, Erie and Champlain to and including the great western lakes, the sources of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and down those streams to the Gulf of Mexico. The French established trading posts and erected fortifications along the line of their discoveries, and thereby sought to win the friendship and trade of the powerful Iroquois confederacy in central New York, and also of the other Indian tribes, and hoped in due time to crowd their English rivals still closer to the shore, and to eventually drive them out altogether from the country.

As early as 1678 the French established a trading post and erected a fort at the mouth of Niagara River, (the first erected by the French in New York,) with the view of controlling that route to the western lakes. The English, on the other hand, in 1709 erected Forts Ann and Nicholson, on the upper Hudson, near lakes George and Champlain, and, as connecting links in the chain, erected forts prior to 1712 along the Mohawk as far westward as Fort Hunter, in what is now Montgomery county. The forts thus erected, even at that early day, were in the natural channels of water communication, and subsequently became the great highway for the Indian trade and for hostile parties, and formed a portion of the great battle-ground between the armies of two nations contending for the sovereignty of a continent.

In 1720, William Burnet, son of Bishop Burnet, of England, was appointed governor of New York. He was a ripe scholar, a

patriotic citizen and a sagacious statesman. He saw at once and readily comprehended the designs of the French, and took measures to thwart and counteract them. His line of policy was to establish trading posts, erect forts, cultivate the friendship of the Indian tribes, and win their trade into English channels. Through his influence, and about 1722, a trading post or settlement was established at Irondequoit Bay, in what is now Monroe county, and another one at Oswego, and five years later, a fort was erected at the latter place. These and similar efforts on the part of the English, served to divert from the French into English channels a large Indian trade, and to make the route via Mohawk River and Oneida Lake, the shorter one between Albany and Canada, and the one most generally traveled. Smith's Colonial History of New York says that after the trading post and fort were erected at Oswego the Indians usually went there in May with furs and remained to dispose of them until the last of July; that in the summer of 1725, fifty-seven canoes went over this route to Oswego and returned with seven hundred and thirty-eight packs of beaver and deer skins; that it was estimated that one hundred and fifty hogsheads of beaver and other fine furs, and two hundred hogsheads of dressed deer skins, were exported annually from this country, and that in 1755, when Gen. Shirley's army was at Oswego, over 1,700 head of cattle were driven thither from Albany by this route. The French keenly felt the loss of this Indian trade, and endeavored to recover it. They put vessels afloat on Lake Ontario to capture the trade, planned expeditions and threatened to destroy the Oswego forts, and in 1731 erected a strong fortress at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, to intercept and control the trade and travel by that route. In 1731 the English board of trade recommended the erection of a fort at the "Oneida Carrying Place," but nothing was then done to carry out the recommendation.

The first mention I have seen made in any document or history of the site which subsequently became that of Fort Stanwix is to be found in the Oriskany Patent, granted in April, 1705, to five persons. One of the parcels of land in that patent is bounded as follows: "Commencing at the mouth of the Oriskany Creek where it falls into the Mohawk, thence up that river for two English miles on each side to the Oneida Carrying Place where the path begins; thence along said path for the same depth on each side into the woods to the swamp called '*Cannigoticka*.'" That swamp is close to what is now called West Rome, and that

"carrying place" is the portage between Mohawk River and Wood Creek, where the business portion of the city of Rome is now located. It is quite evident from the boundary of that parcel of land in the Oriskany Patent, that the "Oneida Carrying Place" must have been used for some time previous to 1705 for the carriage of goods and persons, and that its name and this route were familiar to the colonial authorities even at that early period. It was doubtless called the "Oneida Carrying Place" by reason of its location within the territory of the Oneidas and its proximity to the home of that tribe of Indians.

I have not been able to ascertain the year in which the first fort was built at this "carrying place." The evidence, however, points to the period of the French war of 1754 as about the time. That was when there was great military activity in progress on the part of both nations, and when the French and English were busily engaged in the erection of forts in the country. In 1753 the English erected another fort at Oswego, where they had previously constructed two. In 1755, they erected forts Edward, William Henry and Miller, and rebuilt Fort Ann near Lake George, while the French in the same year erected Fort Ticonderoga, and thereby crowded their possessions and claim twelve miles nearer to the English territory.

Fort Schuyler (Utica) was erected in 1758, and it was during that French war, that Fort Brewerton was erected at the west end of Oneida Lake, and the "Royal Block House" at the east end.

It is an historical fact, that early in 1756 there were three forts at the "Oneida Carrying Place," and a fourth one had been commenced, viz.:

Fort Bull stood on the right bank of Wood Creek, close to the boundary lines between Fonda, Oriskany and Coxe Patents, but in the first named patent. This fort was in the shape of a star, surrounded by a ditch, (which could be filled with water from Wood Creek), having double rows of pickets around it fifteen to eighteen feet high above ground. It would accommodate a garrison of fifty to seventy-five men or more.

Fort Craven was a small stockade fort situate on the westerly side of the Mohawk, not far from where that river bends eastwardly and near to the present feeder to the Erie Canal.

Fort Williams was a larger and a stronger fort than any of them, supplied with cannon, with double pickets some twenty feet high, planked inside, and would accommodate one hundred and fifty men. It stood some twenty-five rods higher up the stream

than Fort Craven, and was about where the railroad bridge now crosses the Mohawk. It was at the point of the landing place, near the head of navigation on that river, and where the Indian path (as mentioned in the Oriskany Patent), commenced to go over the portage, (now Dominick street), to Wood Creek.

Fort Newport was about half way between Fort Bull and the forts on the Mohawk, and it was on the height of ground and on the site of the late United States arsenal, close by the Wood Creek. This fort was in process of completion in 1756, and was named after its commander, who is said to have been massacred by the Indians. Each of the forts above is said to have been named or called after the captain in charge.

In 1754 hostilities commenced between the French and English in America, but it was not until two years later that the two nations declared war against each other. In 1756 the French planned the capture and destruction of the English forts at Oswego, and to effectuate that purpose M. de Lery was sent from Montreal with a French force of about three hundred troops in March of that year, and with four hundred Indians, to attack the "Oneida Carrying Place," intercept and capture such troops and provisions as were being sent from Albany to aid Oswego, and to destroy whatever fortifications there might then be at the "carrying place." That expedition proceeded, via Ogdensburg, across the country through what is now Lewis county, the troops wading through deep snows, crossing swollen streams, suffering cold, hunger and fatigue, and other innumerable hardships during the fifteen days they were on their journey. They reached the "carrying place" March 27, about five o'clock in the morning. They captured prisoners, who informed the French commander of the names, number and condition of the forts and the names of the captains. Fort Bull was at once attacked and captured, its gate forced open, the powder magazine blown up, all but four or five of the garrison killed, (consisting of about sixty), the fort so far demolished as to be useless. Some fifteen batteaux loaded with arms and provisions, and to start that morning for Oswego, were stove in and the contents wasted. The fort was never repaired nor rebuilt. De Lery, fearing an attack from Fort Williams, or from a force sent up by Sir William Johnson, fled in haste to Canada, taking his route through what is now Jefferson county. In August of that year the French under Gen. Montcalm captured and destroyed the English forts at Oswego, which so alarmed Gen. Webb, who had been sent from down the valley to

the relief of Oswego, that he felled trees in Wood Creek to impede the French if they should come this way, destroyed Forts Craven and Williams, and beat a precipitate retreat down the Mohawk. This left the "carrying place" without a fortification to guard or to protect it. Nothing is left to mark the spot where Forts Craven and Williams formerly stood, but the site and the surroundings of Fort Bull are plainly visible. Its shape, size and ditches stand out prominently; it ought to belong to this society, to be preserved in its present condition from further destruction.

In 1757 a French spy passed over the route from Oswego to Albany, and this is what he had to say of the condition of things at the "Oneida Carrying Place:"

"From Oneida Lake we enter Vilcreek [Fish, or rather, Wood Creek,] and ascend nine leagues to Fort Bull. The creek is full of sinuosities, narrow and sometimes embarrassed with trees fallen from both banks. [The same trees, doubtless, that Gen. Webb ordered felled into the stream the year before.] When the water is low batteaux can not go within a league of Fort Bull, and cargoes have to be unloaded and taken there by land over a road that has been made, or else the boat must return for the balance of the load. Fort Bull was burned in 1756. It is situate on the right bank of the creek, and it is estimated to be about one league and a quarter to Fort Williams. The English have constructed a road over this "carrying place," and were obliged to bridge a portion from Fort Bull to a small stream [Wood Creek,] near which a fort [Fort Newport] stands, but not yet completed. It was located precisely on the summit level, and intermediate between Fort Bull and the forts on the Mohawk. Fort Williams on the Mohawk was abandoned and destroyed by the English in 1756, after the capture of Oswego."

The foregoing minute description of the condition of things, and the account of De Lery to his government of the forts at the "carrying place" in March, 1756, when he destroyed Fort Bull, lead to the conclusion that those forts could not have been erected more than a year or so previous, or they would have been known to the French authorities.

In 1758 the war in America had been four years in progress and seemingly not any nearer a termination. In the spring of that year Gen. Abercrombie was appointed commander of the English forces in America. In the summer he was encamped at Lake George, meditating an attack on Ticonderoga. On the 16th of July, 1758, he gave orders to Gen. John Stanwix to erect a fort at

the "Oneida Carrying Place." Gen. Stanwix had been stationed the previous year at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and was relieved of his command there and sent to the "Carrying Place" to superintend the erection of the fort. The following were the "heads of the ordered plan:"

"A good post, capable of lodging two hundred men in the winter, and for three hundred or four hundred men in the summer, for its defense, with logs. A parapet of such thickness as the engineer in charge shall think necessary, according to the situation. A ditch to be made to serve to thicken the parapet; barracks to be made underneath the rampart, with flues of the chimneys to come through the top. The square will be the cheapest form to be made use of for this work. The bastions in like manner can be made use of for storehouses or magazines. In the square may be made lodgings for officers, and the rest of the quadrangular clear; the whole to be logged. Opposite the officers' barracks may be made a storehouse for the deposit of Indian goods."

On the 27th of July Gen. Abercrombie wrote another letter to Gen. Stanwix in which he says: "And having since been advised, instead of that post or fort, to build one more extensive, pursuant to a plan laid before me, I have accordingly sent that plan to Lieut. Williams, now at Albany, with directions to immediately join you and set about it."

In pursuance of those directions the work was begun upon the fort August 23, 1758, and completed November 18, in same year, and named after Gen. Stanwix. It was located on a plot of ground nineteen feet higher than the swamps and lowlands surrounding it, and was directly on the line of (but north of) the Indian path which led over the portage. The site is bounded by what are now Dominick, Liberty and Spring streets, with a ditch or ditches around it, which occupied or were just inside of those streets, and about twenty feet deep and forty feet wide at the top. A row of pickets was in the center of the ditches, and a row of horizontal ones. There was a magazine in the southerly corner (Dominick and Spring streets), sixty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide, bomb proof. The logs were generally two feet thick, flattened at the top and bottom. The barracks were covered with two tiers of square timber from twelve to fourteen inches broad and twelve inches thick. The fort was about four hundred feet square, and instead of accommodating from three hundred to four hundred men, according to the first "ordered plan," it was probably

capable of holding one thousand, as seven hundred and sixty were there when besieged by St. Leger in August, 1777. To the north, east and west of the fort the woods were cleared away for three hundred or four hundred yards, while to the southward it was clear for seven hundred yards. To the southwest (now canal village) was a swamp, chiefly of pine snd some white cedar; to the east (toward factory village) was some white pine in the swamp; the rest of the wood was elm, beech, maple, birch, poplar and some wild cherry. When the fort was commenced a saw mill was built on the Mohawk, near where Fort Williams had once stood. The cost of the fort was $266,400. The sally port was on the side towards the river, the covert was on the opposite side, and the drawbridge next to Dominick street. The season Fort Stanwix was erected, and in August, Col. Bradstreet passed over the route from Albany to Oswego with some three thousand men, crossed Lake Ontario in open boats, captured and destroyed Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), returned to Oswego, rebuilt the forts there, and then came back to Fort Stanwix. At this point he lost some five hundred of his men by sickness, caused by fatigue or the bad water of Wood Creek. The year 1760 put an end to French rule in Canada, and there was no further need of Fort Stanwix as a military station, and it was allowed to go to decay. In the last-named year Johannes Reuff settled at the fort, and soon after the families of Brodock, Mayer, Steers and Kleim located at the "carrying place." Small patches of land were cleared and gardens cultivated, but the principal business was trading with the Indians and assisting boatmen over the portage. In May, 1767, Major General Gage, then the English commander in America, wrote to his government concerning the ruinous condition of Fort Stanwix, and suggesting its abandonment, and allowing a half-pay officer the use of the buildings for taking care of them, the withdrawal of the garrison and the sending of the military stores to Oswego. This suggestion, it would seem was acted upon, for a British half-pay officer was in charge of the fort at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War.

The first important event at the fort after the French war was the holding of a council in 1768, at which a treaty was made with the Indians, establishing "the line of property," and fixing the boundary line between the Indian possessions and the lands claimed by the English. The council convened in September and continued until November 5. The various Indian tribes were represented and there were over 2,000 Indians present, fed and

furnished with pipes and tobacco, and the chiefs clothed at the expense of the English nation. Sir William Johnson acted for the home government. Governer William Franklin represented New Jersey and Governor Penn represented Pennsylvania. There were also commissioners from Virginia. The line as agreed upon ran from the mouth of the Tennessee river by various courses to Owego, in Tioga county, in this State, and the great struggle between the red and the white man was whether Cosby's Manor and the "Oneida Carrying Place" should be included in the Indian territory or belong to the crown. The arguments, persuasions and liberal presents of the whites to Indian chiefs finally prevailed, and the line was agreed to run to the west of the "Carrying Place," to the junction of Canada with Wood Creek—thus leaving Cosby's Manor, the Oriskany Patent and the "Oneida Carrying Place" upon English ground. The deed was signed and the presents displayed upon a table within the fort November 5, 1768, and the consideration expressed in the deed was £10,460 7s. and 3d. It was estimated that the expenses of this gathering cost the English government some £10,000 in addition.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War Fort Stanwix was sadly out of repair. General Washington at an early day called the attention of General Schuyler to the importance of this fort, and to the necessity of its being put in a state of defense. Early in 1776 Congress directed General Schuyler to repair the fort, and in June of that year Colonel Dayton was ordered thither for that purpose. But little was done that year towards it. By an order bearing date April 26, 1777, signed by General Gates, Colonel Peter Gansevoort with the third regiment of the New York line, was ordered to this post, and the work of repair was at once thoroughly commenced and prosecuted with vigor. Soon after Colonel Marinus Willett, second in command, was also ordered thither. There were many delays and blunders in the repairs, owing to the inefficiency or treachery of the French engineer in charge, so that the work was not completed when the siege began August 2, 1777. At that time there were four guns mounted on the northwest and four guns on the southeast corners of the fort, and three guns on the northeast and three guns on the southwest corners. On the latter corner was the flag staff. That siege lasted from August 2d to the 23d—some authorities say to the 25th—when it was abandoned. That siege and the Battle of Oriskany are closely associated in history, and as full accounts thereof have been repeatedly given and are to be found in recent publications, it seems unnecessary to say anything further here in relation thereto.

During the rest of the year 1777 and the greater part of 1778 nothing of especial importance occurred at the fort, except attacks by small parties of Indians. The garrison was kept up but Colonels Gansevoort and Willett were most of the time elsewhere employed. Through the emissaries of Sir Henry Clinton and by reason of the monotony of garrison life, the soldiers deserted, and many of them became demoralized. From April to August, 1778, three sergeants, two corporals and twenty privates had deserted. The fore part of August, five more deserted and were fifty miles on their way to Canada where they were intercepted by a party of friendly Indians and brought back to the fort. Colonel Gansevoort convened a court martial and the five deserters were tried, convicted and sentenced to be shot August 17th, and that sentence was carried into execution. The day of the sentence six more deserted. While the five were under sentence a party of soldiers was sent down the valley for cattle, and six of those deserted. In a week after the five were shot two more deserted. This state of things called for change of garrison and the latter was removed, and in November, 1778, replaced by a regiment under Colonel VanSchaick. Colonel Gansevoort, it would seem, continued as commander of the fort, for I find in the possession of the family of the late Edward Huntington, of Rome, a muster roll of the garrison, signed by Peter Gansevoort, showing the names of the captains and the number of men at the fort April 20, 1779. The total number was 379. It was by this route that Colonel VanSchaick proceeded to attack and destroy the villages of the Onondagas in 1779. Nothing seems to have occurred at the fort in 1780, except alarms from and attacks by bands of Indians. In May, 1781, there were 260 troops in the garrison under the command of Major Cochran. In the meantime the sudden melting of the heavy snows of the preceding winter and the violent and incessant rains for several days, caused such a freshet in the Mohawk, and great rise of water in the swamps and adjacent lowlands as to almost destroy the earthworks of the fort. A council of war was held May 12th, and it was reported that two-thirds of the works were broken down, and that the residue would be in the same condition in a few days, and that the only remaining strength was in the outside pickets on the glacis. The next day a fire occurred at midday, which destroyed all that the floods had not deluged. The fire was suspected to be the work of some of the soldiers, tired of the inactive life in the garrison. Other authorities say the fire was accidental. The fort was ordered to

be and it was at once abandoned and was not again occupied during that war.

The next matter of importance at Fort Stanwix was an Indian council held in 1784, at which a treaty of peace was made between the United States commissioners and various Indian tribes. The United States commissioners were Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, Arthur Lee, of Virginia, and Richard Butler. That treaty was concluded October 22, 1784, by which the Indians ceded to the United States lands in the western part of this State, and a portion northwest of the Ohio river, subject to certain possessory rights. LaFayette was present at this treaty in an unofficial capacity and made a friendly speech to the Indians. This treaty gave great dissatisfaction to Brant (who was not able to be present), and to Red Jacket and other warlike chiefs and tribes not represented at the treaty. In 1788, another treaty was made at Fort Stanwix between the State of New York and the Six Nations, by which the Oneidas ceded their lands in New York to the State subject to certain reservations and possessory rights. The tract thus ceded amounted to about 8,000,000 acres of land. The commissioners on the part of New York were Governor George Clinton, William Floyd, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Egbert Benson, Samuel Jones, Peter Gansevoort and Richard Varick. There were also in attendance Skenandoah, Colonel Willett and Baron Steuben. It is supposed that it was at the close of this treaty that the famous Indian foot race took place for a gold purse of $250, offered by Governor Clinton, and that little Paul, of the Oneida tribe, won the prize and great renown. Elkannah Watson, who was then making a tour through this part of the State, makes the following entry in his journal:

"At Oriskany I passed a small tribe of 200 Indians, the remnant of that once powerful Mohawk Nation. After passing the Oriskany battle field I came in the midst of the woods upon a band of Indians as drunk as lords, who looked like so many evil spirits, wild, frantic, almost naked and frightfully painted. They whooped, yelled and danced around me in such hideous attitudes that I was apprehensive for my scalp. On my arrival at Fort Stanwix, I found the whole plain covered with Indians of various tribes, male and female, the latter fantastically dressed in their best attire in the richest silks, fine scarlet clothes bordered with gold fringe, a profusion of brooches, rings in their noses, ears slit and their heads decorated with feathers. I luckily found a sleeping place in the garret of the house in which Governor Clinton and

eight other commissioners, and also John Taylor, Indian agent, were stopping. The object of this treaty is to procure a cession of about 8,000,000 of acres of land, extending from Fort Stanwix to the great lakes, now owned by and chiefly inhabited by the Six Nations. Colonel Moutier, the French ambassador, and the Marchioness DeBiron, are now encamped under a marquee, formerly used by Lord Cornwallis. This enterprising and courageous lady has exposed herself to the greatest fatigue and privations to gratify her unbounded curiosity, by coming all the way from New York city to be present at this great assemblage of savage tribes."

Willett Ranney, with eleven children, settled at Fort Stanwix in 1785. A granddaughter of one of those children writes me as follows: "I have often heard my grandmother tell of her early life at Fort Stanwix. She was at the fort in September, 1788, at the time of the treaty there, for I have heard her often speak of baking bread at her brother's, Seth Ranney's house, where many barrels of flour were stored to be made into bread to feed those expected to be present at the treaty. The oven was out-of-doors and a large one, and was kept running night and day for many days and nights before the day fixed for the gathering. There was stored in the barn near by a quantity of liquor, and being apprehensive the Indians would find it, become furious and massacre the people, it was turned out into the ground." The house of Seth Ranney stood on Stanwix street, to the northeast of the present Rome court house.

When the war of the Revolution was at an end, there seemed to be no further need of Fort Stanwix as a military station, and it was suffered to go to decay, and the arms and equipments left in the fort were ordered by the government to be distributed to the settlers to protect themselves from the Indians. In 1789, Jesse Pierce, who kept a ferry over Mohawk river, just above the "Ridge," in Rome, was appointed by the government to make the distribution.

As before stated, the Indians were greatly dissatisfied with the treaty made in 1784 at Fort Stanwix, and in 1791 a general Indian war seemed imminent. Not long after the latter date Fort Stanwix was repaired and a block house erected about 1795 within the enclosure, and garrisoned by a regiment of soldiers of the standing army. When the danger had passed the fort went to decay and was never thereafter repaired.

The "Carrying Place," which included Fort Stanwix and the

business portion of Rome, was within the Oriskany Patent. At the breaking out of the Revolution James DeLancey owned an individual one-fifth of that Patent. He was a Tory and adhered to the British crown, and by the laws of New York, his property was confiscated, that patent ordered to be partitioned, and his one-fifth interest in it set off to the State. Preliminary to such a division the commissioners in partition were ordered to survey off and sell at auction, a parcel to defray the expenses of the partition. A parcel of six hundred and ninety-seven acres was thus surveyed. It included what is now Factory village, the site of Fort Stanwix, and a strip on each side of Dominick street, to Expense street, west of Wood Creek. That parcel has ever since been known as the "Expense lot." At the auction sale in 1786, Dominick Lynch, then of Westchester county, became the purchaser for the sum of £2,250. Mr. Lynch soon thereafter made other purchases, adjoining the "Expense lot," and about 1796 he laid out the same into village lots, and called the place "Lynchville."

Hon. Pomroy Jones, in his Annals of Oneida County, says he visited Fort Stanwix in 1797, and that then cannons were mounted on its angles, and the pickets were mostly standing. Oneida county was formed in 1798, and the first courts were ordered to be held "at the school house near Fort Stanwix." That school house stood in the west park, and the first common pleas of the county was held there in May, 1798. The first oyer and terminer, by Mr. Justice James Kent, was held in June of that year, and the first circuit by Chief Justice John Lansing in September, 1798.

The locality was known as Fort Stanwix for years, and all the early inhabitants spoke of it as "the Fort." Soon after 1800, and not far perhaps from 1806, Mr. Lynch leveled off the southerly corner of the fort, now Dominick and Spring streets, and erected a frame dwelling, which he occupied when he came to visit his purchases. About 1824 that dwelling was destroyed by fire. In 1825 Judge Denio, then a Roman, wrote a newspaper article relative to Fort Stanwix, which was first published in the Rome *Republican* in that year, and republished in the Rome *Telegraph* in 1831. The following extract from it will show the then condition of Forts Stanwix and Bull: "Although the plow has passed over the parapet of Fort Stanwix, and its glacis and covert way have been subjected to the innovating hand of improvement, sufficient remains to show that three of its bastions remain entire. The fourth one has been plowed down for the site of a dwelling. There may be seen the remains of the bomb proof and the sally

port leading to Spring brook, and some of the pickets which protected its walls. Fort Bull is about three miles from here. It stands in a thick forest, and being seldom visited is quite entire. It is not the one-tenth size of Fort Stanwix. The bastions and bomb proofs remain, crumbled indeed by time, but more perfect than those of Fort Stanwix."

In 1828 Wheeler Barnes purchased for $1,200, all of the block covered by Fort Stanwix. In the course of a couple of years work was commenced to fill up the ditches and level off the grounds. Nothing now remains to indicate where the fort once stood, except a slight indentation where the westerly ditch once ran. The whole site is now occupied by gardens, lawns, buildings and fences, except "Stone Alley," which runs east and west through the center of the block.

Fort Stanwix, as I think, was the largest and strongest fort ever erected in the province of New York, except Crown Point and Ticonderoga. It was the only one that withstood, or had occasion to withstand a persistent and continuous siege of twenty days. It was among the very few, if not the only one, that was never betrayed by its friends, nor captured by its foes. Upon its ramparts was first unfurled to the breeze that flag that subsequently became the emblem of our nation. These and kindred reflections mingled with a thousand associations and memories, ought to be constant reminders of the importance and prominence of this fort in the country's struggle for freedom, and to furnish a sufficient incentive to prompt a patriotic people to erect a monument in consecration to its memory.

MEMORIAL OF S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

BY THOMAS W. SEWARD.

[Read before the Society March 31, 1884.]

In view of the many tributes of respect lately contributed by the press of the country to the subject of this paper, I have thought it best to avoid, as far as possible, repetition of what has already been so truthfully said, and confine myself mainly to a delineation of that part of the life of my departed friend which was spent here, in the place of his birth, until he was nearly twenty-one years old. The fruitage of his busy and most useful life is the property of the world. The simple story of those early years, in which he was, without definite purpose, preparing the soil for the fruitage, belongs appropriately to us, and, as the introductory chapter of a perfectly coherent history is, I think, worth recording and preserving in the city whose most distinguished son he unquestionably was.

Samuel Wells Williams, the first born child of William and Sophia (Wells) Williams, was born September 22, 1812. His paternal grandfather was Deacon Thomas Williams, of New Hartford, a native of Roxbury, Mass. His maternal grandfather was Samuel Wells, also of New Hartford, but originally of Hartford, Conn. Both ancestors brought their families into this region of country about the year 1790. The subject of this notice was of the seventh generation from Robert Williams of Roxbury, Mass., an emigrant from England in 1637, and the founder of one of the largest families in America, a family marked by sound intellect, solid character, and, for the most part, by religious faith and practice. Mr. Williams was born and nurtured under conditions most favorable for the development of those intellectual and spiritual traits of character with which he was endowed, and which found in him congenial and full employment, in many fields of exploration and culture, for more than fifty years. He had a good ancestry to begin with. Both his parents were conspicuous amidst a large community for industry, humanity and piety. Their household, always a large one, was noted for sobriety of conduct, strict economy in the use of time, manifold works of

charity, care of the sick, close heed to religious observances, and scrupulous performance of duties enjoined by religion. To the wise, even-handed authority that ruled this household he always gave a dutiful and cordial obedience. Supplementing this strongly tinctured religious home-life was the all pervading influence of the church and its institutions. In his nineteenth year Mr. Williams united with the First Presbyterian Church by public profession of faith. His name is among the earliest names of those children who belonged to the first Sabbath School of the village; and, until his departure from the country, he maintained his connection, as pupil and teacher, with the school and Bible Class of his church, doing hearty and signal service in both capacities.

The school teachers who had first charge of Mr. Williams' education were Mrs. Sarah K. Clarke, of fragrant Sunday and day school memory, succeeded by Miss Abby Bowen, for many long years a successful teacher of young children. The schoolhouse, demolished long ago, stood close by the corner of Broad and John streets, on what is now the property of the general government. Next in order was Montgomery R. Bartlett, in Hotel street, opposite the present Mechanics' Hall. This was a boys' and girls' school, divided by a partition, except at that point where the teacher's desk commanded a view of both departments. Mr. Bartlett was well grounded in more than rudimentary learning, was the author of a treatise on astronomy, to which he gave the title of Young Ladies' Astronomy, doubtless in compliment to that portion of his school which sat at his right hand; also he compiled an edition of Murray's English Reader, using, as far as they went, the elocutionary rules of John Walker. Some of his pupils, however, have had reason to remember Mr. Bartlett chiefly as a ferocious disciplinarian.

At that time there was only one public school in the village, and it stood on Catharine street, at the head of Franklin. This school was conducted on what was known as the Lancasterian plan, which was mostly a combination of object lessons and a racket. Inasmuch as all school lessons were both conned and recited aloud, there was very often a fearful rivalry between tenors and trebles, of every quality and range. In one of Abraham Culver's carpenter shops, extemporized into a schoolhouse, and approached by devious paths from Genesee, Whitesboro and Hotel streets, was the school of Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, the government of which school enjoyed a brilliant local reputation as a pure democracy. Dennis Mervyn Winston, brother to Frederick S. of that name, succeeding

to Mr. Dwight, subverted the established disorder of things, and set up a close autocracy in its stead. Wells Williams attended this school during both administrations; and, without any very distinct recollection as to the fact, I venture to say, on general principles, that he was unpopular with the thoughtless mob that ruled the preceptor first named. Contemporaneous with all these schools was the old incorporated academy, the predecessor and occupant, in part, of the site of the present Free Academy. Capt. Charles Stuart was principal of the old academy when Wells Williams joined it, and was succeeded, in 1824, by David Prentice, who held the succession, most acceptably, for many years. During the preceptorship of Mr. Prentice the academy pupils were organized into a company of military cadets, under Capt. Varick and Lieut. Williams, Col. Barnard, an assistant teacher, being drill master. Military drill was enforced in the afternoon of every school day, summer and winter. The company had for drummer John Douglass Williams, and Edward Lansing was fifer. There was a stand of colors, borne with much pomp, by the youngest pupil of the school. Sometimes the company would turn out on the general training day of the militia, when it would undergo an afternoon's hard work, jointly with a battalion ten hundred strong. On leaving the parade ground, towards nightfall, Gen. Fortune C. White would put the cadets at the head of the column, close to the thunder of a drum corps which swept the street from sidewalk to sidewalk.

In the year 1829 Wells Williams entered Charles Bartlett's High School, at that time domiciled at the easterly end of Broad street, on elevated ground, charmingly environed. Here he found himself in company with such other 1812 boys as James D. Dana, Morris S. Miller, John C. Van Rensselaer, Edward P. Handy, William Snyder, all of Utica; George Bemis, of Canandaigua, and Lewis Cass, Jr., of Detroit. In the annual public exhibition of the school, held in the winter of 1830, in the Bleecker street church, Mr. Bartlett showed a fine appreciation of the fitness of things in appointing his soberest pupils, Bemis and Williams, to speak the two humorous pieces of the occasion. It was in this school that Mr. Williams was, for the first time, given ample opportunity of satisfying his love of natural science, the high school at Utica ranking with the best in the State in this department of learning. It was then, and in this school, that Fay Edgerton made a golden reputation as a teacher of natural science. He stayed a few years, and departed only to die; but not until he had placed in the chair he could no longer fill, his bosom friend Asa Gray.

Concerning the childhood and youth of Mr. Williams I can not say that they differed remarkably from all the other childhood and youth that grew to manhood in his company. His individuality was not so much that of disposition and of character, as of manner, which had in it a certain austerity. He held very positive opinions, and, amongst his associates, was not slow in expressing them; and sometimes the expression took the unpopular form of sharp criticism. Nevertheless by the naturally discerning and discriminative mind of boyhood he was always respected, even if he was not always liked. His school life, in the estimation of his instructors, as well as of his fellows, was well nigh faultless. His earnest, serious nature would permit no trifling with study, nor waste even of fragments of time. He was rarely the subject of school discipline, even in matters of small import. Not that he was deficient in that fund of animal spirits which is so apt to prompt into transgression even the best of youthful natures. He was wont to regard all manifestations of an unruly spirit not so much with disfavor as disdain. He was never known to be among the foremost in youthful sports, although he by no means abstained from them. He preferred to devote his hours of leisure to things useful, prompted thereto by the counsel and example of a mother whose nature he largely inherited. At home, faithful attention to home duties and no small amount of work were required of him. He learned the printer's trade by way of amusement; and it was not uncommon to find him, during short vacations, helping in the ceaseless and multiform work of his father's printing and publishing establishment.

One of his most intimate associates, at this period of his life, was James Dwight Dana. They both lived on Broad street, and not very far apart; but neighborhood seems to have had less to do with their close friendship than harmony of taste and feeling. Both of them were studious, matter of fact, had an absorbing love of natural science, and were alike untroubled by the profitless dreams of fancy. I remember to have read a letter from Dana to Williams, written on board one of our war-ships where he was probably employed as schoolmaster. The ship had come in sight of the English coast, and the cliffs of Albion were in full view. But the white cliffs failed, for once, to inspire the customary enthusiasm. The writer breathed a regret that the friend of his heart was not with him, so that the two might disembark, and, landing with mineralogical intent and sledge hammers, knock the chalk cliffs in pieces.

In the year 1832, and at the age of twenty, he was graduated with honor at the Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y. He could have had a Collegiate education if he had desired it; but he so much preferred the scientific to the classical side of a liberal education, that he was unwilling to surrender himself to the prescribed four years' course of study. Moreover, at the time of his going to Troy, he was very anxious to save time, and to make the most of the opportunity to complete certain lines of study already begun. As yet he had not planned any ultimate vocation. The time spent in Troy was used to the utmost advantage. He had never before lived away from home. The attrition of such institutional life as that of Rensselaer, while it sharpened his intellect, also smoothed his asperity of manner. He caught the spirit of society, its methods and requirements, and laid aside all further habit of self-assertion.

About the time of Mr. Williams' graduation at Troy, his father, happening to be in the city of New York, was requested by the senior member of the house of Olyphant to find a young printer suited to the mission of the American Board at Canton. The Olyphants were extensively engaged in the China trade, and were zealously laboring for the diffusion of Christianity in the Chinese empire. Without hesitation Mr. Williams nominated his oldest son for the position, feeling perfectly assured that his candidate and the place had been decreed for each other. That the hour had come, and the man, unfolding years were to demonstrate. Young Williams promptly accepted the proposal of his father and Mr. Olyphant. His public profession of religion, made two years before this, was without reservation. It was an unqualified surrender of himself to the control and bidding of his Divine Master, and now he felt himself called into this immediate service, Something in the proposal there may have been that appealed strongly to youthful love of adventure, to his eager ambition in the acquirement of knowledge, and to an inborn partiality for subjects and employments not of the common. China, in the year 1832, was, to all intents, a country unexplored by the agents either of commerce or Christianity. What possibilities might not the future contain for resolute purpose, stimulated by religious conviction, and a desire to put the light of the gospel into the darkness of paganism.

Preparations for departure were immediately begun. Some finishing touches to what he had acquired of the printer's art were needed, and were soon completed. Formal leave taking of family

connections, and brief journeys for that purpose were made. The strongest tie that held him to his country had been severed, when, in the December of 1831, his mother passed into the "undiscovered country." He sailed from New York in June, 1833, in the good ship Morrison, the name borne by the first translator of the Bible into the Chinese tongue.

On the twenty-second day of September, 1833, and somewhere in eastern seas, our missionary printer contributed from his private stores to the captain's table, a single bottle of currant wine, which, we take for granted, was found to be of full flavor, served to emphasize one day in the weary monotony of days in an ocean voyage, and did no harm to the company. The wine had been set apart by a happy father from his own vintage of 1812, to be solemnly drank on the twenty-first anniversary of the birth of his eldest son. No horoscope of the child's future revealed India seas, the ship Morrison, the restricted life at Hong Kong and Macao, years of hard, dry labor, many rebuffs, many encouragements, not a few perils, much of consolation, much too of enjoyment by the way, and very much done and accomplished; and lastly, the widely opened doors of China and Japan. We have brought our friend to China, and here, in the company of Dr. Bridgman, and busy in his new work of editing and printing, we leave him.

In the year 1845 Mr. Williams returned to this country for the purpose of raising money to buy an indispensable font of Chinese type, to be cast in Berlin. He made the journey overland through Asia and Europe, as far as was practicable, tarrying long in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood, as might have been predicted; and in this connection I may be permitted to say that one of the most characteristic utterances I ever heard from him was, when standing one spring day in 1846, on a slight eminence overlooking Owasco lake, he said that he was reminded of the Sea of Galilee, which was a very pretty lake in itself; and then went on dryly to say, as he would have said of any other fact in historical geography, that Galilee was interesting because it had been walked upon. During his stay in Europe he received many flattering marks of attention from the *savants*, especially in the city of Paris; and this, when he had lived in China less than twelve years. He reached Utica in the autumn of 1845, and here he spent the ensuing winter, engaged in writing the history of the Middle Kingdom, a work which was only a wide amplification of a series of lectures delivered here and in this region, during the same winter and the spring following. The proceeds of

these lectures, which were well attended, enabled him, in large part, to get the much-coveted font of type from the Berlin foundry. In spite of the absorbing and laborious nature of his winter's employment, he found time for genial intercourse with such spirits as were in accord with his great missionary undertaking, as well as with the learned in all professional life. As a lecturer it must be confessed that he was somewhat dull; but as a conversationist it is doubtful whether he had many equals in the art of exhibiting, in the best light, vast stores of rare information, and a rich fund of personal experience. On Commencement Day, 1846, Union College conferred upon him the degree of LL. D., an honor not always so well bestowed, and not often more gratefully appreciated; and yet, as showing the simplicity of the man's character, his love of his native place, and the value he set upon the good opinion of its citizens, he privately confessed, many years afterwards, that he prized more dearly than all such honors the kind words spoken of him by Mr. James Watson Williams in his historical address on the opening of the new Free Academy building.

Mr. Williams re-visited the United States in 1860, was here at the outbreak of the rebellion, saw the Seventh New York Regiment in Broadway on the memorable day in April, 1861, accepted the spectacle as a sign of patriotism and of the power grimly reposing behind it, forecast the war and its consequences, went back to China and his work, but not until he had put a substitute for himself into the army of his country.

Mr. Williams visited us again in 1875, on business connected with the United States legation at Peking, resigned his place as secretary of that legation, went back to China once more, closed his affairs at Peking, and made his final return to this country late in 1876. There was soon made for him in Yale College, a Professorship of the Chinese Language and Literature, with disappointing results on the whole; although, collaterally, his services to the college were of very great importance. There was no abatement in his habit of industry; and, in the grateful security of a wider leisure than he had known in almost fifty years, he revised and perfected much which hitherto had failed to satisfy his sense of what literary art required. The last work of his life was the entire re-writing of his history of the Middle Kingdom, to which, assisted by his son, he devoted three years. Death, by whom he was summoned on the sixteenth day of February, 1884, found his work all done, his temporal affairs set in order, his spiritual affairs adjusted long time before, by

his Saviour, and his character, I think we may safely say, completely builded.

It remains for me to give a brief outline of his labors and the things he accomplished. On his arrival in China in 1833 he began to assist Dr. Bridgman in editing and publishing the Chinese Repository, a periodical magazine. In 1835 he removed to Macao, and completed the printing of Methurst's Dictionary. In 1837 there occurred an important episode in his life—the voyage to Japan for the purpose of restoring some shipwrecked seamen to their home, the repulse of the ship from the Japanese shore, its return to Macao, and the learning of their language while the homeless mariners were inmates of his home. To Dr. Bridgman's "Chrestomathy" he contributed about one-third. In 1842 he began writing and publishing his own works, viz.: "Easy Lessons in Chinese," "Chinese Commercial Guide"—a book that was repeatedly enlarged, and "English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect." The first edition of his "Middle Kingdom" was published in this country in 1848. In 1856 he published "A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect." In the same year the mission press in Macao was burned, with the most of his library. In 1874 he published at Shanghai "The Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language" containing 12,527 characters, with their pronunciation as heard at Peking, Canton, Amoy and Shanghai. This dictionary has not only taken the place of all other Chinese dictionaries, but is an enduring witness to extraordinary research and learning.

In the service of the United States, Mr. Williams went with Com. Perry's squadron to Japan in 1853 as interpreter. Commodore Perry was sent out by his government on the wholly untried experiment of negotiating a treaty with Japan. The interpreter had already learned enough about the Asiatic temperament to feel warranted in advising the Commodore to take high ground at the very outset of the negotiations; and the result justified the advice. Afterwards, Mr. Williams was put in charge of the legation until a minister should come from the United States. In negotiating a treaty with China, in 1858, he was of inestimable service, the great esteem in which he was held by the Chinese government enabling him to secure points of advantage which could not have been obtained without him. During the twenty years of his connection with the United States embassy, he was, in effect, the soul of it; much of the time doing the work of an embassador, with the rank of a secretary. That his government never made him minister, is its lasting opprobrium.

In the year 1857, Mr. Williams withdrew from the service of the American board of missions, to devote himself to the duties of the American embassy. As soon as his means would permit, he returned to the board's treasury all the money he had ever received from it, together with some interest which a less conscientious and more careless person might, possibly, have neglected to compute. He gave to the board all that he received from his government for acting as interpreter in the Perry Japanese expedition, and which amounted to the considerable sum of twenty-seven hundred and five dollars. His benefactions were constant and widely spread. I know that he once sent a very liberal contribution to the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Nashota, Wis., prompted thereto on discovering that the school depended upon daily contributions for daily bread. He bequeathed the larger part of the property of the Chinese dictionary to the American College in Peking, together with an important legacy to the American Bible Society for the specific purpose of printing the Bible in the Chinese language.

Analysis of Mr. Williams' character, after what has been written here and elsewhere, is not called for. In him there was no complexity, although there was great variety of endowment. He was, in all respects, consistent. He was sincere, modest, gracious, industrious, patient, courageous, charitable, tolerant, humane, spiritual. He went to China because he saw the path of duty, and was not afraid to walk therein. Established there, he determined to give the whole of a prospectively long life to finding out and appropriating everything that, in any way, pertained to the mysterious people he had come to enlighten and to help. Hence the fullness of his contributions to the world's knowledge of China and the east, contributions which stimulated, beyond estimate, the work of foreign Christian missions of which himself was a chief exemplar.

During his first visit to this country, and in the year 1847, Mr. Williams married Miss Sarah Walworth of Plattsburg, N. Y. In saying that Mrs. Williams was fully equal to all the requirements demanded of her by her husband's responsible positions and employments, as well as the far more important requirements of domestic, social and religious life, I add nothing to the glad testimony of all those who enjoyed the great privilege of intimacy, friendship or acquaintance with her. She died at New Haven, January 26, 1881, and was buried in Forest Hill, Utica, by the side of three of her children who had preceded her in their childhood. Thither also, on the twentieth day of February, 1884, her husband was carried, and there left, in the company of kindred belonging to four generations of his family and name.

THE UTICA HIGH SCHOOL.

BY DR. M. M. BAGG.

A school of considerable note throughout the State, and the only boarding school for boys that ever continued for much length of time in Utica, was the one known as the Utica High School, and afterwards as the Utica Gymnasium. It was founded in 1827 and flourished about eight years. Its founder and principal was Charles Bartlett, who was a native of Charlton, Saratoga Co., a graduate of Union College, and a Presbyterian in nurture and profession. At the date above mentioned he was about thirty-five years of age, rather agreeable in person, easy and insinuating in address, ambitious and enterprising, and possessed with liberal ideas of what should be the requirements of such a school as the one he proposed to establish, though variable and unsettled in his methods of execution. Mr. Bartlett had previously conducted for a short time a select school on Washington street, a little above Fayette. He was well known in society and in the Presbyterian church, in whose enterprises he bore a somewhat prominent part. Giving up his select school to Mr. Isaac Wilmarth, he spent some months in visiting other boarding schools of that era, and in further preparations for his undertaking. The Round-hill school of Northampton, then brought into wide repute through the excellent mastership of George Bancroft, the subsequent historian, he is believed to have adopted as his model. It was here that some two years before gymnastic exercises were first introduced into this country as a part of school training, and from this school its gymnastic appliances were copied. The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, a pioneer school of science, then flourishing under the direction of Amos Eaton, furnished other and important features that were adopted.

Mr. Bartlett leased for his purpose the house and farm at the lower end of Broad street which had belonged to Dr. Solomon Wolcott and was then owned by Samuel Stocking. The house was a large wooden building three-quarters of a mile from Genesee street, standing back from the line of Broad street on a gentle eminence and commanding a wide view of the Mohawk valley and the

hills beyond. It has been of late years the residence of James Brady, and now, removed a few rods eastward, is used as a store. The farm which was then attached to it reached a little beyond the present Kossuth avenue and southwards some ways toward Albany street, and contained 60 to 80 acres, having as a part of it a large garden and orchard. The farm was taken in charge by Joseph Bartlett, the brother of Charles, and as the latter remained some years unmarried, he was aided in the domestic part of his school by the family of his brother-in-law, Jeremiah Warring, and next by that of his own brother, Dudley. While these families occupied a portion of the building, the rest of it was given up to dormitories, dining hall, recitation rooms, &c. For a school house a long story and a half wooden structure was extended back from the southeast corner of the original one, and having a laboratory on its rear. And here the session was begun in the autumn of 1827. The subsequent changes and erections I shall notice hereafter. As in most similar institutions the plan of instruction was designed either for a collegiate or a commercial course, the principal being assisted in it by four or five additional teachers. The annual expense for each pupil was $200, which included all charges for instruction, board, rooms, fuel, lights, stationery, washing, doctor's bill, &c. This rate was afterwards reduced to $150, although even at the former one it was low compared with like schools of the present day. Mr. Bartlett did not confine himself to any special branch of study, teaching several English ones, as well as the rudiments of Latin and Greek. He was not a profound scholar, but was a good master of drill, and taught earnestly and thoroughly what he was competent for. His forte was discipline. While making quite a show of trusting the boys to their sense of propriety and their honor, he was indefatigable in his watchfulness of their deportment and their morals, careful and even sly in his efforts to detect wrong-doing, and positive in its punishment. His rules were many and strict, and he insisted on their observance. The scholars were made to rise at six, were allowed twenty minutes to wash and dress, and were then summoned to prayers, after which came breakfast and play-hour until nine; from this time until twelve there was study, again from two until five, and again during an hour in the evening. This was followed by prayers and bed at nine o'clock, when the lights were extinguished and perfect quiet exacted. For tardiness or absence from any of these exercises, for idleness, whispering or play during the hours of study, the offenders were marked, and these marks detracted from a portion of the Satur-

day's half-holiday, and from the more of it in proportion to the number of them. Deficiencies in lessons were made good by detention after school. Graver offences, or too frequent repetition of these lesser ones, were punished by confinement, the ruler or the rawhide, reporting to parents or expulsion. The monitor system was at one time in practice, but for the most part no monitor was so vigilant as the principal. Unless by his permission the boys were not allowed to go to town at any other time than on Saturday afternoon or on Sundays. On the latter day they were marched to church in procession, and took seats in the gallery of the Presbyterian church opposite the pulpit. The dress they wore when abroad was a uniform consisting of a blue cloth roundabout with bell buttons of brass in triple rows, and a tasselled cap, vest and pantaloons of the same material, the heavy cloth of the pants being exchanged in summer for white linen or drill. Those whose parents resided in the village were permitted to dine at home on Sundays, but were obliged to return before dark, as there were Bible lessons to be learned in the evening. On the play-ground, eastward of the building, were circular and vertical swings, parallel and single bars, for vaulting, progression by the arms, and revolving, &c., and a few other equipments of a gymnasium; and on these the scholars were subjected to a daily exercise. Once or twice a week they were treated to a course of equitation on the two horses of the establishment, which had been trained to the ring; and upon them all were taught to ride. Still another out-of-door lesson was learned in the garden, where in the season for gardening, each boy was required to cultivate with system fifty feet of ground, was held responsible for its neatness and thrift, and punished for failure or neglect. Though neither of these practices was kept up with absolute steadiness, and all of them fell by degress more or less into desuetude: The nearness of the river, the canal and the Starch Factory pond offered facilities for swimming and skating, in which the pupils were often indulged, the swimming, at least, being done under the inspection of a teacher. Longer excursions were allowed the pupils in scientific studies, of whom there were several; and by some of them their Saturday afternoons were thus largely employed. For one marked feature of the institution, and one in which it stood almost alone in its day, was the attention bestowed on these pursuits. A special instructor held this department, and gave lectures, in a tolerably well-furnished laboratory, successively in chemistry, botany, mineralogy and geology, to classes, who in turn were required, after a

study of the topic, to give back the lecture, with its experiments, to the teacher and their fellows of the class.

The first teacher in this department was Fay Edgerton, a recent graduate of the Polytechnic School of Troy. Mr. Edgerton was a native of Bennington, Vt., and of a family that stood well in its annals. "There are few families anywhere to be found," says the historian of that town, "of so much native intellectual attraction and refinement, and also of so much social and Christian excellence as that of Esquire Edgerton." The father of the latter was conspicuous by his fearless bravery among his many brave townsmen who bore a part in Bennington's famous battle. Fay's maternal grandfather was Dr. Jonas Fay, "a man of great versatility, boldness and determination; and of acknowledged ability and usefulness in the controversy between the settlers of the Hampshire Grants and the government of the colony of New York;" he served afterwards in numerous responsible and honorable posts in the State. Fay Edgerton at the time he entered on school duties was about 24 years of age, tall and muscular. He was intelligent, independent, social and amiable, and earnest in religious principle. He was an enthusiast in his own line of study and instruction. Besides his lessons in the lecture room, he scoured the country round, either with or without his class, showed them where to go in pursuit of whatever was rare or curious, assisted them in the naming and care of their specimens, and inspired them with his own zeal for natural science. Nearly all the older students came under his tuition, or that of his successor, and imbibed a taste for this study that never forsook them, while some of them laid a foundation of acquirement and observation, which, aided by further culture, has since given the possessors high rank as naturalists. During the long summer vacations it was this teacher's practice to make lengthy excursions with half a dozen or more of his class to distant parts of the State or the neighboring ones, visiting localities that abounded in particular minerals or rocks, and bringing thence stores for their own or the school collections. These trips were made almost wholly on foot, a single horse and wagon accompanying the party to carry their scanty wardrobe and relieve the oft-burdened mineral satchel worn by each of them, until such time as they reached a suitable place for shipment. At night they found a lodging wherever it was most convenient, and were fitted by the fatigues of the day to take up with the plainest quarters and the simplest fare. While increasing their scientific stock, adding vigor to their frames and seeing the country they traversed in the most advantageous way,

they encountered adventures and witnessed scenes of enduring interest. After some three years' service as a teacher, Mr. Edgerton withdrew, became professor of chemistry and botany in the Medical School of Woodstock, Vt., and died in 1838.

He was succeeded by Dr. Asa Gray, now the distinguished Professor of Botany in Harvard University. A native of the neighboring town of Sauquoit, Dr. Gray had but recently finished his medical course at Fairfield, Herkimer county. He was quite as well informed as Mr. Edgerton had been, as eager and as sympathetic in the cultivation of science, and in all respects as capable and as beloved an instructor. Botany was even then his chief delight, and his application to it most diligent. His flashing eye and his cry of exultation as he bounded forward to seize a new plant which he spied at a distance, while botanizing with his class in the Oriskany swamp or elsewhere, no member of that class now living can ever forget, any more than they can his courteous and sprightly manners, his engaging mien and his devotion to their improvement. He introduced the natural method of studying botany in lieu of the Linnaean system of classification that had before been in use with botanical students generally, and with his microscope he laid open to the learners the as-yet-unseen mysteries of the vegetable creation.

Having spoken of two of the teachers, let me introduce a few more of them. The first who taught the ancient languages, besides the Principal, was Rev. John P. Spinner, though in the earlier catalogues he appeared as instructor of Spanish and German as well. He was born at Warbach in Germany, and having passed through the University of Metz, he entered a Romish Clerical Seminary, took orders and officiated for eleven years as a priest. In his priestly capacity, he assisted at the funerals of two German emperors, that of Leopold II. and that of Francis II. Abandoning the Church of Rome, he married, and soon afterward came to this country. From the year 1802, he had been minister of the Reformed Dutch Church of Herkimer; and besides being active and zealous in the discharge of his special parochial duties, he looked after other feeble societies of his neighborhood. He continued to be the minister at Herkimer until his death in 1848, serving also during eighteen months of this time as a teacher at Utica. When he taught here, Dominie Spinner was about sixty years of age, tall and stout, with long grayish locks and benignant eyes of blue. His portly figure, his countenance beaming with cheerfulness and fun, his unconstrained and social air, and his

elaborate grace of manner, reflected little of the care-worn country pastor, anxious for his flock and straitened for his bread; they betokened rather the undisturbed content of "stalled theology," if not the license of the jolly convent friar, or, at any rate, the ease of the well-born, old-time gentleman, whose fortune was in possession, and who had small cause for misgivings as to the present or the future. And if his courtly salutation, as he stood, hat in hand, to address some lady of his acquaintance whom he chanced to meet, bespoke a former intimacy with more polished folk than those his present station had placed him with, it showed, too, a heart of kindness, that responded to the claims of the humblest of his fellow creatures. He was an accomplished linguist, besides being versed, as it was said, in other departments of human acquirement. Of his teachings, I remember little else than a part of a Latin song he prepared to be rendered by one of his pupils at an exhibition which closed the year of school. It was sung by the speaker at the conclusion of a Latin salutatory, and the chorus by the school,—to a melody furnished by the well-known psalmodist Thomas Hastings, then a resident of Utica. It ran as follows:

"Ecce quam bonum! quamque jucundum!
Habitare fratres in unum.
Chorus:—Gaudete juvenes; vacatio imminet,
Patriam intrare licebit!

That this couplet was but an appropriation of an old German student song seems probable from the fact that it is still sung by the Maennerchors of Utica, and perchance by other societies elsewhere. Mr. Spinner also gave lessons in French, until one was found to whom the language was vernacular; but in Spanish he had no followers, and few in German, this last not having yet become a fashionable or a needed acquirement. An invitation which the Dominie gave the school to come and dine with him on Pinxter day, and the excursion to Herkimer in carriages and on horseback,—for railways as yet, there were none,—his cordial reception, his bounteous table, and especially the huge dishes of many-colored eggs, and the many undemolished ones which he insisted on our carrying away with us, together with the sad disasters these eggs occasioned the equestrians of the party as they rode home with loaded pockets, was an event with its concomitants that was long kept in memory. Mr. Spinner was the father of that faithful watch-dog of the public funds, Hon. Francis E. Spinner, late U. S. Treasurer.

The first who was exclusively a teacher of Latin in the school, and so named in the catalogue, was John J. Lawrence, A. B., an

earnest, conscientious young man of fine endowments, who went on a mission to India, where he soon died.

The Greek instructor was another venerable clergyman of the Dutch Church, though without a parish. He was of Holland descent at least, as in the absence of other proof, his addiction to the pipe and its not unfrequent indulgence in the class-room, would sufficiently attest. He was born, however, in the city of New York, and a graduate of Columbia College. His divinity he had learned from the celebrated Dr. John H. Livingston, and he had already served two or three parishes. A good classical scholar, but a softly-spoken man, a quiet though sincere appreciator of his Homer, and an unaggressive teacher, was Rev. Cornelius Brower. "His mental qualities," says his obituary, "were mild and steady, rather than brilliant or dazzling. Courteous to all, his gravity was without moroseness, and his cheerfulness without levity." During the latter part of his life he did the work of an evangelist, from his home in Geneva.

These were succeeded in the classics by a recent comer from England, who had been trained in one of the best of its schools. This was Uridge Whiffen, elder brother of Isaac Whiffen, now resident. Acute and accurate by the nature of his mind, critical and profound by the character of his scholarship, he served an humble tutorship for the paltry sum of $250, maintaining upon it himself and wife, and yet evinced the while a familiarity with the languages of the Greeks and Latins that well entitled him to a more exalted post. After a short term here, and a still shorter one at Buffalo, he died at the age of thirty-five. In the classical department there was also for a brief period a Mr. Philips, a pleasant teacher, of gentlemanly carriage, brother of the late Rev. Dr. Philips of New York city. Toward the latter years of the school's existence, the place was filled by George F. Comstock, a hard working, ambitious man, just from Union, who has since made his mark as a leading jurist of Central New York, and a judge of its Court of Appeals.

Among the most remarkable of the teachers in the English branches was Silas Kingsley, and remarked he truly was wherever he went, for, towering at least a foot above the tallest man of any assemblage, he could not fail of being the observed of all observers. His shoes having been one day left out for blacking, they soon gathered around them an astounded group of boys, who seemed, as if for the first time, to take in the full measure of his vastness, and to comprehend the adage: "Ex pede Her-

culem." But, giant as he was, he was inoffensive to his pupils, and not only kind, but apt and skillful, in indoctrinating them with the fundamental principles of Arithmetic and Grammar. In company with Mr. Philips, he afterwards kept a commercial and classical school in the village, next for many years carried on a similar and highly successful one in the city of Buffalo. He died a respected citizen of that place.

Other English teachers were Mr. Bartlett's brother Dudley, less of a scholar than his chief, but an adept in penmanship and in book-keeping, and convenient as his treasurer, steward and factotum; his brother-in-law, Mr. Warring, best remembered for his motherly wife, and whose sons have themselves since had success as heads of boarding schools; James Walker, whose promise of a useful career was cut short by an early death, and others. There were also French and drawing masters, and a master for would-be performers on the flute.

There was no established curriculum of study, the choice being mostly left with the parents. In quality, the teaching was quite equal to that of the other advanced schools of the State which were cotemporary with this one, though not as good as that which they now supply, excepting only in the department of natural science, in which even at the present day it has few superiors. Among the studies in English, spelling and reading may be specially mentioned as receiving thorough attention, and with an unusual degree of success. Besides the daily lessons in spelling, opposing classes were frequently formed, the components of each being chosen by two leading experts from the rest of the school. This excited to rivalry and quickened the ambition for excellence. Webster supplied the speller in use, and reading was done from the old English reader of Murray, directed by much care and attention on the part of the teacher. English grammar formed a drill for the students of English, but for those who studied the ancient, *their* grammars were deemed an ample equipment for modern speakers and writers. Arithmetic, it can not be said, was exhaustively handled; rules were committed whereby sums were successfully worked, but faint conception was gotten of the principles which established these rules. Pike and Daboll had, ere this, gone to rest, and Adams was the author relied on. As for the book "intellectual," I well remember the first copies that made their appearance. My own never got dog-eared. Besides hobbling through two dozen pages or so of these "sums in the head," the most that I gained from it was the assurance conveyed in the preface, set in very big capitals, that "WHAT MAN HAS DONE MAN MAY DO,"

which means, I presume, that as there have been Zerah Colburns and other arithmetical prodigies in the past, so may others arise in the future—fact though it may be, yet of small purport to the less exceptional of the race. Geography, civil, not physical, was studied of course, but of the world's political changes, as well of the course of its history, Ancient European or even American, the barest outlines alone were imparted. There were exercises in composition and in elocution, but no lessons were learned in rhetoric or English literature; nor was thère instruction in physiology, or in philosophy, natural, mental or moral. It was the grammar of Adams, likewise, Adams of Edinburgh, not him of America, which was in the hands of all the scholars in Latin. From this they were put into the Historia Sacra or the Latin lessons, and, while still plying the grammar were advanced by degrees through Cæsar and two or three of the orations of Cicero to Virgil Delphini or the edition of Cooper. For learners in Greek, Goodrich and Valpy furnished the grammars made use of, and the "Lessons" were the stepping stones by which they progressed to the Græca Minora and Homer. As for composing in either of these languages, it never was thought of; they were *dead* beyond a doubt, and no Arnold had yet appeared to assist in their resurrection. Both in Latin and Greek, prosody was, I fear, too little insisted on, and scanning too often caught up as a trick of the ear. Ponies were unknown, nor were there classical maps, models, diagrams, illustrative prints and historical comments as at present. Was it a fault of the teaching or was it due to the incapacity of the pupil that his imagination was not enkindled by the poetry and eloquence of the classical authors he studied, or his taste delighted by the sweetness and smoothness, the terseness and point of their expression? We prefer to impute it rather to juvenile dullness than defective instruction, since we know there was no lack of sense of these beauties on the part of the teacher nor of an inclination to discourse upon them to ears however indifferent and inattentive.

An able committee of gentlemen who reported upon an examination of the school which they attended in June, 1828, and of whom six of the nine had been nurtured in college, were pleased to say that: "The plan of this institution and the mode of instruction appear to us to equal if not to surpass, any with which we are acquainted." Had these gentlemen been familiar with the very best of the then-existing schools of New England, it may be questioned whether they would have accorded such unqualified praise to this one. For good, though it was as contrasted with

those of its neighborhood, it was not unsurpassed by some of its cotemporaries, and fell short of the excellence of very many modern schools. Yet of its small proportion of candidates for college some became high-oration men, and the majority maintained a respectable rank; while of those who fitted for business most were competent and useful in the posts they occupied.

Besides the annual examinations there were exhibitions too, which were held in one of the churches of the village, when the pupils displayed themselves in declamation and other exercises to crowds of indulgent friends. It is curious to observe that an extant programme of one of these displays appears in some instances to reveal both the natural bent and the eventual standing of the respective speakers, so much do the selections chosen accord with the subsequent career of these youthful orators. But in other cases it does not seem equally evident that "the child is father to the man;" since in the cast of a colloquy entitled the Conjuror, which was enacted by some of these High School boys, I find that Hon. John F. Seymour figured as Aunt Betty Wrinkle, the late Judge Johnson was Mr. Bluster, and Professor Dana of New Haven was only Jack.

The morals as well as the manners of the school were carefully looked after, and but a small proportion of those here educated were subsequently the victims of evil habits. This supervision was extended to the play-ground, to the dining and sleeping rooms as well as the school room. At table a matron sat at one end and the principal at the other, the teachers being interspersed with the scholars, and any breach of decorum was instantly checked, or punished if gross, by a mark, for future atonement. The fare was not altogether such as the boys' parents would have been contented to live on; yet it was of a grade quite as good as that of most other Dotheboys halls. If it was not a Delmonico's in luxurious elegance, it was very far from being a Shepherd's Fold in starving scantiness. When the conventional hash was pressed upon them with true boarding-house frequency, complaints were silenced by the assurance of one of their superiors that hash was "an excellent beverage." Of a still more watery consistence was the once-desiccated cod that was at times served up for breakfast in bits which swam in an unusual allowance of fluid; so that Breese was fully justified in asking, as he extended his plate to the professor of chemistry, that the latter would be pleased to help him to more of "the codfish in solution." An imperfect settling of the coffee, or the too-frequent recurrence of salt fish for breakfast, was visited upon the cook with the malediction:

"Ann Jones, Ann Jones,
Fish skins and mack'rel bones."

The dining room was at first in the basement of the principal building, but, when a new school-house was erected, an additional story was put on the old one which was now used for a dining hall, its first story being devoted to the kitchen and laundry.

This old school-house, how the memory of it brings back incidents of the past! among others, of the spelling class twice sent back to their seats for an unconned lesson, all of them failing to get over the word *parallel*, and of one sulky member of it in particular, who refused further study and sat in moody idleness, which, when the master's rawhide was brought down upon his desk with resounding vehemence coupled with an intimation of a still more sensitive application of it, so inflamed the wrath of this high-tempered youth that he took occasion at the next recess to slip away from the premises altogether, and for a fortnight became the object of most anxious search to principal and to parent. He was found at last—his *parallel* still incomplete—husking corn for a neighboring farmer. Poor Platt! a plucky but a wayward boy, he went afterwards to sea as a common sailor, got into the Texan navy, and fell at last in the distant province of Yucatan, a victim to the code of honor.

I remember, too, how the school was startled one morning by the descent of a blinding cloud of dust and plaster that came down in its midst, with the prospect of a still more startling human shower to follow. The half-story over head was without a floor and used only as a lumber and drying room. The only way to its stairs was along the length of the school room. One of the maids, had gone up to it before school hours with a basket of clothes from the wash tub, and was hanging them up to dry, when she incautiously stepped from a joist upon the frail plastered ceiling, and in a moment, was suspended a helpless spectacle, between the upper and the nether flight.

What shall I relate of incidents of the play-ground and its occupants that would be in any wise characteristic of this play-ground or these especial players? When and where have there been boys who did not delight in ball, in marbles and in kites, in racing and in wrestling, and in other sports of the yard and the field, or in pomp and prisoner's base as they glided, skate-shod, over some extended glassy plain? I may mention that it was on the play-ground that the chemical professor, in the presence of the assembled school and a group of invited guests, gave the nitrous oxide

to some six or eight of his class. As he successively choked off the eager and bewildered sucklings, how variously they were affected! to one it was in truth a laughing gas, while another it dissolved in tears, one broke forth in glowing eloquence, another in affecting terms apostrophized his Dulcinea, the hidden treasure of his heart, and yet another, like a maddened bull, burst through all restraint and with aggressive rage drove his companions, helter skelter, from the field. Shall I tell of some of the scenes of shame enacted here? as of the fierce encounter that was once waged between two Virginian brothers of the school, slips from the early cavalier stock of the Old Dominion, and waged so desperately that the united efforts of two of the teachers were hardly able to quell it? Turning outward from the premises, shall I recount the insults received from the urchins of the village, when a squad of Mr. Bartlett's boys in blue made an appearance within their range; or the equally ungenerous attacks they themselves made on the country lads who went by their grounds in coming to or going from the town? No! let us pass all this, for boys are apt to be quarrelsome and cruel, and the tormented easily become tormentors, as slaves have proved themselves the worst of tyrants.

The new school house stood on the further side of the playground, some hundred feet east of the original mansion, with a north and south direction. It was not far in advance of a great barn—the old barn still so redolent of precious memories of the fun it yielded. This new 'school-house was three stories in height, two of them of wood, resting on a high basement of brick. It had entrances on each side to the rooms below, and stairways leading to the story above. These lower rooms were designed to be used by the boys when not on duty in school or absent at play, where they were sheltered in bad weather and where they stored their effects. The story above contained the school room and four apartments for recitations, one in each corner. The third story was one large dormitory, a small chamber only being set off from it for the master's own use, from which he saw his flock housed for the night and rang them from their slumbers in the morning. When, at a later date, still another building was put up for school purposes, for Mr. Bartlett was given to novelties and change, the one last described was converted into apartments devoted to lodging and sleeping. As this latter was now arranged, a very narrow central hall, barely wide enough for the passage of one person, traversed each of the stories from end to end between rows of rooms on the sides, but had no communication with either, except by a small curtained window, four by six inches in size, that was set in the

wall of each. It terminated, in one of the stories, in the sanctum of the principal, at the rear end of the building, whence stairways upward and downward reached to the hall-ways above and below; thus he alone had access to them, controlled the coverings of the windows, and, by means of these loopholes, could oversee the occupants unbeknown to themselves. Of these occupants every room had two. Privacy was out of the question, since none knew when the slippered step was approaching, or the uncovered eye directed upon him.

The later built school house was still more unique in its character. In plan and internal arrangement it was copied from the academy at Lowville, though its exterior might, in one aspect, have seemed an imitation of the Pantheon at Rome. It stood farther eastward than the former ones and a little in advance of them, was of brick, of the height of two stories, but consisting of only one room; was semi-circular in form and with its flat side and entrances toward the street. Around the inside of the whole half-circle were ranged two series of stalls, one above the other, and wide enough for a single desk in each. Here sat the students with their faces toward the wall, completely shut off from their neighbors by a wooden partition, and visible only to the master, who, like a spider in the middle of his web, occupied the centre of the opposite front. Under espionage so complete all communication was impossible; the boy might be dreamy and indolent, he could not play with his fellows. Between the school room and the lodging rooms boys were surely never held in firmer grip.

These peculiar constructions reveal the least attractive of Mr. Bartlett's traits, and those which were especially repulsive to his pupils. For although he was a diligent and careful teacher, though he aimed to be honorable himself, and to imbue his boys with principles of manliness and virtue, and though he really felt a deep interest in the well-doing of all of them, he showed too little confidence in their integrity, and so failed to secure their own in his. He seemed wanting in that considerate toleration of the thoughtlessness of youth, that trust in their future which formed such loveable features in the character of the good doctor of Rugby, who, as Tom Brown said, "does really treat one openly and like a gentleman, and as though one was working with him." And yet, after all, it must be admitted that Mr. Bartlett was not wholly singular in his ideas or in the modes of their manifestation; to some extent they were the product of the time. Moreover, if suspicious and untrustful, he was just in his requirements, and firm and consistent in the exercise of them, so that though he lacked the spontaneous and unlimited

respect of his pupils, he secured, at least, their obedience. And, finally, if he lacked the highest grade of scholarship himself, he could rightly estimate its value in others; he knew what good teaching should be and provided his institution with the best that could be obtained.

The whole number of boys educated at the High School I am unable to state. There was an average annual attendance of upwards of forty, of whom some remained four or five years, the most for a shorter period. The larger number of them were from Utica, but they were present from various parts of the State, as well as from Connecticut, Michigan, North Carolina, Virginia, &c.

Among those who became more or less distinguished were the two eminent professors of Yale College, James D. Dana the naturalist, and S. Wells Williams the Chinese scholar; the late Alexander S. Johnson, Judge of the Court of Appeals of this State, and afterward Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, the late Morris S. Miller, Brev. Brig. Gen., U. S. A.; and his brother, the late John B. Miller, consul at Hamburg; the late Lewis Cass, Jr., chargé and then minister at the court of Rome; the late W. F. Williams, missionary in Turkey; and the late Isaac Smith, inventor of a process for the condensation of milk. Former pupils of the school now living in Utica are John F. Seymour, Edward S. Brayton, Thomas W. and Alexander Seward, Erastus Clark, Arthur M. Beardsley, and Theodore Pomeroy.

A fire which, in the year 1835, destroyed the second of the school structures—the one which was at that time used for lodging and recitations—caused the disruption of the establishment, and so far embarassed the principal, who was never quite at ease in his finances, that he abandoned the field. Removing to Poughkeepsie, and his reputation going with him, he there set up what he termed the College Hill School, which was soon a flourishing seminary, and which he continued until his death.

His wife, a large, stylish, lady-like person, and who had proved a most useful companion and help-mate during his later career in Utica, was one of the one hundred and seventy passengers who perished in the burning of the ill-starred Henry Clay on its trip from Albany to New York in October 1852. Mr. Bartlett survived a few years longer, and was married again.

The school house which he last used here, too unpractical in form to be of service for any other purpose, stood for some years dilapidated. And when it was torn down, there was left nothing of the Utica Gymnasium but the original and now degraded mansion of Dr. Wolcott.

ANNOTATED LIST OF

THE BIRDS OF ONEIDA COUNTY, NEW YORK, AND OF ITS IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

[Read before the Society April 26, 1886.]

WITH THE ADDITION OF OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING THE BREEDING SEASON OF 1886.

BY WILLIAM L. RALPH, M. D., AND
EGBERT BAGG,
Associate Member A. O. U.

The location of the County of Oneida is of first importance when considering its Bird Fauna. Almost in the centre of the State of New York, of irregular outline, approaching in shape a heart, with one lobe resting on Oneida Lake, the other in the great northern wilderness, and the point far down toward the head-waters of the Susquehanna, it is on the very edge of the great island which ages ago rose above the continental sea in northern New York; and from the Eozoic in the northeast corner, a line drawn in a southerly direction across the County, cuts outcroppings of almost all the rocks, through the Lower Silurian, the Upper Silurian, and as far as the Portage and Chemung Groups in the Devonian.

It is traversed from east to west by a broad and fertile valley, containing the head-waters of the Mohawk and of Wood Creek, and between them the old "carry" of the early boatmen; the summit between the Hudson and the Great Lakes. From this valley the ground rises into gentle hills in both directions, only to fall away again to the sources of the Black River on the north and of the Chenango and the Unadilla on the south. Thus the County contains the sources of rivers flowing to all four points of the compass. The Black river to the north, the Oneida to the west; both finding their way through the St. Lawrence to the Atlantic. The Mohawk to the east, and the Chenango and Unadilla to the south; the former through the Hudson, and the latter through the Susquehanna, reaching the same destination.

The rain fall, though we are unable to give the figures, is large, and the temperature is not only low in average, but is extremely

variable, especially in winter; changes of sixty degrees Fahrenheit within twenty-four hours occurring in almost every season.

In a general way, the climate may be said to be favorable to a heavy growth of timber, and in fact of all vegetation; but with the exception of the northern part of the County, the soil is cultivated so completely that but little of the native forest remains. With such location, topography and climate, we should naturally expect to find the fauna "Canadian" rather than "Alleghanian," especially when we observe in our woods the absence of the tulip and the chestnut, common in the same parallel of latitude a short distance west of us; and we miss the whistle of "Bob White," and the mournful call of the "Common Dove," which are not uncommon sounds a comparatively few miles away.

Instead, our woods are largely made up of maple, beech and conifers, and we find breeding within our limits, such strictly Canadian birds as the Golden-eye Duck, the White-throated Sparrow, the Canadian Fly-catching Warbler, the Winter Wren, and both the Hermit and Swainson's Thrushes. The list, however, shows some birds far removed from "Canadian," and perhaps further investigation in the southern part of the County might add more.

We beg to acknowledge our obligations to C. Hart Merriam, M. D., of the Division of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy, U. S. Department of Agriculture, who kindly reviewed the list while in the rough, and made several valuable additions; to Messrs. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, and A. Ames Howlett, of Syracuse, for information regarding the occurrence of birds at Oneida Lake; and to several others, who are properly credited in the appropriate places.

The list is not put forth as complete. It is the work of several years, but there are many parts of the County which we have scarcely visited.

We have included quite a number of birds for which we have no positive Oneida County record, having found them in the neighboring counties, and having no doubt of their occurrence in this. In all such cases we give the location of the record, and to cover such extra-limital records we have called this paper "A List of the Birds of Oneida County and its Immediate Vicinity." Only those birds are given as breeding, for which we have positive records, though it may fairly be assumed that all those given as "summer residents" nest.

We submit the list to our bird-loving friends, for what it is worth, only adding in conclusion, that every item of which we have not personal knowledge, is so given, with our authority; and that our principal effort has been, not to make the list as large as possible, but to make it positively accurate.

WILLIAM L. RALPH, M. D.,
EGBERT BAGG.

UTICA, N. Y., September 1st, 1886.

LIST.

1. Colymbus holbœllii (REINH.). 2.

Holbœll's Grebe.

A female, taken out of a flock of five or six, on the Mohawk in 1867.

2. Colymbus auritus LINN. 3.

Horned Grebe.

A not uncommon migrant. "Common in Lewis, Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, in fall migrations."—(*Merriam.*)

3. Podilymbus podiceps (LINN.). 6.

Pied-billed Grebe.

Not uncommon. See Galinula galeata.

4. Urinator imber (GUNN.). 7.

Loon.

Common at Oneida Lake. One taken near Utica. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds.

5. Stercorarius parasiticus (Linn.). 37.

Parasitic Jaeger.

A young specimen of this bird was taken August 22, 1886, on Joe's Lake, Herkimer County, by Mr. W. P. Shepard. The bird was seen to alight on the lake, and apparently exhausted with a long journey, allowed itself to be approached in a boat and killed with a paddle.

6. Larus argentatus smithsonianus Coues. 51*a*.

American Herring Gull.

Occurs occasionally throughout the County. A common migrant at Oneida Lake. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties; breeding occasionally at Joe's Lake; and almost always up to a few years ago, on Canachagala Lake, in large numbers; and for many years on the West Canada Lakes.

7. Larus philadelphia (Ord). 60.

Bonaparte's Gull.

A common migrant at Oneida Lake, where the local name is "Black head gull." Eight of these birds out of a flock of about fifty were killed on the Utica Water Works Reservoir in 1879.

8. Sterna hirundo Linn. 70.

Common Tern.

Of rare occurrence on Oneida Lake. In the spring of 1885 one was killed at Upper South Bay by Mr. Henry Loftie, who has the bird mounted and preserved. Mr. George D. Chapin of the same place, also reports the bird as seen, being very tame, and following the boat for quite a long time.

9. Sterna antillarum (Less.). 74.

Least Tern.

Mr. F. J. Davis killed a bird of this species on the "Capron Pond," so called, in town of New Hartford, a few years ago.

10. Hydrochelidon nigra surinamensis (GMEL.). 77.

Black Tern.

Several observed in the fall of 1885 at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse; though he did not secure them, he is familiar with the species, and thinks there can be no mistake. As they have been killed on Onondaga Lake there is no reasonable doubt of this identification.

11. Phalacrocorax carbo (LINN.). 119.

Cormorant.

One killed at Oneida Lake, was mounted by A. L. Brainard, of Oneida. The Rathbun-Fowler List, published at Auburn, records one killed at "Upper South Bay," Oneida Lake, by Mr. Edward H. Mann, of Syracuse, N. Y., which is mounted and preserved in the rooms of the Onondaga Sportsmen's Club of that city.

12. Merganser americanus (CASS.). 129.

American Merganser.

A not uncommon migrant.

13. Merganser serrator (LINN.). 130.

Red-breasted Merganser.

"A common summer resident throughout the Adirondacks. Much more abundant than the Sheldrake."—(*Merriam.*)

14. Lophodytes cucullatus (LINN.). 131.

Hooded Merganser.

A common migrant.

15. Anas boschas LINN. 132.

Mallard.

A common migrant.

16. Anas obscura Gmel. 133.

Black Duck.

A common migrant. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, breeding more plentifully than any other Duck.

17. Anas strepera Linn. 135.

Gadwall.

Two killed April, 1884, and one October, 1885, at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse, and several killed at the same place by Mr. N. Wood, of Brewerton.

18. Anas americana Gmel. 137.

Baldpate.

"A not uncommon migrant."—(*Howlett.*)

19. Anas carolinensis Gmelin. 139.

Green-winged Teal.

A common migrant.

20. Anas discors Linn. 140.

Blue-winged Teal.

A common migrant. A few probably breed, as quite young birds are occasionally shot.

21. Spatula clypeata (Linn.). 142.

Shoveller.

One shot and another seen near Utica, April 19th, 1884. Two killed September, 1879, at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett.

22. Dafila acuta (Linn.). 143.

Pintail.

A common migrant.

23. Aix sponsa (Linn.). 144.

Wood Duck.

A common migrant. "A few remain to breed near Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard.*)

24. Aythya americana (Eyt.). 146.

Redhead.

A migrant at Oneida Lake. A female shot near Utica.

25. Aythya vallisneria (Wils.). 147.

Canvas-back.

A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, has mounted one specimen killed at the Lake.

26. Aythya marila nearctica Stejn. 148.

American Scaup Duck.

A common migrant.

27. Aythya affinis (Eyt.). 149.

Lesser Scaup Duck.

Migrant; more common than the preceding.

28. Glaucionetta clangula americana (Bonap.). 151.

American Golden-eye.

A common migrant. Summer resident in Hamilton County. Broods of young birds were seen in June, 1878 and 1879.

29. Charitonetta albeola (LINN.). 153.

Buffle-head.

A common migrant.

30. Clangula hyemalis (LINN.). 154.

Old-squaw.

A rare migrant. One taken at Utica October 27th, 1881.

31. Somateria spectabilis (LINN.). 162.

King Eider.

"A rare migrant. Several have been killed on Oneida Lake." (*Brainard.*)

32. Oidemia americana SW. & RICH. 163.

American Scoter.

Occurs occasionally. "Shot at Lyons Falls and in the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

33. Oidemia deglandi BONAP. 165.

White-winged Scoter.

Two taken at Utica in the fall of 1881. Common at Oneida Lake.

34. Oidemia perspicillata (LINN.). 166.

Surf Scoter.

A specimen of this bird in the possession of Mr. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, was killed at the lake in the fall of 1884.

35. Erismatura rubida (Wils.). 167.

Ruddy Duck.

"Rather common migrant at Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard and Howlett.*)

36. Branta canadensis (Linn.). 172.

Canada Goose.

A common migrant.

37. Olor columbianus (Ord). 180.

Whistling Swan.

DeKay, in the Natural History of New York, Part II, says: "In the uninhabited regions of Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, in this State, this species, as I was informed by trustworthy hunters, remains during the whole year, where it must necessarily breed. The outlet of Lake Paskungameh, or Tupper's Lake, was specified as a spot to which they were particularly attached." Several swans, undoubtedly this species, have been killed on Oneida Lake.

38. Botaurus lentiginosus (Montag.). 190.

American Bittern.

A common summer resident.

39. Ardea herodias Linn. 194.

Great Blue Heron.

A common summer resident. "Breeds near the western end of Oneida Lake."—(*Northrup in Ornithologist and Oölogist, Vol. X, Page* 11.)

40. Ardea egretta Gmel. 196.

American Egert.

A specimen of this handsome bird, a straggler from the South, was taken by Mr. A. H. Eysaman, of Eatonville, N. Y., in the spring of 1882, in the town of Herkimer, Herkimer County. He reports that there were six of these birds in a flock, and that they remained in the vicinity about a month, but only one was secured. The bird was mounted and preserved. Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, of Utica, mounted a specimen several years ago, which was killed in the town of Deerfield, on the river flats.

41. Ardea virescens Linn. 201.

Green Heron.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

42. Nycticorax nycticorax nævius (Bodd.). 202.

Black-crowned Night Heron.

A young female shot near Utica, August 12th, 1878. Mr. A L. Brainard, of Oneida, also had a young bird brought to him to mount.

43. Grus mexicana (Müll.). 206.

Sandhill Crane.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted for a Mr. Catwell, of New York Mills, a specimen of this bird, which was taken in that village in the year 1873.

44. Rallus virginianus Linn. 212.

Virginia Rail.

Not uncommon.

45. Porzana carolina (LINN.). 214.

Sora.

A summer resident. Breeds. More common during migrations.

46. Porzana noveboracensis (GMEL.). 215.

Yellow Rail.

One taken near Utica October 3d, 1883.

47. Gallinula galeata (LICHT.). 219.

Florida Gallinule.

Two have been taken near Utica. Occasional at Oneida Lake. Very common on the marshes of the Seneca River, where they are called "Water chickens," and where they breed in great numbers. June 4th, 1879, a nest was found containing four eggs. June 5th, at eleven A. M., it contained six eggs. The same day at five P. M., there were nine eggs, when the female, or one of them, was killed. The same month an old bird, followed by a brood of young, was observed leaving her nest, which on examination was found to contain one egg of this species and two of the Podilymbus podiceps, all with chicks peeping in them. It was impossible to distinguish which of the two species the old bird was; but from these observations it seems positive that this bird not only shares its nest with its own species, but sometimes with the Grebe also.

48. Fulica americana GMEL. 221.

American Coot.

One taken at Utica. "Common at Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard.*)

49. Phalaropus lobatus (LINN.). 223.

Northern Phalarope.

Early in the spring of 1881, a specimen of this bird was taken in the town of Westmoreland, in this odd manner. It was first

observed swimming about like a duck, in a little pond made by the melting snow and the spring rain, and catching insects which were swimming on the surface of the water. The bird being a strange one to the gentleman who observed it, it was watched closely for some time, but as there was no means at hand to capture it, the gentleman finally went about his work, which was near at hand, till his attention was again attracted by the loud outcries of the bird; and on hastening to the pond he found that the bird had been kindly captured for him by a large bullfrog, which was trying to swallow it. He killed the frog and secured the bird, which shortly died from the rough treatment it had received. It was then presented to Mrs. M. T. Brown, of Hecla, who mounted it herself and preserved it.

50. Phalaropus tricolor (Vieill.). 224.

Wilson's Phalarope.

A specimen of this bird was shot near the eastern end of Oneida Lake, October 6th, 1883, by Mr. Morgan K. Barnum, of Syracuse. When first observed the bird was swimming upon the surface of the Lake.

51. Philohela minor (Gmel.). 228.

American Woodcock.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

52. Gallinago delicata (Ord). 230.

Wilson's Snipe.

A common migrant; not so abundant as formerly.

53. Macrorhamphus griseus (Gmel.). 231.

Dowitcher.

Two birds of this species were shot near the eastern end of Oneida Lake, September 22d, 1883, by Mr. Morgan K. Barnum of

Syracuse. The same day he is confident he saw a flock of this snipe, containing, as well as he could judge, about fifteen. The two killed were single birds. Two shot at Oneida Lake, in 1880, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

54. Tringa maculata VIEILL. 239.

Pectoral Sandpiper.

Quite common at times during migrations.

55. Tringa fuscicollis VIEILL. 240.

White-rumped Sandpiper.

Three taken at Utica, October 27th, 1881.

56. Tringa minutilla VIEILL. 242.

Least Sandpiper.

Several taken at Utica in the fall of 1881.

57. Tringa alpina pacifica (COUES). 243*a*.

Red-backed Sandpiper.

One taken at Utica, October 27th, 1881. Several at Oneida Lake, October 5th, 1881.

58. Ereunetes pusillus (LINN.). 246.

Semipalmated Sandpiper.

Common at Oneida Lake during migrations.

59. Calidris arenaria (LINN.). 248.

Sanderling.

Common at Oneida Lake during migrations.

60. Totanus melanoleucus (GMEL.). 254.

Greater Yellow-legs.

Not uncommon during migrations.

61. Totanus flavipes (GMEL.). 255.

Yellow-legs.

A common migrant.

62. Totanus solitarius (WILS.). 256.

Solitary Sandpiper.

A common migrant; remaining till quite late in the spring. A pair taken May 15th, 1874.

63. Bartramia longicauda (BECHST.). 261.

Bartramian Sandpiper.

A rather common summer resident. Breeds.

64. Actitis macularia (LINN.). 263.

Spotted Sandpiper.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

65. Numenius longirostris WILS. 264.

Long-billed Curlew.

Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse, reports, that October 5th, 1880, at Oneida Lake, a flock passed near enough to give him a shot, and though he did not secure any, he is positive of their identification, being familiar with them and with the other curlews.

66. Charadrius squatarola (LINN.). 270.

Black-bellied Plover.

Three taken at Oneida Lake in September, 1879, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

67. Charadrius dominicus MÜLL. 272.

American Golden Plover.

A common migrant at Oneida Lake.

68. Ægialitis vocifera (LINN.). 273.

Killdeer.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

69. Ægialitis semipalmata BONAP. 274.

Semipalmated Plover.

Common on Oneida Lake during migrations.

70. Ægialitis wilsonia (ORD). 280.

Wilson's Plover.

One shot near Upper South Bay, Oneida Lake, in 1880, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

71. Arenaria interpres (Linn.). 283.

Turnstone.

One of this species in the possession of Mr. Maxon, of Oneida, was killed at Verona several years ago.

72. Dendragapus canadensis (Linn.). 298.

Canada Grouse.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted a pair of these birds killed in the town of Greig, Lewis County.

73. Bonasa umbellus (Linn.). 300.

Ruffed Grouse.

A common resident. Breeds.

74. Lagopus lagopus (Linn.). 301.

Willow Ptarmigan.

"Mr. Romeyn B. Hough has a specimen of this species that was killed in the town of Watson, on the eastern border of Lewis County, May 22d, 1876."—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

75. Ectopistes migratorius (Linn.). 315.

Passenger Pigeon.

A common migrant till within a few years, but is now less common than formerly. Breeds in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties.

76. Zenaidura macroura (Linn.). 316.

Mourning Dove.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, of Utica, report that they mounted a specimen of this bird, some time ago, which was killed in Herkimer County.

77. Cathartes aura. (Linn.). 325.

Turkey Vulture.

In May, 1879, Mr. Lavello J. Groves, of Westmoreland, shot a bird of this species in that Town, and had it mounted and preserved. When first seen the bird was in company with three others, in a small grove. (*Recorded*, *Auk. Vol. II, page* 109.)

78. Circus hudsonius (Linn.). 331.

Marsh Hawk.

A few seen every year. The birds have been seen on Frankfort Hill during breeding season, and a farmer residing there, reports that while mowing, his machine cut off the heads of two young hawks in a nest on the ground. These could have been nothing but this species.

79. Accipiter velox (Wils.). 332.

Sharp-shinned Hawk.

Seen occasionally. Breeds. A nest taken on Frankfort Hill a few years ago. Two young birds shot September 18th, 1879.

80. Accipiter cooperi (Bonap.). 333.

Cooper's Hawk.

Quite common in some parts of the County. Breeds.

81. Accipiter atricapillus (Wils.). 334.

American Goshawk.

A specimen of this bird was shot by the late George H. Ferris, on the Deerfield Hills some years ago. He was hunting grouse in the thick brush and wearing a fur cap, when the hawk, undoubtedly mistaking this head covering for some small animal, swooped upon it; but discovered its mistake before striking, and swerving to one side, passed close to Mr. Ferris' head, and rising among the trees, immediately lit, and was shot from its perch. The bird was mounted and preserved.

82. Buteo borealis (Gmel.). 337.

Red-tailed Hawk.

Common. Breeds.

83. Buteo lineatus (Gmel.). 339.

Red-shouldered Hawk.

By far the most common of our Hawks. Breeding plentifully.

84. Buteo latissimus (Wils.). 343.

Broad-winged Hawk.

Not common. Breeds. Nest taken April 24th, 1883, by Dr. Langworthy, of New Hartford, in that Town.

85. Archibuteo lagopus sancti-johannis (Gmel.). 347*a*.

American Rough-legged Hawk.

Not uncommon spring and fall.

86. Aquila chrysaëtos (LINN.). 349.

Golden Eagle.

A fine specimen of this magnificent bird was shot near Frankfort, Herkimer County, October 23d, 1885.

87. Haliæetus leucocephalus (LINN.). 352.

Bald Eagle.

A common resident on Oneida Lake.

88. Falco columbarius LINN. 357.

Pigeon Hawk.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, state that they have had several birds of this species to mount during spring and fall.

89. Falco sparverius LINN. 360.

American Sparrow Hawk.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

90. Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis (GMEL.). 364.

American Osprey.

Not uncommon.

91. Asio wilsonianus (LESS.). 366.

American Long-eared Owl.

A common resident. Breeds.

92. Asio accipitrinus (PALL.). 367.

Short-eared Owl.

Not uncommon spring and fall. A few taken near Utica every year.

93. Syrnium nebulosum (FORST.). 368.

Barred Owl.

A not uncommon resident. One flew against a gentleman in one of the streets of the closely built part of this city, grasping his clothes with its claws, was struck down with his fist and killed with a stone. This may have been a wounded bird which had escaped from confinement, but even if that were the case, the object of the attack, if it can be so called, is a mystery.

94. Ulula cinerea (GMEL.). 370.

Great Gray Owl.

"A rare straggler from the North."—(*Merriam.*)

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted a specimen of this owl, killed in the town of Marcy, in February, 1875.

95. Nyctala acadica (GMEL.). 372.

Saw-whet Owl.

This interesting little owl is not very uncommon in some parts of the County. In the neighborhood of Holland Patent, seven or eight individuals have been under careful surveillance this spring (1886). The result of a good deal of hard work in exceedingly unpleasant weather, has been the finding of four nests. The first was found March 12th, at which time it contained nothing; was visited again March 25th—still empty. But on April 5th it contained six eggs. Being left till the seventh, the complement was found to be seven eggs. It was situated in high and dry woods of hardwood timber, with a few hemlocks, about five rods from the

open field, in a deserted woodpecker's hole in a dead maple stub, twenty-two feet from the ground. This hole had been left by the original woodpeckers at least two seasons, for in 1885 it contained a nest of flying squirrels. The entrance was round, and about two inches in diameter, just such a size that the head of the bird exactly filled it, so that as she looked out, she presented very much the appearance of an owl's face fastened against the side of the stub. The hole was a foot deep, and eight inches in diameter at the bottom. There was no nest except small chips of rotten wood and a few owl's feathers. The bird would not leave the nest till she was threatened with the hand several times, and then flew into the nearest tree (a small hemlock), and sat there without moving during all the time that her visitors remained, (about three-quarters of an hour), and no sooner was the stub left, than she flew back again. The eggs were pure white, nearly the same size at each end, and averaged 1.16 x 0.97 inches. They were variously advanced in incubation, though of course none were very far along. The consistency of the albumen was particularly viscid, and the yolk small and light colored.

The second nest was found near Holland Patent, April 21st, 1886, in a woodpecker's hole in a stub, forty feet from the ground, contained five young, and one egg just on the point of hatching.

The third nest was found the same day about half a mile below Trenton Falls, near the West Canada Creek, in an old woodpecker's hole in a stub, twenty feet from the ground. The hole was nine inches deep, and nine inches across inside, lined with a few feathers, birch leaves and chips. It contained seven eggs, nearly hatched, measuring .97 x 1.18, .98 x 1.18, .98 x 1.24, .98 x 1.24, .98 x 1.25, .99 x 1.21, 1.00 x 1.23. The bird was taken alive from the nest.

The fourth nest was found April 30th, 1886, about one mile north of Gang Mills, Herkimer County, in a deserted woodpecker's hole in a stub, fifty feet from the ground, in a swamp, and contained seven eggs on the point of hatching.

96. Megascops asio (Linn.). 373.

Screech Owl.

Not uncommon. Breeds.

97. Bubo virginianus (Gmel.). 375.

Great Horned Owl.

Not uncommon. Breeds.

98. Nyctea nyctea (Linn.). 376.

Snowy Owl.

A not uncommon winter visitant.

99. Surnia ulula caparoch (Müll.). 377*a*.

American Hawk Owl.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, of Utica, have in their possession a mounted specimen of this owl, which was killed at Clark's Mills in the winter of 1885.

100. Coccyzus americanus (Linn.). 387.

Yellow-billed Cuckoo.

A rare summer resident. Breeds. Nest taken in New Hartford, July, 1884, by Dr. Langworthy, of that Town.

101. Coccyzus erythrophthalmus (Wils.). 388.

Black-billed Cuckoo.

A common summer resident. Breeds. This species shows its relationship to its more famous European cousin by occasionally depositing an egg in the nest of some other bird. This has been recorded by several observers in different parts of the country, and we have one record for this County. On July 10th, 1874, a nest of the Cedar Bird (Ampelis cedrorum) was taken in New Hartford which contained four eggs of the owner and one of this parasite. The nest was deserted, and apparently had been for some time; nor could it be discovered that incubation had commenced; certainly it had not in the Cuckoo's egg. (*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. II, page* 110.)

102. Ceryle alcyon (Linn.). 390.

Belted Kingfisher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

103. Dryobates villosus (Linn.). 393.

Hairy Woodpecker.

A rather common resident. Breeds.

104. Dryobates pubescens (Linn.). 394.

Downy Woodpecker.

A common resident. Breeds.

105. Picoides arcticus (Swains.). 400.

Arctic Three-toed Woodpecker.

Common in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. "Eggs taken." —(*Merriam.*)

106. Picoides americanus Brehm. 401.

American Three-toed Woodpecker.

A not uncommon resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties.

107. Sphyrapicus varius (Linn.). 402.

Yellow-bellied Sapsucker.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

108. Ceophlœus pileatus (Linn.). 405.

Pileated Woodpecker.

Rather rare in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, but more common than formerly. Young bird shot August 17th, 1884.

109. Melanerpes erythrocephalus (Linn.). 406.

Red-headed Woodpecker.

A common summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken within the limits of the City of Utica.

110. Melanerpes carolinus (Linn.). 409.

Red-bellied Woodpecker.

"A rare straggler."—(*Merriam.*)

111. Colaptes auratus (Linn.). 412.

Flicker.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

112. Antrostomus vociferus (Wils.). 417.

Whip-poor-will.

Mr. J. P. Davis, of Utica, killed one of these birds in the northern part of the town of Russia, Herkimer County, and trustworthy residents of the same town, state that they are not uncommon there.

113. Chordeiles virginianus (Gmel.). 420.

Nighthawk.

A common summer resident.

114. Chætura pelagica (Linn.). 423.

Chimney Swift.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

115. Trochilus colubris Linn. 428.

Ruby-throated Hummingbird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

116. Tyrannus tyrannus (Linn.). 444.

Kingbird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

117. Myiarchus crinitus (Linn.). 452.

Crested Flycatcher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

118. Sayornis phœbe (Lath.). 456.

Phœbe.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

119. Contopus borealis (Swains.). 459.

Olive-sided Flycatcher.

Occurs during migrations. "Breeds in Herkimer, Hamilton and Eastern Lewis Counties."—(*Merriam.*)

120. Contopus virens (Linn.). 461.

Wood Pewee.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

121. Empidonax flaviventris Baird. 463.

Yellow-bellied Flycatcher.

A not common summer resident. Breeds. Nest and eggs taken at North Lake Reservoir, Herkimer County, June 24th, 1885. Eggs nearly hatched. Nest composed of fine grass, roots, leaf-bud scales of deciduous trees, and inner bark; lined with grass and fine black hair-like roots. It was sunk in a mossy bank, in the edge of thick, heavy timber. Measured: outside diameter, 3.50 inches; inside diameter, 2.50 inches; depth about 1.50 inches. The eggs were so far advanced as to make it impossible to save them, and therefore no measurements can be given.

122. Empidonax pusillus traillii (Aud.). 466*a*.

Traill's Flycatcher.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

123. Empidonax minimus Baird. 467.

Least Flycatcher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

124. Otocoris alpestris praticola Hensh. 474*b*.

Prairie Horned Lark.

Common in spring. Breeds. Mr. Fred. Davis took a nest in 1878. This bird has become comparatively common within a few years. In 1877 one was considered quite a rarity, since which time they have become more abundant yearly, until now they appear in the early spring in large flocks. One observed in March, 1885, numbered fifty, and was feeding on the seeds of weeds which rose above the snow, within the limits of the city of Utica.

125. Cyanocitta cristata (Linn.). 477.

Blue Jay.

A common resident. Breeds.

126. Perisoreus canadensis (Linn.). 484.

Canada Jay.

A common resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Young birds in the dark plumage, shot June 24th, 1880. They are very familiar and amusing about the camps in the Adirondacks, where they have various names, mostly significant of their sociable and bold character, as "Whiskey Jack," "Meat Hawk," "Moose Bird," &c.

127. Corvus corax sinuatus (Wagl.). 486.

American Raven.

A common resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, and in fact throughout the Adirondack region.

128. Corvus americanus Aud. 488.

American Crow.

Common all the year round. Breeds.

129. Dolichonyx oryzivorus (Linn.). 494.

Bobolink.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken some years ago contained four eggs, pale bluish gray, with a few blackish marks and scratches around the larger end. The bird was taken with the nest, and the eggs are still preserved.

130. Molothrus ater (Bódd.). 495.

Cowbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

131. Agelaius phœniceus (Linn.). 498.

Red-winged Blackbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

132. Sturnella magna (Linn.). 501.

Meadowlark.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Some remain till very late in the fall, often till quite winter weather.

133. Icterus galbula (Linn.). 507.

Baltimore Oriole.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

134. Scolecophagus carolinus (Müll.). 509.

Rusty Blackbird.

Several taken in the County. Breeds. Two nests taken May 7th and 20th, 1886, four miles north of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, N. Y. They were placed five feet from the ground, in spruce saplings, in open marsh, beside a pond, in the heavy timber: composed of hemlock twigs and grass, and lined with fine grasses, (some of which were green.) Eggs were four, pale green, faintly marked, as compared with others of the same family, with different shades of purplish brown, but not streaked. They measured 1.03 x .72, 1.03 x .74, 1.05 x .72, 1.06 x .74.

135. Quiscalus quiscula æneus (Ridgw.). 511*b*.

Bronzed Grackle.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

136. Pinicola enucleator (Linn.). 515.

Pine Grosbeak.

Winter visitor. Not very common.

137. Carpodacus purpureus (Gmel.). 517.

Purple Finch.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Sometimes winters.

138. Loxia curvirostra minor (Brehm). 521.

American Crossbill.

Seen occasionally in winter. Quite common as far south as Holland Patent during some summers. Very common in summer in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where they come in flocks around the hunters' camps and gather the crumbs literally from under the table.

139. Loxia leucoptera Gmel. 522.

White-winged Crossbill.

A winter visitor, but much less common than the preceding.

140. Acanthis linaria (Linn.). 528.

Redpoll.

A rare winter visitor.

141. Acanthis linaria rostrata (Coues). 528*b*.

Greater Redpoll.

Taken at Locust Grove, Lewis County, by C. H. Merriam, M. D.

142. Spinus tristis (Linn.). 529.

American Goldfinch.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. Occasionally winters.

143. Spinus pinus (Wils.). 533.

Pine Siskin.

Seen occasionally during migrations. "Sometimes breeds in great numbers along the outskirts of the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

144. Plectrophenax nivalis (Linn.). 534.

Snowflake.

A common winter visitor.

145. Pyrgita domestica Cuv. ***.

House Sparrow.

A common resident. Breeds; raising several broods of six young each in a season. The few which appeared here some years ago (coming from those introduced into New York), have increased to the hordes which now overrun the city, and have extended into the country about. They have driven our native insectivorous birds from their homes in our gardens, and have filled their places so effectually that there is no prospect of their ever returning, till the sparrows have been exterminated, or at the very least largely reduced in numbers. The sparrows have been able to do this, partly at least, by the assistance of mistaken lovers of birds, who have built them houses and spread food for their use. Thus directly encouraging a bird, undoubtedly injurious, and indirectly assailing the birds which are beneficial. That the public has gradually come to see its mistake there is no doubt, and the hope of the lovers of our native birds is, that deprived of protection and assistance, these foreign pirates may find it more difficult to maintain themselves in the future, and that when the public is fully educated on the subject, some strong measures may be taken to destroy them.

146. Poocætes gramineus (GMEL.). 540.

Vesper Sparrow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

147. Ammodramus sandwichensis savanna (WILS.). 542*a*.

Savanna sparrow.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

148. Ammodramus caudacutus nelsoni ALLEN. 549*a*.

Nelson's Sparrow.

A specimen of this rare sparrow was shot near Utica, October 12th 1883.

149. Zonotrichia leucophrys (FORST.). 554.

White-crowned Sparrow.

A not uncommon migrant.

150. Zonotrichia albicollis (GMEL.). 558.

White-throated Sparrow.

A common migrant. A few remain during the summer. Breeds. Nest and five eggs, somewhat advanced, taken June 16th, 1886, in Steuben.

151. Spizella monticola (GMEL.). 559.

Tree Sparrow.

A very common migrant.

152. Spizella socialis (Wils.). 560.

Chipping Sparrow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

153. Spizella pusilla (Wils.). 563.

Field Sparrow.

A summer resident. Breeds.

154. Junco hyemalis (Linn.). 567.

Slate-colored Junco.

A very common migrant. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. A nest taken June 28th, 1880, contained two perfectly fresh eggs and two nearly hatched.

155. Melospiza fasciata (Gmel.). 581.

Song Sparrow.

A very abundant summer resident. Breeds. Generally one of the first arrivals in the spring, often preceding the robin and the bluebird.

156. Melospiza lincolni (Aud.). 583.

Lincoln's Sparrow.

A rather rare migrant. Summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where it breeds. On the 13th of June, 1878, a nest of this species was taken on the banks of a little pond dignified with the name of "Moose Lake," and situated in Hamilton County, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County. The nest was placed on the ground where it was almost spongy with water, about two rods from the pond, and about the same distance from the edge of the forest. It was not under the protection of any bush or stone, but was quite well

concealed by some last year's grasses. It was composed entirely of dry grasses, both inside and out, the lining being neatly made of the finer spears; and contained three eggs, a few days advanced in incubation. These measured .74 x .56 inches. The ground was a pale greenish, covered with spots and blotches of different shades of reddish brown. On one of them the spots were so numerous as to become confluent and almost conceal the ground-color, while on another they were much smaller, so that the greenish white of the ground-color was the predominant tint, except at the large end, where the spots became larger and more confluent, as indeed they did on all three.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. III, page* 198.)

June 16th, 1881, another nest of this species was taken on "Otter Lake" or pond, about half a mile from the locality of the first. The nest was situated almost exactly like the other, in wet spongy ground on the edge of the pond; not under any bush or weed but quite well concealed by last year's grasses. Diameter, outside, 3.75 inches: inside, 2 inches; depth, outside, 2.25 inches; inside, 1.75 inches. It was composed of fine grass loosely put together, and set down nearly level with the moss. The eggs, which were four, slightly advanced in incubation, were exactly like those taken in 1878, except that the spots of reddish brown were rather larger and more marked.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. VI, page* 246.)

In both cases the bird was taken, positively identified and preserved.

157. Melospiza georgiana (Lath.). 584.

Swamp Sparrow.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

158. Passerella iliaca (Merr.). 585.

Fox Sparrow.

A not common migrant.

159. Pipilo erythrophthalmus (Linn.). 587.

Towhee.

One was taken in New Hartford October 20th, 1881.

160. Habia ludoviciana (Linn.). 595.

Rose-breasted Grosbeak.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

161. Passerina cyanea (Linn.). 598.

Indigo Bunting.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

162. Piranga erythromelas Vieill. 608.

Scarlet Tanager.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

163. Progne subis (Linn.). 611.

Purple Martin.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

164. Petrochelidon lunifrons (Say). 612.

Cliff Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

165. Chelidon erythrogaster (Bodd.). 613.

Barn Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

166. Tachycineta bicolor (Vieill.). 614.

Tree Swallow.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

167. Clivicola riparia (Linn.). 616.

Bank Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

168. Stelgidopteryx serripennis (Aud.). 617.

Rough-winged Swallow.

Several pairs nested in the abutments of the bridge across the West Canada Creek at Trenton Falls, in 1886. One nest which was examined June 19th, contained young.

169. Ampelis garrulus Linn. 618.

Bohemian Waxwing.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis report that they have killed them in the neighborhood of Utica during several different winters; the former having killed thirty-two within the limits of the city in one season.

170. Ampelis cedrorum (Vieill.). 619.

Cedar Waxwing.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Often seen during winter feeding on Mountain Ash berries in the yards of the city. (See coccyzus erythrophthalmus.)

171. Lanius borealis Vieill. 621.

Northern Shrike.

A not uncommon winter visitor.

172. Lanius ludovicianus excubitorides (Swains.). 622*a*.

White-rumped Shrike.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

173. Vireo olivaceus (Linn.). 624.

Red-eyed Vireo.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

174. Vireo philadelphicus (Cass.). 626.

Philadelphia Vireo.

One taken September 14th, 1880, and others seen at the same time.

175. Vireo gilvus (Vieill.). 627.

Warbling Vireo.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Nests taken May 27th and June 12th, 1886, at Holland Patent and Trenton Falls, were near the tops of high maple shade trees in villages.

176. Vireo flavifrons Vieill. 628.

Yellow-throated Vireo.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds. Nest taken May 24th, 1886, in the Village of Holland Patent, in maple shade tree, about 20 feet above the sidewalk.

177. Vireo solitarius (Wils.). 629.

Blue-headed Vireo.

Seen occasionally. Taken September 26th, 1879, and September 23d, 1880.

178. Mniotilta varia (Linn.). 636.

Black and White Warbler.

A not uncommon summer resident.

179. Helminthophila ruficapilla (Wils.). 645.

Nashville Warbler.

Not uncommon during migrations, and occasionally breeds near Holland Patent.

180. Helminthophila celata (Say). 646.

Orange-crowned Warbler.

Rare. One taken September 16th, 1880.

181. Helminthophila peregrina (Wils.). 647.

Tennessee Warbler.

"Not rare during spring migrations."—(*Merriam.*) One taken September 30th, 1879.

182. Compsothlypis americana (Linn.). 648.

Parula Warbler.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

183. Dendroica tigrina (Gmel.). 650.

Cape May Warbler.

A rare migrant. One taken at Holland Patent some years ago, by Mr. William Fowler, of that place, and several taken in the spring of 1884 and of 1885, at Fish Creek, by Mr. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida.

184. Dendroica æstiva (Gmel.). 652.

Yellow Warbler.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

185. Dendroica cærulescens (Gmel.). 654.

Black-throated Blue Warbler.

Not uncommon during migrations. A quite local summer resident in northern part of the County. Breeds. In addition to the nest recorded in the Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. 5, page 233, three nests have been taken, May 29th and June 14th, 1886, near Holland Patent. They were all placed in maple bushes, from nine inches to two feet from the ground, in heavy timber grown up with maple brush. They were loose structures, placed in an upright fork, and composed in all three cases of strips of rotten wood held together and lined with fine black roots, and in one case further secured with strips of the inner bark of deciduous trees, and measured, outside diameter, from three to three and a half inches; inside diameter, from one and three-quarters to two and a quarter inches; outside depth, three and three-quarters to five inches; inside depth, one and a half inches. The two sets of eggs which seemed normal, consisted of four eggs each, one set, pinkish, quite heavily marked and blotched with dark brownish pink, especially at the larger end, and a few fine marks and scratches of a darker color ; rather blunt at the small end, and large for the bird, measuring .75 x .54, .72 x .55, .76 x .54, .72 x .52 inches. The other set was white, rather sparsely marked with lilac and brown spots and dots, heaviest at the large end. In shape and general appearance resembling a Redstart's, and measured .66 x .50, .64 x .51, .66 x .51, 64 x .51.

186. Dendroica coronata (Linn.). 655.

Myrtle Warbler.

An abundant spring and fall migrant. "Breeds plentifully in the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

187. Dendroica maculosa (Gmel.). 657.

Magnolia Warbler.

Quite common during migrations. A few remain to breed in the northern part of the County.

Of five nests found, four were placed in evergreens, from six to fifteen feet from the ground, in swampy woods. The fifth nest, taken July 1st, 1886, half a mile north of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, was placed in a thick deciduous bush, underneath an evergreen, in a clump of small branches, two and a half feet from the ground, in a beaver meadow on the outer edge of the thick woods. It measured, outside diameter, three and a half inches; inside diameter, two an one-eighth inches; outside depth, one and three-quarters inches; inside, seven-eighths of an inch. Composed of dry hemlock twigs, lined with fine, black, hair-like roots. The four eggs which it contained were white, spotted and blotched with lilac and brown, heaviest at the larger end, and measured, .67 x .50, .67 x .50, .66 x .50, .66 x .50 inches.

188. Dendroica pensylvanica (Linn.). 659.

Chestnut-side Warbler.

A rather common summer resident. Breeds.

189. Dendroica castanea (Wils.). 660.

Bay-breasted Warbler.

Several shot in the spring of 1880.

A full-plumaged female was taken in Hamilton County, August 6th, 1886, by Messrs. W. P. Shepard and Robt. J. Hughes.

190. Dendroica striata (Forst.). 661.

Black-poll Warbler.

Very common during some migrations.

191. Dendroica blackburniæ (Gmel.). 662.

Blackburnian Warbler.

A not uncommon migrant. A few remain during the summer in the vicinity of Holland Patent.

192. Dendroica virens (Gmel.). 667.

Black-throated Green Warbler.

A quite common migrant. Not uncommon summer resident. Breeds. Nests taken June 4th and 26th, 1886. Both were placed on a horizontal branch of a hemlock, about twenty feet from the ground, in a little clump of branches, but riding the horizontal limb; one on the edge of a heavy swamp, and the other in a swampy place in a large piece of very heavy timber. The nests were beautifully constructed, strong, compact and deep. The outer sides about perpendicular, measuring, outside depth, 2.25 to 2.50 inches; inside, 1.50 inches; outside diameter, 3 to 3.50 inches; inside, 1.75 to 2 inches; composed of green moss, birch bark, spider web, feathers, fine dry twigs of the hemlock, lined with fine strips of bark and hair. The eggs were rather a pointed oval; one set of three; white with a pinkish shade, marked with fine spots of darker pink, seeming to show through, and quite strongly marked over these with scattering blotches of light reddish brown with much darker edges. They measured, .65 x .54, .64 x .52, .64 x .52. The other set of two eggs were white, strongly blotched, especially at the larger end, with different shades of brown and lilac, and measured .70 x .53, .70 x .51 inches.

193. Dendroica vigorsii (Aud.). 671.

Pine Warbler.

"Mr. Dayan (at Lyons Falls) took a full-plumaged male D. pinus at Lyonsdale, Lewis County, May 8th, 1877."—(*Merriam, Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

194. Dendroica palmarum (Gmel.). 672.

Palm Warbler.

"Occurs during migrations."—(*Merriam.*)

195. Seiurus aurocapillus (Linn.). 674.

Oven-bird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

196. Seiurus noveboracensis (Gmel.). 675.

Water-Thrush.

Seen occasionally both during migrations, and during the breeding season.

197. Geothlypis agilis (Wils.). 678.

Connecticut Warbler.

One taken September 18th, 1880, and one September 8th, 1881.

198. Geothlypis philadelphia (Wils.). 679.

Mourning Warbler.

Not common. Most often seen during breeding season.

199. Geothlypis trichas (Linn.). 681.

Maryland Yellow-throat.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

200. Sylvania pusilla (Wils.). 685.

Wilson's Warbler.

Seen occasionally during migrations.

201. Sylvania canadensis (Linn.). 686.

Canadian Warbler.

Very common during some migrations. A common summer resident in the northern part of the County. Breeds quite commonly in the northern part of the County. Quite a number of nests found, were all on the ground, except one taken June 26th, 1884, near Holland Patent, which was placed about 18 inches above the ground, in a cavity in the top of a slanting stump, which was so covered with vegetation as to entirely conceal the nest, which was composed of fine grass, hair-like roots and a few pine leaves. The eggs were four in number, white, showing rosy before blowing, covered with small spots of different shades of brown, thicker at the larger end, and measured .69 x .53, .67 x .53, .67 x .53, .67 x .55, inches.

202. Setophaga ruticilla (Linn.). 687.

American Redstart.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

203. Anthus pensilvanicus (Lath.). 697.

American Pipit.

Not uncommon during migrations.

204. Galeoscoptes carolinensis (Linn.). 704.

Catbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

205. Harporhynchus rufus (Linn.). 705.

Brown Thrasher.

Seen occasionally. Breeds. Two nests were taken some years ago in Deerfield, about two miles north of the Mohawk river.

206. Troglodytes aëdon Vieill. 721.

House Wren.

A summer resident; not nearly so common as formerly. Breeds.

207. Troglodytes hiemalis Vieill. 722.

Winter Wren.

Not uncommon. Breeds. A female taken at Utica, May 17th, 1879, contained an egg fully developed except the shell, which was still soft. During the summer of 1885 thirteen nests were found near Holland Patent, and the birds were watched while building twelve of them, and not one of these was occupied. The thirteenth nest contained six eggs when found. One of these nests, which was built but not occupied in 1885, was occupied during 1886, and a brood of young raised in it. A nest taken July 16th, 1885, (undoubtedly a second laying, as a nest was found with young in May,) two miles north of Holland Patent, was placed under the roots of a fallen tree, in a small cavity in the roots, about two feet above the ground, composed of moss, hemlock twigs, roots and pieces of rotten wood, and lined, first with fine grass and then with grouse feathers and horse hair; a compact mass of material, filling the cavity, and containing in its centre a cosy nest, to which entrance was obtained by a small round opening in the side. The eggs, six in number, were white, rather evenly marked with small spots and dots of reddish brown, and measured, .67 x .50, .67 x .49, .65 x .49, .67 x .50, .63 x .47, inches.

208. Cistothorus stellaris (Licht.). 724.

Short-billed Marsh Wren.

"Mr. Romeyn B. Hough shot two females of this wren, October 27th, 1877, in the town of New Bremen, in Lewis County, and writes me that he is 'confident that they breed there every year.'"—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

209. Cistothorus palustris (Wils.). 725.

Long-billed Marsh Wren.

One taken at Utica, September 23d, 1880. This bird is very common and breeds plentifully on the marshes of the Seneca River, where we have observed it. Its peculiar habit of building several nests for every one occupied, has been noted by others; and while we kept no accurate record, our experience is that the number of unoccupied nests is at least six or eight for every occupied one. It would seem probable, from the notes above, that this strange custom is also practiced by its sprightly little cousin, the Winter Wren.

210. Certhia familiaris americana (Bonap.). 726.

Brown Creeper.

A not uncommon migrant. Seen on several occasions in the vicinity of Holland Patent during the breeding season. A summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. A nest was taken by C. F. Carpenter, C. E., in Hamilton County, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, N. Y., July 28th, 1875. The nest was in a heavy forest, concealed behind a piece of bark which had been partly torn loose from the side of a spruce tree, about six feet from the ground, but which still remained attached to the tree by the upper end.

Mr. Carpenter describes the nest as "made of soft downy materials, including feathers and such soft materials as you will find in a squirrel's nest. The whole bulk not larger than your fist." It contained three young birds with down only in tufts upon them, and two addled eggs, white, thinly marked with fine reddish dots or spots, and measuring respectively .60 x .47, and .59 x .47 inches. Such situation, under a loose piece of bark, is the usual if not the invariable one for the nest of this species, as all nests found have been so placed.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. VI. page* 183.)

211. Sitta carolinensis Lath. 727.

White-breasted Nuthatch.

A common resident. Breeds.

212. Sitta canadensis Linn. 728.

Red-breasted Nuthatch.

Seen occasionally throughout the County during migrations, and in the northern part during the breeding season. Breeds. Nest taken May 14th, 1886, at Trenton Falls, contained five eggs, nearly hatched. The hole was four inches deep and fifty feet from the ground, in the dead top of an ash, in a swamp. There were quantities of gum about the hole and running down the tree. The nest was composed of strips of bark, a little moss and a few feathers. The eggs closely resembled those of the white breasted, except in size, averaging .62 x .47 inches.

213. Parus atricapillus Linn. 735.

Chickadee.

Abundant summer and winter. Breeds. This is the most common of our winter birds, but we are unwilling even to hazard an opinion as to whether the birds of winter are the same ones which are with us in summer, or are migrants from further north.

214. Parus hudsonicus Forst. 740.

Hudsonian Chickadee.

Dr. Merriam has found this species breeding in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where it is very local.

215. Regulus satrapa Licht. 748.

Golden-crowned Kinglet.

A common migrant.

216. Regulus calendula (Linn.). 749.

Ruby-crowned Kinglet.

A common migrant.

217. Turdus mustelinus GMEL. 755.

Wood Thrush.

A quite common summer resident. Breeds.

218. Turdus fuscescens STEPH. 756.

Wilson's Thrush.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

219. Turdus aliciæ BAIRD. 757.

Gray-cheeked Thrush.

"Common migrant."—(*Merriam.*)

220. Turdus aliciæ bicknelli (RIDGW.). 757*a*.

Bicknell's Thrush.

"In my cabinet is a specimen of this recently described thrush, which I shot in Lewis County * * * * May 24, 1873. It is a male of the preceding year * * * "—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

221. Turdus ustulatus swainsonii (CAB.). 758*a*.

Olive-backed Thrush.

A not uncommon migrant. An abundant summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. Nest taken June 13th, 1876, between Deer and Otter Lakes, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County; was built about seven feet from the ground in a small spruce, and lined entirely with black fibrous roots, resembling horsehair. The eggs were four, .83 x .65 inches, green, spotted with reddish.

222. Turdus aonalaschkæ pallasii (Cab.). 759*b*.

Hermit Thrush.

A quite common summer resident in northern part of the County. Breeds. Very common during migrations.

223. Merula migratoria (Linn.). 761.

American Robin.

A very abundant summer resident. Breeds. Some are seen almost every winter.

224. Sialia sialis (Linn.). 766.

Bluebird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken containing four *pure white* eggs.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies regarding Colonial New York, by Douglas Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members, and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881: 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica, and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long-Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof: 1884.
10. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.

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